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THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'—MILTON.

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## CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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THERE is a story told of a farmer who had a considerable deposit in a local bank of whose stability whispered doubts had reached his ears. He went immediately, and, without hinting any reason for his demand, withdrew the whole of his deposit. He received the amount in notes of the suspected establishment. As soon as he had got outside of the office-door, he put his head in again, and with a smile and wink of triumphant shrewdness, exclaimed, 'Ye may break now if ye like.' Se non e vero, e ben trovato. The story is not a bad illustration of the ignorance which prevails widely, and in higher strata of society than the 'heavy clay' formation, on the subject of money in general, and paper money in particular. Familiarity with the coins which pass continually from hand to hand, or with the paper representatives of metallic currency which take their place, to a greater or less extent, in Europe, America and even in India, has not, certainly, bred contempt, but it has prevented most people from considering the nature of a circulating medium. Few care to enquire into familiar objects which are constantly before their senses or their minds; and fewer still are able to judge correctly of such objects. Hence it is that no subject, perhaps, in the whole range of political economy, is so little understood, popularly, and so warmly discussed by adepts, as money, and paper money more especially. We are far from attributing to the readers of the Calcutta Review ignorance so crass as that of the

farmer in our anecdote.\* We trust, however, that it will not be considered a work of supererogation, if, before examining the plans which have been proposed for an Indian paper currency, we state as briefly as possible the established principles on which such a system should be based; and where great authorities differ, give their opinions and arguments, so far at least as to render

intelligible the grounds of difference.

The experiment now being tried so cautiously in India deserves the closest observation from all who are interested in the welfare of the country. We shall point out hereafter several circumstances which render the introduction of a paper currency into India different from the same step in other countries. But we shall first consider, generally, the nature, advantages and dangers of paper money, with especial reference to bank-notes, its commonest form; and after applying the principles, thus established and illustrated by the history of the Bank of England and by the paper currencies of other European countries, to the present condition and requirements of India, we shall examine the schemes successively proposed by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Laing.

Paper money, 'properly so called' is defined by Mr. McCulloch to be 'paper made legal tender, and not legally convertible into gold, or anything else, at the pleasure of the holders, or at any given period.' In the following pages we do not use the expression in this restricted sense. We apply the terms to paper used as money, whether legal tender or not, whether convertible into metallic currency unconditionally and on demand, or on certain specified conditions and under restrictions as to time and place, or altogether inconvertible. With this preliminary definition, or rather explanation, we proceed to enumerate and discuss the advantages derivable from the substitution of paper

for metallic currency.

The disadvantages attendant on the use of a metallic circulating medium serve, in some degree, to point out the advantages of paper money. The principal are 1st, fluctuation in value of the metallic standard; 2d, expense of maintenance; 3d, difficulty and expense of transmission from place to place, owing to its weight and bulk. With regard to the first of these we shall only remark at present that the value of convertible paper fluctuates with that of the metallic currency into which it is convertible: while the value in exchange of inconvertible notes (if constituting the sole

<sup>\*</sup> It is said that some of the Irish peasantry in 1798 used bank-notes as wadding for their muskets, with a view to break the banks.

medium of exchange) is solely dependent (ceteris paribus) upon the ratio which the quantity in circulation at any given time bears to the amount in the market of the commodities whose

interchanges they effect, and fluctuates with their rates.

The second disadvantage attendant on a metallic currency—the expense of maintaining it—is obviated by the use of paper money in its stead. The cost of the material of which the latter is composed is inappreciable in comparison with the expense of keeping up a gold and silver currency. wealth of a country being dependent upon the amount of its net revenue, and money being, as Adam Smith pointed out, the only part of the circulating capital of a country the maintenance of which diminishes its net revenue, it follows that whatever lessens the expense of maintaining the fixed capital and money increases the wealth of the society. What the expense of keeping up a metallic currency actually is, may be more readily appreciated by considering a few figures. Estimating the British currency at £50,000,000, the annual interest upon this sum at 5 per cent, would amount to £2,500,000; to which should be added at least £500,000 yearly, for wear and tear and loss by shipwreck, fire, &c. The substitution of paper, therefore, for the whole of the fifty millions would be a clear gain of three millions annually to the country, making a triffing deduction for the intrinsic value of the paper employed. But France affords a still stronger instance of the expense of maintaining a metallic medium of exchange. Necker estimated the amount of her circulation at 2,200,000,000f; Penchet, lower, at 1,850,000,000f, Taking the mean of these two estimates, the interest at 6 per cent, would amount to 121,000,000f, yearly; to which adding 20,000,000f, for wear and losses as before, we arrive at a total loss to the country of 141,000,000f, yearly, or £5,640,000.

The one is actual, being the cost of replacing the coin lost in various ways with new coins, the material of which must be purchased with other commodities at its market price, which, like that of most other articles of commerce, depends ultimately on its cost of production. The other element of expense is virtual; being the amount which the country loses, or rather fails to gain, by keeping for domestic purposes a valuable commodity, for which a comparatively valueless article may be substituted, not only without disadvantage, but with positive benefit. 'By using paper instead of gold,' says Mr. McCulloch, 'we substitute the cheapest instead of the most expensive currency: and enable the society, without loss to any individual to send abroad

The precious metals which, while used as currency, add nothing to the country's wealth but rather diminish it by the amount necessary to compensate wear and loss, when set free by the substitution of paper are sent to other countries in exchange for commodities which increase the wealth, comfort and happiness of the country which imports them. Adam Smith illustrates this substitution by comparing it to an improvement in machinery—the difference in cost between an old machine and a cheaper new one is added to the circulating capital of the owner. But his still more happy illustration, adopted by Mr. Mill, is his comparison of a 'judicious system of banking,' which is equivalent to a judicious substitution of paper of various kinds for the precious metals, to 'a wagon way through the air,' saving land for purposes of agriculture, but facilitating traffic as much as, (or more than), the ordinary road which it supersedes.

Of the third disadvantage of a metallic currency, wholly obviated by the substitution of paper; little need be said. The risk, difficulty and expense of transmitting large sums in gold are obvious enough, a thousand pounds sterling in gold coin weighing 21lbs Troy. But where, as in India the currency is silver and the distances great, and danger of robbery and expense of carriage and escort considerable, the weight of the ordinary circulating medium becomes a matter of very serious importance. £50,000 in British silver coin would weigh over five tons. An ordinary country bullock-cart would convey with difficulty, at the rate of ten miles a day, 40,000 rupees. On a smaller scale we all feel, every day, the inconvenience attending a silver currency.

'A currency is in its most perfect state,' says Mr. Ricardo, when it consists wholly of paper money, but of paper money of an equal value with the gold which it professes to represent. The use of paper instead of gold substitutes the cheapest in place of the most expensive medium, and enables the country, without loss to any individual, to exchange all the gold which it before used for this purpose for raw materials, utensils, and food; by the use of which both its wealth and its enjoyments are increased.' Taking this passage as a text, we shall briefly discuss some of the points involved in it, before considering the dangers and disadvantages to which the use of paper money is liable.

Paper is used to economize money in several different ways, to enumerate which will be sufficient. Bills of exchange, transfers of bank credit, cheques, and promissory notes obviate the necessity for the actual employment of the precious metals in mercantile

transactions. All these are included in the 'paper money' of the passage quoted above; but it is only with the last of them that we shall be occupied, except incidentally, in the following pages. Convertibility, that is the capacity of being exchanged for the amount of metallic or quasi-metallic currency which they profess to represent, is essential to the usefulness of bills of exchange and cheques. We shall see that for the purpose of carrying on all internal monetary transactions of a society, inconvertible notes may be sufficient; though in this case the term 'promissory' is scarcely applicable. Bills of exchange and cheques, therefore, are employed instead of the current circulating medium of the country, whatever this may be. What this best may be—whether metallic, or consisting of notes, or of notes and coin—is

the question upon which we are at present engaged.

It will be observed that Mr Ricardo makes it essential to an ideally perfect currency, not that it should be paper convertible to coin at the pleasure of the holder, but that it should be of equal value with the amount of precious metal which it repre-How inconvertible paper may be kept up to this standard That a paper immediately and uncondiwe shall see presently. tionally convertible, at the pleasure of the holder, can never fall below that standard is obvious. Even the restriction on convertibility nominally imposed on Bank of England notes—that they are necessarily changeable into cash only at the particular office from which they have been issued—does not in practice impair their perfect convertibility. But there are two other cases possible—a mixed currency, consisting of metal and inconvertible paper; and one composed of inconvertible paper only, or with a metal only as subsidiary, in the same manner as silver and copper (or bronze) are now used in the currency of the United Kingdom. To understand these two cases we must examine the principles on which the value of a currency estimated in other commodities depends.

Money—using the word in its most general sense—is only useful for effecting the exchange of other commodities. Except for saving the time and labor necessarily attendant upon barter, its importance and its value are insignificant. Money, therefore, and all other commodities are complementary in value, whether we consider the whole commercial world or any particular country. The value of all commodities actually for sale in the commercial world and the value of the means by which their transfer in sale is effected, must vary inversely. Supposing, then, gold to be a universal standard of value, any increase in the quantity of gold coin in circulation, unaccompanied by

any corresponding increase in the quantity of commodities offered for sale, must lead to a proportionate fall in its value—in other words to a general rise of prices in gold of other commodities.

What would thus obviously be true of gold if it were the sole and general medium of exchange is necessarily true of the circulating medium existing at any particular time in any country. 'That an increase of the quantity of money raises 'prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary 'proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should 'have no key to any of the others.' Prices in any country depend upon the proportion which the amount of commodities offered for sale bears to the quantity of currency in circulation, whether this consist of the precious metals, or of paper, or of both.

But this simple principle, like many others on which the science of Political Economy is based, is only strictly applicable to a theoretically simple state of things. When we proceed to apply it to the complicated system of modern commerce, limitations, restrictions, and explanations must be taken into con-

sideration. Some of these we must mention.

First, then, we must remember that as it is only that part of any particular commodity which is actually offered for sale that affects the price of that article, so it is only the money actually in circulation which affects prices generally. The banker's reserves, the miser's hoards, the secret store of the French peasant, and the stockingful of sovereigns stowed away in the Irish farmer's chimney, can have no influence upon prices until they are actu-

ally brought out for circulation.

Again: as increased quantities of gold drawn from the mines do not necessarily involve a fall in the value of the metal, (or, in other words, a universal rise of prices)—and of this fact we have had ample proof in the negative result of the enormous produce of the Australian and Californian mines—so increase of amount of currency does not of necessity imply a general rise of prices in any particular country. And the reason in both cases is the same. Increased trade requires increased means of every kind for carrying it on. There can, we apprehend, be no doubt that the fall in the value of gold, due to the immense quantities produced in recent years, has been retarded principally by the increase of commerce throughout the world. Similarly, increased activity of trade in any country demands a proportional increase of currency, which will not affect prices.

But the most important limitation to be imposed upon the principle of the interdependence of general prices and the quantity of the circulating medium is this, that it is strictly

applicable only to that simple state of things in which money only is used for purchasing purposes, and credit is unknown. Ceteris paribus general prices vary inversely as the amount of money in circulation, but credit is the most important of those other things which must be the same. General prices depend more, in a country like England, on the state of credit than on the quantity of money. 'For credit though it is not a pro-'ductive power is purchasing power; and a person who, having 'credit, avails himself of it in the purchase of goods, creates just 'as much demand for the goods, and tends just as much to raise 'their price, as if he had made an equal amount of purchases 'with ready money.' \* This kind of credit which constitutes purchasing power may, certainly, be represented by a bill of exchange, which is a form of paper money; as when one dealer pays another by a bill on a third. But it also may, and frequently does, happen that a series of transactions between two merchants, involving the mutual transfer of goods to any conceivable value may require the intervention of money, metallic or paper, only to the trifling extent necessary for the payment of the residual balance of their accounts. We must remember then, that the purchasing power of an individual, (or of a community), consists of the amount of money in his possession, or due to him, plus the amount of credit at command: and that it is the portion of this purchasing power which is brought into exercise that affects prices.

Again; as money affects prices in proportion to its actual amount multiplied by the number of times it changes hands, so credit, which in respect of purchasing power is equal to money, produces an effect upon prices proportionate to the number of transactions it effects. Credit transferable is more influential than credit which effects but one purchase. Therefore, the amounts represented being equal, bank-notes influence general prices more powerfully than bills of exchange, and these more than book-credits. The last effect the payment of the balance remaining due between traders after a series of transactions; bills of exchange may effect five, six or more payments before being finally cashed, by the simple process of endorsement; while bank-notes pass freely innumerable times from hand to hand, and may never be

ultimately cashed at all.

Starting now from the established principle that, other things being the same, the value of any currency of any country, estimated in commodities, varies inversely as its amount, and

<sup>\*</sup> Mill's Political Economy II. 40.

remembering that credit in its various forms is the most important influence modifying the universal applicability of the principle, we shall proceed to apply it to the three cases before enumerated. We are now leaving out of consideration all forms of paper money except promissory notes, convertible or inconvertible, issued by Government or by Banks. We shall assume, for our present purpose, that the other forms of credit which economize money and affect general prices, remain stationary in amount.

We have already cursorily mentioned the case of a currency composed partly of gold or silver, and partly of convertible notes—as is the case in England. The notes, being immediately convertible on demand, are precisely equivalent in value to the precious metal which they represent. Should the quantity of paper be increased by a fresh issue, without proportional increase of commercial transactions, so that the total amount of currency in circulation exceeds the requirements of the community, the value of the entire currency falls. But the metallic portion of it bears an intrinsic value, almost uniform throughout the commercial world. Though depreciated in its own country it retains its market value abroad. It is exported at a profit, in quantity proportional to the increased amount of paper issued, which takes the place of the metal, and the old state of prices is restored.

It is evident that if the issue of notes be unrestricted this process of substituting paper for metal and sending the latter abroad may be carried to a considerable extent not only without injury to the community or individuals, but with positive benefit to the public as well as to the issuers. But it is also evident that, if no limit is imposed upon the issuers, the temptation to profit by the substitution of this paper for metal may be yielded to to such an extent as to endanger or destroy the convertibility of their notes.\* There undoubtedly is a limit of safety in issue. There is, in every country, a certain amount of currency which may consist of paper without danger of its convertibility being tested by presentation at the issuing office for conversion into metal, except in case of unreasoning and

<sup>\*</sup> The history of the Bank of England affords us an instance of an attempt to over-issue convertible paper defeating its object, and causing heavy loss in place of the profit expected. For many years it over-issued and had to coin from £800,000 to £1,000,000 annually in order to change its notes which, being in excess of the requirements of the commercial world, were being returned upon its hands. For this purpose the Bank was obliged to buy gold at £4 an ounce, and issue it at £3-17-10½—thus losing between 2½ and 3 per cent upon the amount coined.

extraordinary panic—and even this exceptional case may be allowed for, its degree of probability estimated, and the amount of paper currency to be kept permanently affoat proportionably diminished. No doubt this limit is ascertainable by experience, and up to this limit the substitution of paper for metal is an almost unmixed good. The great practical question to be solved in the establishment of a system of paper currency which shall ensure the maximum of advantage with the minimum of risk is—how much paper may safely be issued without reserving gold or silver so as to render its convertibility absolutely certain? This is the great question upon which currency authorities are at issue. We shall have to consider it hereafter.

The next case to be considered is that of a mixed currency

of metal and inconvertible paper.

So long as the paper issued is convertible there cannot be more than a transient general rise of nominal prices, because there cannot be more than a temporary excess of currency in circulation. When the whole of the metallic currency has been superseded by paper, if a further issue take place it is at once returned upon the issuers, and the total amount of circulating medium is thus kept at its normal level, corresponding to the amount of transactions which it has to effect. But it is quite different with inconvertible paper. Every note issued in excess of the commercial requirements of the country influences prices. The more paper is issued, the greater will be its depreciation and the greater the divergence between paper and metallic prices. The holders of fixed incomes and creditors, public and private, are defrauded in proportion to the extent of depreciation. It is the obvious interest of the issuers, whether a Government or a Bank, to emit paper without limit, and every additional note increases the evil. The metallic part of the currency, has, as compared with commodities, a fixed value, pretty nearly uniform over all parts of the commercial world, because dependent, like the values of other commodities, upon the cost of production. But the other ingredient of the currency, the inconvertible paper, having no appreeiable cost of production, varies in its value, (given a fixed number of commercial transactions to be effected), inversely as its quantity. The values of the two constituent parts of the currency being thus dependent upon two totally different conditions, there is obviously, a tendency to divergence, consequent upon the overissue of inconvertible paper. In the case of a currency constituted as supposed, the duty of the Legislature (if there be one), is to devise means for resisting this tendency. If the circulating

medium of a country is to be composed partly of metallic and partly of inconvertible paper currency, two things are indispensable. The issue of paper must be limited, so that the whole currency shall not exceed the commercial requirements of the country; and,—which is rather the means of effecting the other than itself a distinct object of attainment—the values of the metal and the paper must be kept in correspondence: paper bearing the denomination of a certain number of pounds, or florins, or dollars, or rupees, must exchange freely anywhere within the limits of

the country for an equivalent nominal amount of coins.

The former of these objects is attainable by vesting the power of issuing inconvertible paper which is to be legal tender in a department of Government, or in a commercial body subject to the control and constant supervision of Government. country in which, owing to the possible or certain ignorance or dishonesty of Government, this cannot be safely done, should not, under any circumstances, adopt the use of inconvertible paper). The latter can be effected by observing the market price of gold and silver bullion, comparing it with the mint price, of the same, and contracting or expanding accordingly the issue of paper. When the market price of bullion estimated in paper rises above the mint price, the paper is depreciated and its issue must be contracted. If the mint price of gold in paper be £3-17-10½ per ounce Troy, while, if we want to buy gold in the market we have to pay £4 in paper for the same ounce, the paper is depreciated to the extent represented by the divergence of the two prices. The total amount of currency in circulation exceeds the commercial requirements of the community in that proportion. The remedy lies in withdrawing the superfluous paper from circulation until the mint and market prices again coincide.

The same method is obviously applicable to the case where the entire currency of a country consists of inconvertible paper, except, of course, some subsidiary metal. The Government, which is generally in this case the sole issuer could, if it were inclined, maintain its paper on a par with metal by observing the correspondence or divergence between the nominal value of the former and the market price of bullion used for the arts. But the Governments which issue inconvertible paper rarely trouble themselves with such minutiæ, being generally content with the immediate and obvious profit attendant upon paying their servants and their creditors with paper which costs them nothing, and leave the evils of paper money daily deteriorating in value to be met and remedied or endured by their successors.

Conditional convertibility is, as regards effect upon prices, the same as inconvertibility. Notes only convertible on the fulfilment of some condition, or at some distant date, would certainly in comparison with notes absolutely convertible, be subject to a discount, as they would be in comparison with metal. The Scotch notes mentioned by Adam Smith, in which an 'optional clause' was inserted, circulated at a discount. So did the old Yorkshire paper, in which convertibility was made dependent upon the holder's producing before the issuer change for a guinea. Notes issued by the North American States, as well during the struggle for independence as before it, were made payable in Government paper, which, again, was not convertible into cash for a certain number of years; and legislation, (as in the case of Pensylvania, in 1722), making penal any difference between such paper and metallic currency, was ineffectual to prevent depreciation, which (in dealings with foreigners at least) extended as far as 30 per cent. As far as regards internal commerce, however, such imperfectly convertible paper might have been maintained by the simple expedient of limiting its amount.

In enumerating the advantages arising from the substitution of paper for the precious metals we included the profit to the country. This may be considered from two points of view, which may sometimes, (as is, or was, intended in our Indian system), coincide. There is first the addition to the wealth of the community generally, by the amount of commodities of necessity, comfort, and luxury purchased by the gold and silver for which paper has become an efficient substitute. There is, secondly, the profit accruing to the issuers themselves, who find their capital increased by the amount of all or nearly all of their paper which is in circulation. It will be sufficient for the present to quote, on this subject, the following passage from a chapter of Mr Ricardo's work on Currency and Banks, from which we have

already made an extract.

'In a natural point of view it is of no importance whether the issuers of this well-regulated paper money be the Government or the Bank: it will, on the whole, be equally productive of riches, whether it be issued by one or by the other; but it is not so with respect to the interest of individuals. In a country where the market rate of interest is 7 per cent, and where the State requires for a particular expense £70,000 per annum, it is a question of importance to the individuals of that country whether they must be taxed to pay this £70,000 per annum, or whether they could raise it without taxes. Suppose that a million

of money should be required to fit out an expedition. If the State issued a million of paper and displaced a million of coin, the expedition would be fitted out without any charge to the people; but if a Bank issued a million of paper, and lent it to Government at 7 per cent, thereby displacing a million of coin, the country would be charged with a continual tax of £70,000 per annum; the people would pay the tax, the Bank would receive, and the society, in either case, would be as wealthy as before: the expedition would have been really fitted out by the improvement of our system, by rendering capital of the value of a million productive in the form of commodities, instead of letting it run on unproductive in the form of coin; but the advantage would always be in favor of the issuers of a paper; and as the State represents the people, the people would have saved the tax if they, and not the Bank, had issued this million.'\*

To this subject of profit we shall probably recur.

However, it is searcely necessary to remark that there are dangers and drawbacks attending the use of a paper currency. Even Adam Smith, fully alive as he is to the advantages of such a circulating medium, as illustrated by his comparison already quoted, is quite sensible to the dangers which attend it. 'The commerce,' he says, 'and industry of a country supported upon 'the Dædalean wings of paper currency, though increased in 'amount, will not be so secure as when resting on the solid 'ground of gold and silver.' Having briefly pointed out the benefits of a paper currency, we now proceed to consider the disadvantages and dangers to which it is liable.

The reserve of precious metals on which a convertible paper currency is based may fall into the hands of an invading enemy who may thus find an immense amount of gold and silver stored up in one place and ready to his hand. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the serious consequences of such a blow as this—a blow which would be severe in proportion to the degree to which the substitution of convertible paper for coin had been carried, and which would therefore fall with greater weight upon England

than upon any other European country.

Insolvency of the issuers of convertible paper leads to widespread distress. Confidence in the stability of the issuers is theoretically essential to the voluntary reception of bank-notes: but in country places it might often happen in England, in the

<sup>\*</sup> Ricardo's Works by McCulloch, 2nd Edition pp. 218-9.

old days of abundance of country-banks, all issuing notes, that a farmer, or labourer would be practically obliged either to take payment in country notes or not at all. Most of those who suffered from the wholesale insolvency of country banks in the commercial crisis of 1792-3, when one hundred of these institutions stopped payment and more than fifty of them perished, knew nothing about 'legal tender' or 'convertibility,' nor had they any misgivings as to the stability of the issuing banks. In 1825 seventy issuing banks were swept away in less than six weeks, inflicting heavy loss upon the holders of their paper. These and similar instances which could easily be given from the commercial history of Great Britain illustrate one serious danger which may attend a mismanaged paper currency. The enormous and uncontrolled multiplication of issuing Banks in the United States, with their frequent insolvencies, affords

another fearful example.\*

The evils arising from possible insolvency of the issuing parties can, however, be obviated to a greater or less extent by judicious legislation. Banks may be compelled by law to give adequate security for the convertibility of their paper on demand, and frequent periodical publication of the amounts of their issues and of the coin or bullion retained to meet demands. The proportion always to be maintained between these two amounts may also be fixed by law, at a point which multiplied experience may have shown to be sufficiently safe. Such restrictions may be enforced without diminishing the profit to which the issuing body or person is fairly entitled. This is a question of detail. Unskilful, reckless, or dishonest bankers would probably issue as much paper as they could float, in hope of increased profit, and regardless of exposing the community to risk of loss by possible insolvency. But prudent issuers probably would not, if their operations were unrestricted, exceed the amount or proportion of issue which the legislature deemed safe. No injury, therefore, would be inflicted upon them, or upon the community, by the legislative restrictions of which we have spoken: while the interest of the public, (and even their own true interest), imperatively demands such limitations in the case of the former class.

<sup>\*</sup> The great inconvenience attending the variety of notes, (or 'bills' as they are called in the United States), is another, though a comparatively trilling disadvantage. A purchaser will frequently be detained for some time in a 'store' in New York while the shopkeeper to whom he has tendered a 'bill' in payment, is examining a long list of the safe banks, to ascertain whether the tender should be accepted or rejected.

Such remedies are readily available in countries like England and the United States, in which systems of issue are already existing, and where, consequently, a more effectual and radical cure for the evil we are considering would interfere materially with private interests and even seriously derange commercial affairs for a time. In England, indeed, where the use and system of paper money, of all kinds, have attained a much higher state of excellence than in any other country, the true remedy for the risk of insolvency of issuers has been almost reached by the much-discussed Bank Charter Act of 1844. In the United States the establishment of a National Bank is occasionally mooted, which, if soundly instituted and judiciously managed in its Issue Department, would be of immense benefit to the internal commerce of the country. But the mismanagement of the old United States Bank, and the association in the minds of the community between it and the wide-spread ruin which its collapse in 1837, (owing to General Jackson's vetoing the Bill for the renewal of its Charter), aggravated and partly occasioned, render the speedy establishment of a similar institu-

tion improbable.

There can, we think, be no doubt that the power of issuing paper money, whether convertible or inconvertible, should be entrusted to a single body; and that either an actual department of Government, or one subject to constant supervision and control by the Legislature or the Executive. The issue of inconvertible paper cannot be carried on with advantage or safety in any other way; while convertibility can be absolutely insured in this manner alone. The solvency of the nation will then be pledged for the convertibility of the national paper: and, as far as the particular country is concerned, no higher security is attainable. Where the field is free for the establishment ab initio of a paper currency, as it was in this country, no better plan could be adopted, not only for obviating the evil which we are at present specially considering, but also for reducing to a minimum the other inevitable but mitigable disadvantages of a paper medium. In England, in this respect as in so many others, a compromise was adopted, and, under the circumstances, perhaps unavoidably. It was the intention of the original promoters of the present English system of issue to prohibit altogether the emission of bank-notes by any person or Company except the Bank of England. This was not carried out by the Act of 1844. The existing banks of issue were permitted to continue, but provision was made for the withdrawal of their

notes from circulation, and the substitution of Bank of England paper for them, by special agreement in each case; and it was enacted that no new banks of issue should be instituted. At the same time the chief issuing body—not a department of Government, it is true, but necessarily closely connected with it in other transactions—was placed, in its Issue Department, which was thus entirely separated from the banking business of the Corporation, under stringent limitations, which we shall have to discuss hereafter, and subjected to constant supervision by the

public.

Suspension of cash payments is a degree of insolvency, and a contingency to which the use of paper money is liable, that it is a danger and an evil is indubitable. That it is equivalent to 'national bankruptcy,' or that it is even the 'beginning of the end,' or that it is so serious a step as to justify the howl of triumph with which its recent occurrence in the United States was greeted by the Times, and more respectable members of the Slavery press in London, cannot be conceded. The suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1797 was no doubt an evil; though, as it appears to us, a necessary evil. But it was a very different thing from national bankruptcy, and its evil consequences might have been mitigated by a clearer comprehension of the whole subject of paper currency and by skilful management founded on such comprehension. In the case of England the suspension was unnecessarily prolonged, and the issue of paper which had ceased to be convertible was, through ignorance, excessive. Both these errors may be avoided by the United States, who have the example of the older country as a warning.

In 1795, in consequence principally of heavy demands upon England for gold, for loans to the Emperor of Germany, and for continental expenditure, the exchanges took a turn unfavorable to England. Constant alarms of invasion added to the drain upon the banks for gold, inspiring small farmers and retail dealers with a desire of converting all their savings into cash and hoarding it. Heavy runs upon the country banks, thus produced, caused the destruction of many of them, and the panic, thereby increased, induced still greater demands for specie on the Bank of England. In March, 1795, the reserve of coin and bullion in the coffers of that Corporation had amounted to £7,940,000. On Saturday, February 25th 1797, the reserve was only £1,272,000: and there was great reason to expect a heavy run on the following Monday. Under these critical

circumstances the Privy Council determined, in anticipation of parliamentary sanction, to suspend temporarily cash payments at the Bank of England, and the order to that effect was issued

on Tuesday the 26th February, 1797.

By this measure the hitherto convertible promissory notes of the Bank of England were rendered inconvertible for an indefinite period and the issue of inconvertible paper without any control was entrusted to the Banks. Evil consequences certainly followed the step, though not immediately nor unavoidably: but there can, we think, be little doubt that the circumstances justified the intervention of Government to save the Bank of England from impending insolvency. The run was not the result of mismanagement, either by over-issue or otherwise. It was the result chiefly of panic fear of invasion. The alternative was a circulating medium composed entirely of the precious metals, attended by not only the ordinary disadvantages but additional ones arising from the scarcity of gold and the importunate demand for it for exportation. While the alarms of which we have spoken prevailed no convertible paper could for a moment remain in circulation, and it was therefore a question of paper temporarily inconvertible or no paper at all.

But the circumstances which appear to have justified the suspension of cash payments in the beginning of 1797 did not sanction the continuance of the restriction after those circumstances had ceased to exist. By this continuance, however, it is to be explained, the country was subjected to the intolerable evil of an uncontrolled issue of inconvertible paper. The fear of the recurrence of alarm and panic has been assigned as the reason for the Government in this respect. A more probable motive was the great convenience attending an unlimited supply of advances which the Bank was able to afford without any drain upon her bullion. The case is an illustration of the principle which should never be lost sight of by those who found or manage a system of paper currency, viz, that no Government can safely be trusted with the power of issuing inconvertible paper without control of law and educated public opinion. The temptation to over-issue, without regard to consequences which are seldom immediate, is too great to be resisted in times of even moderate pressure. Let us briefly trace the progress of overissue consequent upon the unduly prolonged restriction upon cash payments before we consider over-issue as the great danger attendant on a currency consisting wholly or chiefly of inconvertible paper—a danger so serious as to render such a currency, however theoretically allowable, absolutely inadmissible in any second system.

Confidence in the Bank of England and moderation in the issue of the now inconvertible paper kept the latter up to par for more than three years after the issue of the order in coun-The fact that the notes were freely issued and received in all Government monetary transactions produced, of course, a favorable influence on their reception by the public. A resolution to which the principal merchants, bankers and traders of the city came, to the effect that they were willing to accept Bank of England notes as readily as before the suspension, and that they would exert any influence they possessed to induce others to do the same, contributed powerfully to insure their uninterrupted circulation. But it was moderation in their issue which saved them from depreciation below their nominal value. As long as the amount of paper only equalled the amount of gold for which it was substituted, and which was necessary for carrying on the commercial business of the country, five pounds in paper was fully equivalent to five sovereigns. When ignorance and mismanagement pushed the issue beyond this limit, the paper became depreciated in proportion to the excess of its quantity over the commercial requirements of the community.

For example. The harvest of 1800, the fourth year after the suspension of cash payments was deficient. Large quantities of foreign corn were imported which had to be paid for in coin. Had this unavoidable drain taken place under ordinary circumstances when the currency of the country consisted of metal and convertible paper, the total amount of the currency must have been diminished by the whole quantity sent abroad to pay for the imported corn. The remainder would have been the amount available for effecting the objects of a circulating medium within the country. At this amount a well regulated inconvertible paper currency would have been kept, by restricting issue when the export of coin took place; so that the actual amount of currency circulating in the country should correspond exactly with what it would have been if no suspension had taken place. Had the directors of the Bank of England been obliged to pay their notes in gold on demand, they must have restricted their issue—or rather it would have restricted itself, because all the notes which, while remaining in circulation, raised the total amount of the currency above the standard of commercial requirements, would have been returned upon the Bank for

conversion, and re-issue would have only led to re-return. But freed from the necessity of converting their paper into coin, the directors did not restrict their issues as they should have done. On the contrary, they added to the amount of their paper already in circulation. A depreciation of 8 per cent in comparison with gold was the result: and the amount of discount was the measure of the degree in which the amount of the currency exceeded the level at which it ought to have been maintained.

However, shortly afterwards, the notes partially recovered their value; so that from 1803 to 1808 the discount was only £2-13-3 per cent. But in the two following years the issues were enormously increased, although no increase in the business of the country had taken place, to justify and demand an augmentation in the amount of the currency. Between 1802 and 1808, both inclusive, the amount of Bank of England paper in circulation had ranged between the maximum and minimum of 19½ millions sterling and 16½ millions. In 1809, it amounted to £18,927,833: and in the following year to £22,511,523. Nor do these figures express the full extent of the evil. The country banks had increased their issues in a still greater proportion. The discount on bank paper rose from £2-13-2, at which it had been in the beginning of 1809, to £13-9-6 in 1810. The attention of Parliament was directed to the subject. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire, and after demonstrating in their Report that over-issue of inconvertible paper was the sole cause of its depreciation in comparison with coin and bullion, recommended that cash payments should be resumed by the Bank of England in two years. But the House of Commons, by a large majority, declined to act upon this recommendation: resolving that Bank of England paper was at that time considered by the public as fully equivalent to coin, although these notes were openly at a discount of more than 10 per cent.

The Bank of England, being thus freed from any apprehension of interference by the legislature, continued to issue her paper with all her might. The country banks were no less active. Discounts could be obtained by almost any one, with dangerous facility, and the wildest speculations were hazarded. To this excessive issue of country bank paper the extraordinary rise of rents and prices, which took place before the crash in 1814, is attributable. In the latter part of 1813 circumstances led to a considerable fall in the value of corn, this operated on the country banks through the agriculturalists. Unsound banks

-a numerous class-fell by their unsoundness. Solvent banks perished by want of confidence and consequent runs, occasioned by the fall of so many of their weaker brethren. In the three years 1814, 1815, 1816, two hundred and forty banks stopped payment, many thousand shareholders and depositors and holders of notes were ruined and wide-spread misery produced. from this nettle danger was plucked the flower safety. enormous destruction of paper, consequent upon the fall of so many issuing banks, reduced the amount of the currency to its normal level—the requirements of the commercial transactions of the country. Paper rose again to nearly the value of gold, viz: to 3 per cent discount; and the way was prepared for the resumption of cash payments with the least possible derangement of commercial equilibrium, or injury to the private interests of individuals. The Bill for this purpose was carried by the late Sir Robert Peel in 1819, and cash payments were resumed after a suspension of more than thirty years.

We cannot now enter into a discussion of the question whether this measure was injurious or beneficial. It ought to be decisive of the matter that an ill regulated, or an unregulated, paper currency, such as we have described, is a grievous evil; and therefore, whatever puts an end to it must be, prima facie, a benefit to the community: that Parliament had pledged itself to a resumption of cash payments within six months of the termination of the war; so that commercial arrangements were, or might have been, or ought to have been made with reference to the probability of that measure; that the difference of value of paper and gold at the time amounted to only 3, or at the utmost, 5 per cent. which measures the total amount of loss to which any one could have been subjected, to be weighed against the advantage of the community in general: and finally, that Sir A. Alison is opposed to the measure; arguing from a universal rise of prices as a token of prosperity; and abundance of 'money'-whether inconvertible paper or anything else-as a sure indication of national wealth; while Mr McCulloch and Mr Mill are on the other side.

We have thus seen that England, whose system of paper currency is undoubtedly the best in the world, affords us, though temporarily, an instructive example of the consequences of overissue, which is one of the greatest dangers to which such a currency is liable. This was a case of convertible paper made temporarily inconvertible, on apparently sufficiently emergent grounds, and after an unduly prolonged period of suspension restored to its

normal convertibility. But other European countries afford as instances of unlimited issue of inconvertible paper, and consequent enormous exaggeration of nominal prices. From these we may learn, if we need the lesson, that an unlimited issue of inconvertible paper is an intolerable evil; that no executive can be trusted with the control of the issue of such a circulating medium; and that the dependence of general prices upon the amount of the currency, ceteris paribus, is so direct and evident that we have at once a clue to the proper management of an issue of inconvertible paper, if circumstances should at any time render its adoption expedient.

The resumption of cash payments, however, unaccompanied, as it inexplicably was, by any attempt to control the issue of paper by any one who thought it worth his while to become a banker, did not obviate over-issue. In 1823, a rise in the price of corn, which had been low in the three preceding years, owing to abundant harvests, combined with other causes, induced an epidemic of speculation. The country banks hastened to supply the consequent demand for money by enlarging their issues of paper. Over-trading and over-issue re-act upon each other. It is obvious that Banks cannot issue their paper at will, after such a fashion as Dean Swift's servant adopted when he 'passed' a light guinea by slipping it in among some coppers paid to a 'pikeman. There must be a demand for accommodation—for the discounting of bills—before a bank can issue its paper. There will generally be an excessive demand for accommodation, owing to inordinate speculation or other causes, before a bank can begin to over-issue. But when the process has actually begun, the eagerness of a bank to force its paper into circulation re-acts upon the demand for accommodation. Facility of obtaining the latter increases the desire for it in those who were already speculating, and incites to speculation those who would not under other circumstances have thought of it. Thus an epidemic of speculation created a demand for money at the time of which we write, a demand which the banks, in their morbid eagerness to force their paper into circulation met more than half way; and their eagerness to supply the demand increased its violence. The process went on, till, according to a probable estimate, the amount of country paper in circulation in 1825 was half as much again as it had been in 1823, the natural result followed. The currency became redundant, and foreign exchanges declined. When the demand for gold upon the Bank of England—the great reservoir of accommodation for the country banks—became serious, she became more chary of her assistance to the latter. A panic of suspicion

ensued. Runs set in with violence unprecedented even in the panic of 1792-3. In less than six weeks seventy banks had disappeared. The amount of paper rendered worthless by their fall was so great that the Bank of England found it necessary to issue between eight and ten millions sterling to supply the vacuum in the currency. It must be remembered that this sum does not represent the amount of over-issue, which must be measured approximately by the rate of exchange; but it enables us to form an idea of the enormous magnitude of the evil to which over-issue led. The greater portion of those eight millions, as well as of the excess of the total currency over the requirements of the country was lost by members of the community. This aroused the country to a sense of the danger to which its ill-regulated, or unregulated system of paper currency made it continually liable. Steps were taken to obviate this danger, which, though not perfect, tended somewhat to improve the system. The Act of 1708, which, in order to prevent the formation of joint-stock banks, limited the number of partners in a banking concern to six, was repealed. At the same time one pound notes were prohibited, and since 1829 have ceased to circulate in England.

When we consider that the two great objects to be attained were the prevention of over-issue of paper and its consequent depreciation by excess, and, secondly, security against the issue of any bank-notes by parties of doubtful solvency, we see at once how inefficient were the remedies applied by the legislature. One pound notes were certainly the form in which the paper of the small local banks chiefly circulated. Their suppression, therefore, not only restricted circulation but also in some measure protected from the disastrous consequences of bank failures the classes, such as laborers and small farmers, amongst whom one pound notes most freely passed, and who would suffer most by the insolvency of the issuers. So far the results of the measure were beneficial, but the panic of 1792-3, when no note for less than five pounds was in circulation showed the futility of the suppression of one

pound notes as a preventive of panic or over-issue.

Again; the experience of our own day shows abundantly how utterly unfounded was the idea on which the legislature acted, in removing the restrictions upon the institution of joint-stock banks, namely, that these are more secure than private banking houses. Recent terrible examples have proved that less skill, prudence, caution, and fewer safe-guards against embezzlement and fraud are to be found in the management of joint-stock banks than are usually to be found in the conduct of private concerns. We

shall consider hereafter, when we come to discuss Sir R. Peel's Bank Charter Act of 1844, what are the true and only means of securing the two main objects stated above, and shall see how far they have been attained by means of that measure, and whether any compensating disadvantages have resulted from its enact-

It remains for us to illustrate the evil effects of over-issue of inconvertible paper, by one or two historical examples. (we quote from a note of Mr. McCulloch's in his edition of the Wealth of Nations), 'forty millions of paper roubles, or assignats ' were issued in 1769, by the Government Bank established in the ' preceding year. There were some regulations with respect to the 'conversion of these assignate into copper: but Mr. Storch has 'shown that these were altogether illusory, and that, practically, 'the assignats were inconvertible. They were however made legal 'tender at the same rate as silver roubles: while in order to insure ' their circulation, it was ordered that a certain proportion of taxes ' due by each individual should be paid in them. In consequence of these regulations the assignats really formed a species of in-' convertible paper money; and as their supply had not been ori-' ginally excessive, and no further additions were made to it for 'about eighteen years, they continued, during the whole of that ' period, to circulate at about the same value as silver. In 1787, ' however, a fresh emission of sixty millions of additional assignats ' took place, which immediately depressed their value about eight ' per cent under silver. And owing to successive emissions, the ' mass of assignats in circulation in 1811 was increased to the 'enormous sum of 577 millions; when they fell to a discount of ' 400 per cent, as compared with silver! Since 1815 the mass of ' assignats has been much diminished and their value has uniform-'ly increased with every diminution of their quantity.\* Can any ' more conclusive proof be required, to show that the value of such ' paper currency as legal tender is always proportioned—other 'things being the same—to the quantity in circulation?'

France affords a still more striking illustration of the effects of over-issue of inconvertible paper. In John Law's time that country had a lesson on this subject, when wide-spread ruin resulted from panic and over-issue combined. There is good reason to believe that the great speculator himself knew the danger of the course which the Regent was pursuing, and would have stopped the out-gushing flood of paper if he had been able.

<sup>\*</sup> A large issue of these notes has been made very recently.

But the apparent ease with which 'money' to any amount could be manufactured was too dazzling a temptation for the Regent, as it has often proved since for wiser men than he. But the Revolutionary Government, in 1791 and the following years, far surpassed their predecessor, the Regent, in the superabundance of their issues, and in the example of depreciation thereby afforded.

Even in 1791 the French assignats had fallen to one third of their nominal value. In September 1792, 2700 millions francs, (more than £130,000,000) had been already issued during three years of peace. Of this only 15 million francs remained in the national Treasury, and the convention ordered a fresh issue. No attention was paid to the rate of discount to which the assignats had fallen, so far as to restrict their issue; but an attempt was made, futile of course, to check the rise of nominal prices which proceeded pari passu with the increase of paper in circulation: and in 1793 it was proposed to

fix a maximum price on all articles of sale.

In spite, however, of this proof of their consciousness of the extent to which depreciation had gone, the convention, on the 7th May 1793, ordered a new issue of assignate to the nominal value of 1200 millions of francs, (£48,000,000). This issue was in addition to 3100 millions (£124,000,000) already in circulation. In the same year, on the proclamation of war, 1000 millions more were struck off, and the total ultimately reached an amount equivalent to £350,000,000, nominally secured on the national domains—the confiscated lands of the aristocracy and the Church. They sank to one-tenth, and soon (in 1795) to one-twentieth of their nominal value. Pichegru, who commanded the Army of the North in that year, drew a nominal pay of 4000f. a month, which he found to be practically equivalent to 200f. The convention took strenuous measures to 'put down' depreciation, decreeing six years imprisonment in irons to any one refusing to receive the assignate at par. They then fell to onehundredth of their nominal value, and soon after to one-twohundred and fiftieth. Twenty years in irons were decreed to creditors refusing payment of their debts in depreciated assignats, and debtors were not slow to avail themselves of such facilities for clearing off their liabilities. On May 16th, 1794, 8,778 millions of francs had been issued, (equivalent to £351,150,000), of which there remained in circulation more than 5000 millions a sum more than equal to three times the combined circulations of England and France, after the currency of the latter had been restored to a healthy condition. But in the beginning of 1796,

the amount in circulation reached £2,000,000,000; and the depreciation was so great that one gold louis sold for 28,000 francs, and a dinner for five or six persons cost 60,000 francs in assignats!

It remains to mention one more disadvantage of paper currency as compared with metallic. The risk of loss by spurious imitations is somewhat greater. The 'ring,' (at least of most European gold and silver coins, which contain an alloy of copper), the weight, the appearance, and the degree of hardness of coins afford a ready test of genuineness, available to the educated and uneducated alike, and, though not infallible, is found to be generally sufficient for practical purposes. With bank-notes the case is different. In Europe, in spite of multiplied and most ingenious precautions against forgery, spurious notes are continually manufactured with such skill as to be undistinguishable from genuine paper by any but those acquainted with the private marks known only to the issuers. The disadvantage of this is obvious: but as skill in counterfeiting coin has, perhaps, advanced to nearly as perfect a state as that of forging bank-notes, the inferiority of paper to coin with reference to injury from spurious imitation, does not rest merely upon the greater liability of the former to be imitated by successful fraud. The amount of loss to the unwary recipient of a forged note may be very much greater than that of the man who unwittingly accepts a bad In England a man can only lose a pound at a sovereign. time through the latter misfortune, while by a forged bank-note he must lose five; and the chances against the 'passing' of five spurious sovereigns to one person are very much more than five times those against passing a five-pound note. The most valuable current coin is the American double-eagle, worth about £4; but a bank-note may be worth thousands.

Again; a false coin must contain a considerable amount of the precious material of the true coin which it personates; while the material of a forged note is comparatively valueless. After a certain number of spurious sovereigns have been successfully uttered—sufficient to replace the cost of presses or other machinery for their manufacture,—each additional coin gives as profit only the difference between its intrinsic value and that of the genuine coin for which it passes—say, 25 per cent. But a forged five-pound note, under similar circumstances, pays nearly cent. per cent. The premium upon production therefore in the one ease is much greater than in the other; the loss to the person defrauded being equal; while the legal penalty is not greater. Multiply this loss by the possible amount of the bank-note—the

value of the highest coin being fixed-and the disadvantage under

which the paper labors becomes very striking.

This disadvantage, we remark, is to be set against the advantage of greater portability which paper possesses over metal. The larger the figure of the note, the greater is its superior portability over the metallic equivalent, but also the greater the risk arising from its use and the consequent disadvantage.

We hope in a future paper to consider the principles on which a well ordered paper currency should be managed—illustrating them from the example of the Bank of England—and to point out the application of these principles to the peculiar circumstances

of India.

ART. II .- 1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

- 2. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London.
- 3. Description of China, Chinese Tartary &c. &c. translated from the French of P. Du Halde, printed by T. Gardner. Bartholomew Close, London: A.D. 1738.
- 4 Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia. By Herman, Adolphe and Robert De Schlagintweit. Vol. 1, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. London: Trübner & Co. 1861.
- 5. A Series of Papers on Mountain & other local attraction in India and its effect on the calculations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. By John H. Pratt M. A. Extracted from the Transactions of the Royal Society for 1854, 1855, 1858 & 1861. Calcutta: 1862.
- 6. Asie Centrale—Recherches sur les Chaines de Montagnes, et la climatologie comparée. Par A de Humboldt. Paris: Gide, Lebaire Editeur, 1843.

IN former numbers of this Periodical\* we have given accounts of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and traced its operations continuously from its commencement in 1800 by Captain Lambton—the Father of Indian Geodesy—to the year 1850, when the Blue Book, containing Colonel Waugh's able analysis of the proceedings of the Survey was published. We entered at length on the long contested question of the relative value of Astronomical Observations in comparison with Trigonometrical, for the basis of an operation of such magnitude as the Topographical delineation of the British Indian Empire. We would, however, again return to this subject, to shew that the

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arguments in favor of Trigonometrical operations are almost as valid in the present advanced stage of Astronomy, as they were of old in the infancy of the Trigonometrical Survey of this country.

There is much that is very tempting and charming in Astronomical observations. They give absolute values of the two important elements Latitude and Longitude, of the place at which they are taken, and it would seem at first sight to be far preferable to employ them to determine the positions which are to become the origins and termini of future Surveys, than to undertake the very tedious and laborious process of connecting these points by Triangulation. They have often an appearance of very great accuracy; numerous repetitions give results which for the most part coincide very closely, and consequently have very small Mathematical 'probable errors'. Under such circumstances, none but a hardened unbeliever would venture to suggest the possibility of the existence of a large actual error, due to some mysterious and unknown cause, which is beyond the ken of the Astronomer, and not subject to his control.

Most persons are agreed that very accurate and satisfactory determinations of latitude may be obtained with ordinary means. In our last notice of the Trigonometrical Survey, we expressed an opinion, which we are now anxious to qualify, that thirty or forty observations with a good sextant ought to determine the latitude certainly within 200 feet of the truth. Granting that the results would be within 200 feet of the value given by the most refined measurements, with the most powerful instruments, they may still be some way off from the truth, for there is a source of error which affects all such observations alike, independently of the instrument by which they may be taken; it ever exists to a greater or less extent, and cannot be eradicated, or even measured with absolute certainty. We mean the tendency of the plumb line to deviate from its normal direction, in consequence of local irregularities in the Earth's crust. The plummet is attracted by mountains, and repelled by oceans, the former by the excess of matter which they bring to bear on it, the latter by the deficiency which results when water takes the place of land. Even on level plains remote from hills and seas, deflection exists when the rocks and strata below are of unequal densities, on opposite sides of the plummet.

In the memorable experiment which was made at the mountain of Schiehallien, in Perthshire, for the purpose of measuring the amount of its attraction on the plumb line, the meridional distance of two stations on opposite sides of the mountain was

found to be 4364.4 feet, or 42".9, as computed by a process of triangulation, while by Astronomical observations it was apparently 54".6 or 5554.7 feet. The difference, amounting to more than one-fourth of the entire distance, is wholly attributable to the Astronomical observations, the plumb line at the station on the south of the hill being attracted northwards, while at the opposite station it was attracted southwards, thus causing the Astronomical arc to be larger than the Terrestrial by the sum of the deflections. Half this quantity is the mean effect of the mountain in disturbing the plumb line at either station, but whether the attraction is greater at one than the other, and by what amount, are questions which are undeterminable with absolute accuracy, and probably will ever remain to baffle and perplex the Geodesist.

A contour survey can give the magnitude of the superficial irregularities, and assign their relative excess or defect in the neighbourhood of each plumb line, but it is also necessary, for a complete solution of the amount of attraction, to know the density, not only of the superficial masses, but also of the subjacent

strata, to a depth far beyond the reach of the Geologist.

Thus even the determination of latitude is not so easy a problem as appears at first sight;—Archdeacon Pratt tells us in his able investigations of the effects of attraction on the operations of the Trigonometrical Survey, that the whole of India may be as much as half a mile north of the position assigned it on the maps of the Survey. At Kalianpur the origin of latitudes, where it was necessary to make Astronomical observations, and refer the operations to the faithless zero of an erratic plumb line, the Archdeacon has shown that the probable error caused by the Himalayas is one fourth of a mile, and by the Ocean about one sixth, which may be increased by variations of density in the strata below. He demonstrates that it affects all the triangulation and the maps in an equal degree, and consequently the whole of the relative distances are correct, which would be very far from being the case if they had been based on Astronomical observations instead of Trigonometrical.

If we now turn to the subject of longitudes, we find a far wider margin allowed for possible inaccuracies. But even here the difficulties of the operations are in general greatly underrated. There is scarcely a Ship-Captain but believes that with a few sextant observations of lunar distances he can find his longitude whenever he pleases within five miles, and is inclined to ascribe to his lunar observations the successful guiding of his ship to

port, which is due in far greater measure to his older allies, the lead and look-out. Like the man who maintained that nothing was easier than to predict eclipses, for one had but to take them out of the almanae, he will say 'what is the difficulty? one has but 'to compare his lunar observations, after they have undergone 'certain well known corrections, with the data which are given 'ready to hand in the Nautical Almanae, to obtain the requisite 'longitude'. Granting that the observations are perfectly accurate, which is highly improbable, the errors of the Almanae have still to be taken into consideration, and that they are not small, may be more clearly understood from the following example of their practical operation, than from any further explanation.

The longitudes observed at Lake Memphramagog in 1845 by the Royal Engineers sent out to determine the boundary between the United States of America, and British Canada were as follows, in terms of the data given in the Nautical Almanac for that year.

August	14th	4 н.	48 м.	26.86
,,	15th	4 ,,	48 ,,	38.07
,,	16th	4 ,,	48 ,,	24.58
,,	$17  ext{th}$	4 ,,	48 ,,	26.97
,,	20th	4 ,,	48 ,,	7.53
	Mean	4.	48.	24.80

After correction for the presumed errors of Nautical Almanac as determined by observations at Greenwich, taken on the dates in question, these values become.

August	14th	4 н.	48 м.	38.17
"	15th	,,	,,	53.07
,,	16th	"	,,	35.86
"	17th	,,	"	48.25
"	20th	"	"	23.51
	Mean	4	48	39.77

Showing a difference of 15 seconds in time which is nearly equivalent to 4 miles, on the parallel of Madras, and arises from causes entirely beyond the control of the observer.

There is even said to be a doubt of 1" in the difference of longitude between the splendid and long established Observatories of Paris and Greenwich, for the re-determination of which special Trigonometrical operations are now on foot.

'There is nothing new under the sun'. More than a century and half ago, a few French Jesuits who had settled in China with

the laudable object of converting the inhabitants of that vast empire to Christianity, managed to impress the Emperor Kanghi, with the accuracy and advantages of the European methods of mapping, and were consequently engaged by him to construct maps of all the provinces of his empire. Animated by the hopes of securing the protection of the Emperor, 'which was necessary to favor the progress of Christianity,' the Jesuit fathers set to work most rigorously and conscientiously, adopting, after due consideration, the method of triangles in preference to any other.

Our readers will not require us to apologize for placing before them the following brief description of this grand undertaking, which Père Regis, writing in the commencement of the 18th century, rightly called 'the greatest geographical work that ever

was performed according to the rules of art'.

Our extracts are taken from the account sent by the Father to France in the name of the Missionaries who were associated with him, as given in the preface to Père Du Halde's work on China, in the English translation which is quoted at the head of this article.

'I can assure you', says he, 'that we have omitted nothing re'quisite for rendering our work perfect. We have ourselves
'visited all the places, even those of least consideration, through'out the Provinces; examined the maps and histories of each
'city preserved in their tribunals; made enquiries of the Man'darins and their Officers, as well as the principal inhabitants,
'whose territories we passed through; in short, by measuring as
'we advanced, we still had measures ready to serve the Trian-

'gles, formed by such points as were to be fixed.

'For after mature deliberation we thought it best to use the method of triangles, all others appearing to us not only too tedious, considering the vast extent of the countries, of which the Emperor wanted the map, but scarcely practicable on account of the towns being so near one another, since it is certain that the least error, occasioned by the pendulum going wrong, or the immersion of one of Jupiter's Satellites not being accurately observed, would cause a considerable error in the longitude: for instance, the mistake of a minute in time would produce an error of 15 minutes in longitude, which are equivalent to four or five leagues according to the difference of the parallels: so that it might happen, that according to the observation, two towns would be made contiguous, at the same time that there would be really some distance, though not much, between them.

'This inconvenience is not to be feared in the method of triangles: for how is it possible to err four leagues in the distance between two places no farther asunder, when by a measure that always follows us, and semi-circles accurately divided, we fix divers points between the two terms, which joined together make as it were a chain of triangles? On the other hand, nothing is so difficult as to avoid a small error in time; the best pendulums are put out of order by travelling, and to prevent erring, even in a single minute, the observations must be repeated several days; a task which would be extreme-

'ly fatiguing.

'The observations of the Satellites require not only more 'time and accuracy, but also Telescopes of the same size, and, 'if I may so speak, the same eyes in the observer, and his corres-'pondent; for, if the one sees them ever so little sooner than the other some error will inevitably happen, which must not be 'suffered in determining small distances. And if observations of a Satellite, made in the same place, by the same person, 'differ so in time as to cause a small variation in the longitudes, 'and oblige us to take a middle difference among them (supposing 'the difference to become insensible by the greatness of the dis-'tance) the results will be still more uncertain when there are 'several observers, who have neither the same instruments nor 'address; so that the difference arising between the observations, 'renders the position of places lying near one another doubtful, 'nor can it be fixed but by the rules of Geometry, which shews 'the necessity of having recourse to the method of triangles at last.

'This method when continued without interruption, has one farther advantage, as it gives not only the longitude, but also the latitude of the towns to be inserted; which being afterwards examined by the Meridian altitudes of the sun or Polar stars, serves to correct the preceding operations. This course we took as often as we were able, and commonly found no sensible difference between the observation of the latitude, and the determination by triangles. If sometimes we discovered variations, we did not think ourselves thereby obliged to lay aside this method, since we find as many in the observations of the Polar altitudes, made by the best Astronomer in the same place. Although the theory, whereon such observations are grounded, is certain, nevertheless the practice depends on so many little circumstances, which must all be attended to in order to obtain perfect accuracy, that the operations cannot

'be always exact, but must vary something more or less. How-'ever, these little defects always appear, and may be often cor-'rected in large works, by connecting the points fixed by Trigo-'nometry with those whose position is under examination.

'Another method which we judged ought to be employed for great precision was to return to the same point, already determined, by different ways, from a considerable distance, working according to rules. For if by the last essay you find the same situation, the exactness of the preceding operations will be proved in some measure to a demonstration. When in measuring we could not return to the same point, our method was, as we passed near the great towns already marked down, or other fit places, to look out for the remarkable towns or mountains that commanded them; and from time to time we measured to see if the distance, resulting from the operations (when correct-

'ed) agreed with the actual measures.

'All these precautions and many more, too tedious to enumerate, 'appeared to us necessary when executing a work in a manner 'worthy the trust reposed in us by a wise Prince, who judged it ' of the greatest importance to his state. Moreover, the hopes of 'meriting his protection, which was necessary to favor the pro-'gress of Christianity in his empire, supported us amidst those 'dangers and crosses that are unavoidable by those who have to 'do with such a variety of tempers, and are engaged in so labo-'rious an undertaking: nay, we were willing for our own satis-'faction, to have repaired again both to the Eastern and Western 'Frontiers, as well as to some places within the kingdom, situated 'at convenient distances, there to examine the longitudes by re-'peated observations of eclipses; but as the work was finished, and the Emperor appeared satisfied with it, we did not think it 'proper to engage him in a new, and not altogether necessary We therefore contented ourselves with observations of 'the moon and satellites of Jupiter made before our time in several 'cities by members of our society, though we rejected a few because they did not agree with our measures on account of some small 'error as to time in the observation, which but too often happens to the most experienced. Not but that we ourselves observed 'some eclipses of the moon, and found no other difference in our 'observations than is usual in such cases; where we had any doubt we chose the mean difference.

'Thus having first made use of the method of triangles for determining the distances between the several cities, and afterwards compared it with that of eclipses observed in places,

remote from Pekin, we flatter ourselves that we have followed the surest course; and even the only one practicable in prosecuting the greatest Geographical work that ever was per-

'formed according to the rules of art.'

The Surveys of the Fathers extended from the Eastern frontier of the Chinese Empire as far west as the meridian of Pegu, embracing the Provinces of Yunnan, Szuchuan, and the rest of China proper, and the portion of Eastern Tartary lying between the Chinese frontier and the Saghalian Ula or River Amoor. map of Korea was met with in the palace of the king of that country, which on examination was found to be so accurate that it was incorporated by the Fathers into their own survey without revision, -a singular circumstance, suggestive of a higher civilization in Korea than at Pekin, for we are led to believe that it was the want of a map of the country around Pekin which prompted the Jesuits to construct one in order to excite the interest of the Emperor, and obtain his favor and support by inducing him to employ them in making a survey of the whole of his dominions. It is to these operations, executed nearly a century and a half ago, that we owe our present admirable maps of China, which are a source of surprise to all who are ignorant of their origin, and only know how jealously Europeans have been excluded from the interior of the Empire. There, or at least in China proper, there is no terra incognita to reward future explorers. The recent enterprising expedition of Colonel Sarel and Captain Blakiston up the River Yang-tse-Kiang, which has afforded so much valuable information on numerous subjects, has not, we believe, made any additions to our knowledge of Chinese geography; the noble river up which they ascended, and the chief cities and towns on its banks, being mapped out in their chart pretty much as it was mapped by the Jesuits 150 years ago. We trust that at no very distant date the officers of the Trigonometrical Survey of India will be able to connect their triangles with those of the Jesuit Fathers.

When we last reviewed the operations of the Survey, we stated that on the completion of the great meridional series of triangles which extends from Cape Comorin to the Dehra Dhoon, and is now well known in the scientific world as the Great Arc of India, being the longest and probably the most accurate of the several arcs which have been measured in various parts of the world to determine the figure of the earth, the Survey establishments were deputed to execute series of triangles on successive meridians eastwards from the great Arc, at distances of about one degree

apart, as far as the meridian of Calcutta. These triangulations emanate from a longitudinal\* series which had been carried eastwards from the Seronj base line in Central India to Calcutta, in the years 1826-32, before Colonel Everest revised and extended the great Arc. This series was executed with rapidity through a wild and difficult tract of country, at an insignificant cost, barely one fourth the ordinary expense of such operations. Unfortunately the only instruments then available were of a secondary order. the system of operations was deficient in rigor and accuracy, and very inferior to what was subsequently introduced by Colonel Everest, which is much to be regretted, because all the meridional series between the great Arc and Calcutta are necessarily based on it, and their final values cannot be determined until the Calcutta longitudinal series has been revised. The late Hon'ble Court of Directors authorized the revision to be undertaken as soon as the triangulation had been well advanced over the rest of India.

The last of the meridional series between Calcutta and the great Arc, to the north of the longitudinal series, was completed in 1852; and now the greater portion of the Trigonometrical operations to the west of the great Arc, the axis of Indian Geography, are finished. A western longitudinal series extends from Seronj to Karachi in continuation of the Calcutta longitudinal are; a north west Himalayan series from Dehra Dhoon to Attok; and the Indus series from Attok to Karachi, following the course of the frontier of our Indian empire towards Persia and Affghanistan. These, with the great Arc, form a vast quadrilateral figure at whose four corners base lines have been measured with the set of compensating bars and microscopes which was constructed on the model of the apparatus invented by Colonel Colby for the measurement of the base lines of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, and brought out from England by Colonel Everest in 1830.

The bases at Dehra Dhoon and Seronj were measured by Colonel Everest in the course of the great Arc; those at Attok and Karachi in the seasons 1853-54 and 54-55 by Colonel Waugh.

The western longitudinal series was commenced at the close of 1848 by Captain Renny Tailyour B. E., assisted by Captain Strange of the Madras Cavalry. After having successfully started the work, Captain Tailyour returned to his duties at the head quarters of the Surveyor General, leaving Captain Strange to go

<sup>\*</sup> So called because it is carried in an east and west direction, and measures the distance between successive meridians of longitude.

on with the triangulation. Great difficulties were met with in the course of these operations; first, the Arabulli range, formidable for its ruggedness rather than its height, had to be crossed, and afterwards the extensive salt desert which intervenes between those mountains and the Indus, and forms the northern flank of the Runn of Cutch.

Captain Strange describes the Arabulli mountains as 'an ex-'tensive tract, having a general north and south direction composed of ridges and peaks which though attaining no elevation greater perhaps than 5,500 feet above the sea, yet exhibit in 'the details that compose them all the boldest features of the ' most stupendous mountain scenery. The traveller at the end 'of his day's journey attains perhaps an elevation but little ' greater than that from whence he departed; but he has in its ' course more than once ascended with great labor high acclivities only to plunge again and again through dense forests and 'across rugged beds of mountain torrents into precipitous valleys 'of equal depth. In many parts of this very peculiar tract 'where but slight communication and no traffic exists, it may be said that there are no roads whatever. Nothing meets the 'eye but vast blocks of granite towering aloft, and jungles almost impenetrable obstruct every step. The habitations of ' men are seldom met with, and man himself as here found ' roams a lawless savage.

' In addition to the physical difficulties presented by the Ara-' bulli mountains, the impediments were enhanced by the unwil-' lingness of the inhabitants to render assistance. Great inter-' ruptions would have been experienced from this cause but for 'the services of a native officer of the Meywar Bheel Corps, 'Subadar Chutter Tewaree, who was obligingly deputed by his 'commanding officer Captain Brooke to accompany Captain 'Strange. Having been long and extensively employed in recruiting from the Bheel population, and in promoting order ' and civilization among them, he had been recognized as a bene-'factor to whom they readily on all occasions accorded obe-'dience. His influence was extraordinary, and a word from him 'always sufficed to collect strong gangs of carriers, when no

' persuasion from any one else was listened to.'

The tract crossed by the triangulation between the Arabulli mountains and the Indus comprises three distinct kinds of ground :-

First, a succession of gentle sandy undulations dotted with thick stunted jungle, appertaining chiefly to the Jodhpore and Palampur states;—thinly populated and but little cultivated, with a scanty supply of water, which is only to be found in wells of great depth, and is usually brackish, this is altogether a miserable country, and is described by Capt. Strange as 'in-

teresting only from its physical deficiencies.'

Next comes the Desert, commonly known among the natives as the Thur; it is throughout composed of sand hills whose general form is long straight ridges, which seldom unite but stand at close and regular intervals parallel to each other; like the ripple on the sea shore. Some of them are perhaps a mile long and vary from 50 to 300 feet in height, their sides being deeply channelled by rain and their general appearance from a distance differing little from that of ordinary low hills. There is more jungle than might be expected, but it is low and almost leafless. The whole desert in the cold season is clothed with grass, and is then much resorted to for pasturage by herdsmen. The population is scanty, the villages small and far apart, consisting merely of a few conical huts, scarcely a man's height, which are rudely

constructed of twigs and grass.

Where the desert ends, the plains of Sind begin, and the transition is surprisingly sudden. In a space of one hundred yards, the traveller leaves sands and dunes, and the stunted vegetation of the desert, and enters a perfectly flat country with a firm, black loamy soil, Inhabitants, customs, language, and vegetation are exchanged with the same strange, startling abruptness. soil is hard and grassless. Jungle is plentiful and thick, the country populous and well cultivated, and intersected in every direction by irrigation canals. Such a country is, however, very much more difficult for Trigonometrical operations than the preceding inhospitable tracts of sand hills and undulations. In them the chief difficulty was to provide food and water for the officers and men employed. But depots for grain and other supplies were established at various places, and replenished periodically from Deesa and Hydrabad; and the water of the desert, though brackish and most unpleasant, was drinkable without any deleterious effects. The sand hills afforded excellent stations for the Trigonometrical operations, being just sufficiently high to overtop the lower murky strata of the atmosphere, and not too high to make their ascent a matter of difficulty. They only needed the construction of a small pillar and platform of masonry to mark the site of Scarcely a single ray had to be cleared to open the view between the Stations at its extremities. And thus the operations proceeded without check or hindrance, and with greater

rapidity than had ever previously been attained in any part of

the Trigonometrical Survey.

But when the convenient sand hills were passed, and the plains of Sind were reached, it became necessary to construct towers for stations of observation. Most of our readers are probably aware that the limited distance at which ordinary objects are visible on a plain is due to the curvature of the earth. we walk over a perfectly level plain away from an object twenty four feet high, we find that at the distance of six miles, only as much of it will be visible as equals the height of the observer's eye above the ground. The height which it is necessary to give a tower, to overtop the earth's curvature for any given distance, is determined by the well known rule, that it must equal, in feet, two thirds of the square of the distance, in miles. The towers of the Trigonometrical Survey are usually made from 24 to 30 feet in height; thus each has a command of about six miles, and they are consequently mutually visible at double that distance, when there is nothing but the curvature to be surmounted. Other obstacles must be removed, or overtopped by increasing the height of the towers.

These structures consist of a central pillar of brick and mortar tapering upwards to a diameter of three to four feet at top, on which the Theodolite employed for the principal triangulation is rested. A mass of masonry of unburnt bricks cemented with clay is erected, so as to afford a platform of about twelve by sixteen feet on a level with the top of the pillar, to give room for the Observatory tent, and the heliotropers who are required to flash to and arouse the signallers at the adjacent stations. The summit is reached by a substantial flight of steps. The central pillar is separated from the surrounding platform by an annulus, in order that the instrument may be unaffected by the movements of the observer and his attendants. The pillar is perforated vertically to allow a plummet suspended from its summit to be adjusted over the markstone, which is fixed in its base at the ground level, lest the tower should become accidentally

deflected.

These structures cost on an average only Rs. 250 each, or 10 Rupees for every foot in height, but the time occupied in the selection of suitable sites, and afterwards in the erection of the towers, and in carefully clearing the rays between them of all obstacles, causes much delay, and greatly impedes the operations. Progress is further retarded by the bad signals which are presented on all sides to the observer; being so close to the ground

their rays are most irregularly refracted in all directions, lateral as well as vertical, during their passage through the thick dust and vapours in the lower strata of the atmosphere. Under such circumstances the measurement of the angles proceeds very slowly, and numerous repetitions are entailed. Captain Strange, whose progress over the Arabulli mountains and across the desert had been a series of successes, encountered his first check on the plains of Sind, being delayed at one station no less than twenty-five days, in taking a set of observations similar to what had rarely occupied him as many hours on the sand hills of the desert.

West of the Indus, the triangulation again reached a hilly tract of country, and then advanced with rapidity to Karachi, where, in the month of April 1853, it was brought to a termination on Colonel Waugh's base line. The field operations thus occupied five seasons in all; they comprise 173 principal triangles arranged in quadrilateral or polygonal figures in order that each link of the chain of triangles may be self-verificatory. The average triangular error was 0".79 or about eight-tenths of a second. Numerous secondary triangles were measured, and the positions of all the principal places in the vicinity of the operations were fixed.

The extent of the measured arc of longitude is 10 ° 37′, equivalent to 668 miles in length, and the area covered by the principal and the secondary triangles is 20,323 square miles, the average cost per square mile being Rs. 6-13. The operations involved 117 principal stations, of which only twenty-two were towers, or the expense of the operations, and the time they would have occupied, must necessarily have been considerably greater.

At Kurachi, Lieut. Tennant took a series of observations for latitude with one of the large Astronomical circles brought out from England by Col. Everest for the great Arc, and a set of azimuthal observations on circumpolar stars with the great

Theodolite.

The Astronomical latitude of Karachi
Observatory on Bath Island thus deduced is
The computed value brought up from
Kalianpoor Observatory near Seronj is

24°49′49″-27

24°49′50″-15

Difference 0'88

The Astronomical azimuth of referring mark is 179°59'57".43

That brought up from Kalianpoor is ... 179° 59'57".74

Difference

0.31

The small differences between the Astronomical and computed values indicate that, whatever may be the deviation of the plumb line at Kalianpoor in Central India, it is deflected by nearly the same amount at Karachi on the Sea coast.

The N. W. Himalaya series was commenced at a side of the great Arc near Dehra Dhoon in the season 1847-48 by Major Du Vernet of the Madras Army. The following year an insurrection broke out in the Saon or Jaswan Dhoon, which drove the whole party from the field. Major Du Vernet with a large theodolite narrowly escaped capture, and one of the sub-assistants was made a prisoner by the rebels, who plundered his property and destroyed his instruments; he was marched off bound to the Rajah of Amb, but after eight days was released by a detachment sent for his rescue. The rebellion was soon extinguished and operations were resumed. Two years afterwards they were again stopped because the Maharajah of Kashmir took umbrage at the occupation of the Mountain of Trikote as a survey station on the plea of its being sacred.

Thus the principal triangulation progressed somewhat slowly, but a large amount of secondary triangulation was executed to lay down the positions of the hill peaks and the chief towns of

the Jullundur and Baree Doab and the Cis-Sutlej states.

Simultaneously a topographical survey of the Himalayas was commenced in connexion with the triangulation, being the first time that the members of this survey were ever employed in filling in the details of the ground they had covered with their triangles. These interesting operations were originated under the superintendence of Major Du Vernet, who had been long employed in the topography of Hydrabad and other parts of the Madras Presidency. In the six years between 1848 and 1854, a map of the belt of hills between the Ganges and the Beas River, and the parallels 31 and 33 of latitude, was completed on the scale of four miles to one inch. It has been recently published in degree sheets, lithographed in colors in the office of the Surveyor General, Calcutta, and is now available to the public.

While Major Du Vernet was employed in topography, the triangulation of the N. W. Himalaya series was extended to Attok by Mr. Geo. Logan, who had recently completed the North East longitudinal series, through the Terai at the base of the

eastern Himalayas, under circumstances of very great difficulty, owing to the unhealthy nature of the tract of country passed through. Mr. Logan's principal triangulation reached Attok in 1853, supplying the requisite elements for the Topographical Surveys of the Rawul Pindi and Jhelum districts, and the northern Trans-Indus frontier, which were commenced in connexion with the Trigonometrical Survey, shortly after the

annexation of the Punjab.

The N. W. Himalaya series consists of seventy seven principal triangles arranged in quadrilaterals and polygons, extending over a direct distance of 416 miles. The triangulation, principal and secondary, embraces an area of 33,000 square miles, including snow peaks, and was executed at a cost of Rs. 3-5 per square mile. The stations being all on hills or high mounds, no towers had to be constructed, and the cost of the work per square mile was much diminished by the large areas included in the triangles to the snow peaks. The area topographically surveyed was 33,700

square miles, at a cost of Rs 3-10 per square mile.

The Indus series extends from Attok to Karachi, and is 706 miles in length, the longest of any series of this Survey from base line to base line. Its extremities rest on the hills of Lower Sind and of the Rawul Pindi and Bunnoo districts. But the Soolimani Range to which the triangulation runs parallel, was inaccessible for political reasons. Even the Tukhti Sooliman, the fabled throne of the 'weary King Ecclesiast', whose summits survey a vast extent of country hitherto untrodden by Europeans, the surveyors were reluctantly obliged to turn away from, and leave the frontier without attempting to visit. The Trigonometrical stations had to be restricted for a distance of about 470 miles to the flat and monotonous plains bordering the river Indus, which are rarely relieved by an undulation, or a mound suitable for the Triangulation.

It thus became necessary to construct towers at no less than 113 out of the 148 principal stations, and to clear 230 sides of triangles, whose united length amount to upwards of 2400 miles. The observations were almost entirely taken with the great Theodolite constructed by Messrs. Troughton and Simms for Colonel Everest. Each angle was measured on five zeros 'face right,' and the same number 'face left', three repetitions being taken on each zero; the instrument having five horizontal microscopes, the value of each angle was thus obtained from fifty measures on equidistant parts of the limb, 7° 12' apart. There are in all 205 triangles arranged in self-verificatory quadrilaterals

and polygons;—their average triangular error is 0".47. The area embraced by the principal and secondary operations is about 35,000 square miles, and the cost Rupees 9-4-0 per square mile.

In connection with the Indus series, a set of levelling operations with the spirit level was instituted with a view to determine the heights of the base lines of the Trigonometrical Survey with accuracy. Values of height had already been approximately afforded by the vertical observations between the principal stations of the triangulation. But such a method of levelling, though susceptible of a high degree of accuracy in a hilly or mountainous region, is beset with many difficulties in a flat coun-For it is evident that an object to be correctly observed must first be truly seen. But when both object and observer are low down or only slightly raised, the rays of light they interchange graze the surface of the ground, and traverse a medium which is subject to many variations, being sometimes dense and heavy with moisture, at other times rarified by the heat radiated at mid-day from the surface of the ground. Thus the apparent position of the object varies within wide limits, according as the soil is dry or moist, barren or cultivated, baked by the sun or chilled by night dews; the rays of light being generally refracted more or less upwards, because the denser strata of the atmosphere are usually lowermost, though for a few hours before and after noon, if there are no clouds, the heated ground rarifies the strata of air in its immediate proximity, the denser strata then float some feet above, and rays of light passing below them are necessarily bent downwards and have their paths concave to the ground; the refraction is then called negative.

The following extract from a set of vertical observations taken in the Sind Saugor Doab with one of the great instruments of the Trigonometrical Survey, will serve to show how distant objects, seen over a plain, rise and fall to an extent that is probably little imagined. At the tower of Nar thirty feet high (lat 32° 27'; longitude 73° 19';) the observations to the station

of Goonia, distant	10.53	miles	were as	follows:-			
Date	Hour		Vertical		Angles		
					0	1	11
22nd November	1855	2-35	(P. M.)	Depression	0	5	45.6
		2-48	,,	,,	0	5	34.5
		3-5	,,	,,	0	5	32.1
		3-37	,,	,,	0	5	25.2
		4-30	,,	,,	0	4	52.6
		10.50		evation	0	2	240

Here the signal rose 20', equivalent to 5.4 feet between 2h. 35m. and 3h. 37m; 33", or 8.9 feet in the following interval of 53 minutes, and. 7'17" or 117.8 feet in the next 6½ hours; the total observed change of altitude being equivalent to 132 feet,

during little more than eight consecutive hours!

The law is invariably the same; objects are seen at a minimum elevation between 1 and 3 o'clock P. M; they then rise, at first gradually, afterwards very rapidly as the sun sinks and the dew begins to fall, attaining a maximum elevation when the air is most saturated with moisture, which is usually before day-break. As the sun rises the phenomena are repeated in the reverse order, and the object sinks, rapidly at first, but more slowly as the time of minimum refraction approaches. The limits between which the oscillation takes place will of course vary with the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, the nature of the soil, whether favorable or not to the deposition of dew, the heat of the sun's rays, and the aspect of the sky, whether clear or cloudy.

A few feet of difference in the height of a station of observation on the plains have a great effect on these phenomena. The nearer the rays of light are to the ground the greater and more irregular is the range through which they are refracted. Grazing rays are therefore always objectionable. often impossible to avoid them without a more minute reconnaissance of the ground to be triangulated than is for other reasons allowable. Usually the survey stations in the plains are from eleven to twelve miles apart, at which distance, when raised twenty-four feet above the ground level, they become just high enough to overtop the curvature of the earth, to which the line joining their summits will be a tangent. The instrument and signal stand five feet high on the towers, and thus their mutual rays of light pass on an average five feet over the ground midway, sometimes well above, at other times grazing so closely as to be liable to the extremes of positive and negative refraction. The following figures show how the refraction varies with the height of the rays. Futti station (latitude 31°52'; longitude 73° 32';) consecutive observations were taken to the signal on the Moogoo tower, and to an auxiliary signal erected perpendicularly over the other at a distance of 16.53 feet. The towers being 10.74 miles apart, the two signals should have subtended an angle of 60"1; but their apparent subtenses were as follows:-

7th February 1856. at 2h. 33 m. P.M. 73.9 2 43 ,, 69.8 4 16 ,, 58.1 7th February 1856. at 4h. 33m. p.m. 48'9

shewing that when the day was hottest the negative refraction in the lower ray combined with the positive in the upper to exaggerate the apparent distance of the signals, while towards sunset the excess of positive refraction in the lower ray over that in the upper produced the opposite effect. On another occasion two signals similarly adjusted, and having a true subtense of 49"5, appeared to subtend at sunset on an evening after long continued dry hazy weather, an angle of 16 '5, and at sunset of the next day after a fall of rain 35"6.

Wherever the heat, radiated from the surface of the ground, is capable of rarifying the air immediately incumbent on it, there must necessarily be a stratum of the atmosphere floating at some height above, through which rays of light will pass in straight lines, while on either side they will be bent upwards or downwards.

Thus for a short interval daily, near the time of maximum heat, a distant signal, whose rays graze the ground, will appear in its true position, unrefracted as a zenith star. This is the time of minimum refraction. If the exact moment of its occurrence could be predicted, one of the Geodesist's greatest difficulties would cease, and Astronomers might envy the freedom of his observations from refraction. But the time is rendered variable and uncertain by causes innumerable. A cloud before the sun will cause an object dimly visible in the horizon to start up, sharply and well defined, over all intermediate objects, only to sink down again and perhaps disappear altogether, when 'the wind passeth and cleanseth' the cloud, and the 'bright light' behind again exerts its influence. At this time moreover the air is not in the state of calm repose which comes on towards sunset, but is boiling and seething under the sun's rays, thus giving distant objects an appearance of dancing wildly up and down, and often of gyrating in circles. A signal formed by reflecting the light of the sun from a mirror through a disk of only one inch aperture, which at the distance of ten miles appears no larger than a star when the atmosphere is calm, may be seen magnified nearly a thousand times in the heat of the day, the rays being repeatedly reflected and refracted through the dancing vapours, until they form an apparent column of fire completely concealing the tower on which they are exhibited and often rising to double its height!

Enough has been stated to show the difficulties which beset

vertical triangulation over the plains of India and the sources of inaccuracy to which it is liable. Great as they are, it is now known that they can be practically overcome by the system, first introduced by Colonel Waugh, of taking vertical angles between 1 and 3 p. m. the hours which limit the period of minimum refraction. But until the Trigonometrical levels had been rigorously tested by a series of spirit levels, they were a source of much anxiety and uncertainty, because, if erroneous, the lengths of the base lines and of all operations emanating therefrom would be affected. The heights of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain are all based on spirit levels, though that survey has peculiar facilities for checking its levels by reference to the sea, from which no part of England is more than ninety miles distant. In this country, on the contrary, the triangulation extends over a distance of upwards of 2000 miles from sea to sea, without ex-

ternal check of any kind.

Thus the measurement of lines of independent verificatory Spirit Levels became a necessity for the Indian survey. They were commenced on the Indus series, and in two field seasons were carried up to Attok, from the mean sea level of Karachi, which was determined in the Manora Harbour, by a set of tidal observations extending over two semilunations. Numerous precautions were adopted to guard against cumulative and accidental errors on so long a line of operations. The instruments were large and of superior construction, and fitted with delicate levels furnished with finely divided scales on which the deflection of the instrument from horizontality was measured, and a correction applied, as with Astronomical instruments, in preference to the usual method of attempting to correct by hand. The staves were invariably set up at equal distances from the instruments. They were divided on both sides, one painted white with black divisions numbered from 0 to 10 feet, the other black with white divisions from 5.55 to 15.55, in order to check accidental errors of reading; for the successive readings on the two faces should differ by the constant quantity 5.55, so that it is impossible to make the same mistake in both readings, and any error is immediately shown up by the difference in the results obtained from the two sets of faces. As an additional check two observers were invariably employed on the same line, each with his own instrument and staves, one following the other at a convenient distance, station by station.

These operations have now connected the base lines at Attok, Dehra Dhoon, and Seronj with the sea, and have satisfactorily established the fact that heights deduced from Trigonometrical verticals rigorously observed with regard to the time of minimum refraction, are not liable either to large or cumulative error. Thus from the Sea at Karachi to Attok, 706 miles, the Trigonometrical height is +1011.36 feet The levelled height is +1014.60 feet ... From Attok to Dehra Dhoon, 416 miles. The

Trigonometrical difference of height is ... + 948.11 feet The levelled ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... From Dehra Dhoon to Seronj, 429 miles, the The levelled + 943.05 feet

Trigonometrical difference of height is ... — 430·10 feet The levelled .. - 428·30 feet And from Seronj to Karachi, 669 miles. The

... —1531·36 feet Trigonometrical difference of height is ... ... —1529·35 feet The deduced levelled difference On the other hand, there are errors of from 70 to 115 feet in the Trigonometrical heights which were measured before the necessity for limiting the observations to the time of minimum refraction was discovered.

The spirit levelling operations of the Survey are now being employed to connect together all the different lines of levels executed in this country by Canal and Railway Engineers, which will thus be reduced to the mean sea level as their common datum. This very desirable measure was recommended by the late Special Cholera Commission, because in their recent visits to various Military stations in the Punjab and N. W. Provinces, they had found much difficulty in forming a correct opinion as to the merits of existing or proposed works for drainage or water supply, on account of the absence of systematic sets of levels. The suggestions of the commission met with the approval of Government, and orders have been issued for the connexion of levels over the whole of India. The fact is singular, but not wholly uncharacteristic of Anglo-India, that a Geodesical undertaking of such interest and importance and such vast dimensions, should have its origin in a source which would seem to be so utterly incapable of affinity or alliance with Geodesy as Cholera.

The Kashmir Triangulation\* originates on a side of the North West Himalaya series, between Sealkote and Goordaspore. It was commenced in the Spring of 1855 by Captain Montgo-

<sup>\*</sup> We are indebted to the unpublished reports of Colonel Sir Andrew Waugh and Capt. Montgomerie, for much of the information which we are able to give on the subject of the Kashmir Survey.

merie of the Bengal Engineers, whose name has been so often before the public of late years in connexion with the interesting and extensive operations entrusted to his superintendence, which embrace not only the triangulation but also the topography of Kashmir and Ladak, and of the whole tract of mountains between the British frontier and Chinese Turkestan.

The Instrument employed in the principal triangulation was a 14 inch Theodolite by Troughton and Simms, the largest of the class of instruments suited for being carried over the stupendous

Himalayan ranges.

In the first season the Pir Punjal was crossed under circumstances of great difficulty, the two stations thereon being respectively 15,000, and 13,000 feet high, and the range itself being liable to heavier falls of snow, and more constant clouds and mists than the inner and higher mountains, because it receives in the first instance and arrests the greater portion of the moisture which southerly winds exhale from the Indian ocean to deposit on the summits of the Himalayas. Thus at one station no less than twenty two days elapsed before all the necessary observations were completed, the party engaged thereon being exposed to the most inclement weather, and harassed by constant snow storms accompanied by incessant and severe electrical disturbances, necessitating the carrying about of a portable lightning conductor for the observatory tent. Unusual difficulty was experienced on the snow peaks in building the masonry station pillars. The highest part of the snow was not always over the highest part of the rock. Several shafts had to be sunk in the snow before the true summits could be found. Building material had to be dug out, and the snow had to be melted to slake the lime used for mortar.

The first season's triangulation having been laid out, arrangements were made to form a Topographical party to fill in the details of the triangles. Owing to the small establishments of the Survey, the difficulty of obtaining uncovenanted assistants on account of the competition of other departments of the state created by the recent commencement of Railways and Telegraphs, the sudden increase of public works, and other causes, combined with the length of time consumed in training young hands, and the difficulty of retaining them when trained, application was made to Government for the services of three or four Officers of the Quarter Master General's Department to survey Kashmir during the summer months, returning to their regular duties in the cold season, when field operations in Kashmir are

not practicable. Three Officers were accordingly appointed to the Survey, and they rendered most valuable assistance during the field season of 1856.

The next year the exigencies of the service did not admit of their return to the Survey. One of them Captain Lumsden, was deputed to join the mission to Kandahar, under his brother the well known commandant of the gallant Guide Corps. The others were actively employed with the troops engaged in subduing the mutiny. Their places were supplied by Officers who were permanently attached to the Department, and have ever since remained with it.

Although the splendid climate of Kashmir and Ladak, added to the special interest attaching to those countries and the adjoining unexplored tracts, make the Survey deservedly a great attraction, still the exposure of surveying in such tracts is very trying to the constitution, and many persons suffer from it. The solar radiation at high altitudes is very great, as was shown and to some extent measured by Professor Piazzi Smyth in his astronomical experiments on the Island of Teneriffe. At the height of 9,000 feet the mercury in his radiation thermometer rose above 178°, the graduated length of the scale, and accumulated to an unknown extent in the bulb at the end of the tube, the Professor estimating that on one occasion it would have reached 212° had the tube been long enough. The radiation increases as the altitude increases and the temperature diminishes.

Under such circumstances, the labor of climbing great elevations is much increased, as has often been noticed by explorers. The surveyor arrives heated with his exertions and has to stand on ridges or peaks exposed to strong cold winds, while he is observing angles or sketching the ground. The alternations of heat and cold, and the laborious exertion, limits success to those persons who to the requisite professional qualifications can add the physical constitution to stand the hardships which the work imposes. It is very doubtful whether the ability to undergo the fatigue and exposure can be reckoned on for a long continuance; and it is believed that, excepting in rare instances, a frequent succession of assistants will be necessary for these extensive mountain Surveys.

But neither the physical character of the country, nor the constant task of training new hands, formed the chief difficulty of a survey conducted in a foreign territory, and which at no time could be expected to be agreeable to the ruler, his officials, and

people. To them the influx of a body of surveyors spread all over the country, however orderly and well conducted, must bear the aspect of an intrusion. That amicable relations should have been uniformly maintained with the Court of Kashmir is sufficient testimony to the cordiality and good will of the successive Maharajahs, Goolab Sing and his son Rumbeer Sing, and of the tact and ability with which Captain Montgomerie transacted business with the native authorities. His difficulties were much enchanced by the Military Rebellion of 1857, during the whole of which excited period the party continued its peaceful labors without cessation.

Ample testimony to Captain Montgomerie's services is borne in a letter from, alas that we should have to say, the late Lord Canning to Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society, which we quote from the Proceedings of

the Society for 1860.

CALCUTTA, August 29th 1859.

DEAR SIR RODERICK,

'Last month I sent to the Secretary of State for India the first sheet of the Great Trigonometical Survey of Kashmir, the work of Captain Montgomerie, of the Bengal Engineers, done under the Superintendence of Colonel Waugh, the Surveyor General of India. To my unlearned eye it is as fine an example of topographical drawing as I have ever seen, though the subject is one upon which I do not pretend to be an expert judge.

'But I can speak to the difficulties under which Captain Mont'gomerie's task has been accomplished: not the physical difficul'ties of the ground only, but the awful discouragement and
'anxiety of finding himself almost alone in those wild mountains,
'the people of which had, to say the least, no sympathy with the
'English rule in India, and surrounded by Hindostanee Sepoys,
'whose comrades and relatives were amongst the most active
'movers in the chaos of murder and rebellion which was boiling
'in the plains below. You perhaps have heard that at Roorkee,
'the Head-Quarters of the Sappers, and at the foot of the Hi'malayas, the men of that corps early in the mutiny, shot their
'Commanding-Officer at the head of his column, and joined the
'ranks of the rebels.

'Captain Montgomerie, however, by his own courage and tact, 'not only kept his men (soldiers of that same regiment) under 'discipline and got good work out of them, but brought them 'back loyal and attached to the service. They have now good 'eause to thank him.

'I know that these incidents add nothing to Captain Montgo-'merie's claims to notice on scientific grounds; but if as I hope 'may be the case, the Royal Geographical Society should con-'sider that his labors deserve to be noticed for their result, the 'circumstances under which they were carried out may perhaps 'be taken into account. If the Society think this young officer 'worthy of any honor, I shall greatly rejoice, both for his own 'sake and for that of the distinguished corps to which be belongs.

'I believe that there does not exist under any Government in 'the world a body of officers surpassing that of the Engineers of 'the Indian Army in the combination of high intellectual ability 'and acquirements with the most daring and persevering courage,

'if indeed there be any equal to it.

'I wish I had been able to push forward the Geological Survey more rapidly in accordance with your exhortations of four years ago. But the last two years and a half have given me other things to think of, and which is worse other things whereupon to spend our money; even you yourself had you been here, would have had to turn your hammer once more into a sword. I hope however, to get some practical benefit out of the Kumaon iron district very shortly in the shape of castings (wrought iron will be a longer job); and the recent discovery of the extent, much greater than was known, of useful coal fields, not far from the line of the East India Railway in Lower Bengal, is a very welcome incident. On the other hand, I am sorry to say that I have just received a most discouraging report from Mr. Oldham of the hopelessness of finding coal Northwestward of Allahabad.

'Believe me, dear Sir Roderick,
'Your's very faithfully,
'(Sd.) CANNING.

'Sir Roderick J. Murchison, &c. &c. 'Belgrave Square.'

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Lord Canning appears to have been misled by the circumstance that the Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain and Ireland is for the most part executed by soldiers of the Royal Sappers and Miners, to believe that in India Native Sappers are similarly employed on the Survey. This has never been the case, and Captain Montgomerie had no Sappers to keep under discipline, nor any Hindostani soldiers but a Havildar's guard from a Native Infantry Regiment. But he had to endure 'the awful discouragement and anxiety of finding himself almost alone in those wild mountains,' and his position won the sympathy and

respect of the great man who knew what it was to have been almost alone in those wild times, and who had borne himself bravely in the boiling chaos of murder and rebellion, always unsympathized with, often vilified. Alas that his wisdom, and his bitterly gained experience should be lost to his country and India

for ever!

The filling in of the triangles in the Topographical operations in the Himalayas is effected by Plane Tabling. Numerous points previously fixed by the Trigonometrical operations are projected on the Plane Table chart for the assistance of the Surveyor, to serve as points of origin and verification, and to enable him to interpolate his position on the chart whenever necessary. This method of filling in details is particularly well adapted for rugged and difficult ground, and for Native states. It is independent of measuring chains and all such instruments, which could not possibly be employed in the Himalayas, and would be viewed with considerable mistrust and suspicion in Native states where they might raise the belief that an inventory of lands and property

was being taken, with a view to future annexation.

Two scales have been used for the Topography of Kashmir, one of two miles to the inch for the valley and the hills immediately around, the other of four miles to the inch for Ladak and the higher and wilder ranges. A map of the former portion has been lithographed in London, and is now for sale in the office of the Surveyor General, Calcutta. It embraces the country between the parallels of 33°20′, and 34°40′, and the meridians of 74°, and 75°30′, including the Kamraj and Miraj divisions of the great valley, and the numerous small vallies leading into them from all sides, the Woolar and other lakes, the cities of Sirinuggar and Islamabad, the Pir Punjal and Rutton Pir ranges, with their passes of the same name, the Murbut and Banihal passes, and the vallies of the Banihal, Rajaori and Kohi districts, near the British frontier.

Several copies of this map have been handsomely bound in velvet and silk, in mindful deference to a Sikh's prejudice against common leather binding, for presentation to the present Maharajah of Kashmir, who was greatly pleased to receive them and gave directions that the English names, should be translated,

into Persian for his own use and that of his Court.

By the end of last season the districts of Dras, Sooroo, Kurtse, Kargil, Baltistan and the plains of Deosai, had also been completed, with portions of Ronyul, Ladak, Zanskar, Rupshee, Nubra and Astor or Hasora;—these last have to be finished, as well as the districts of Hanle, Yanktse, and Pangong which have still to

be surveyed, together with as much of the adjacent frontier of Chinese Tibet and Tartary as can be approached. Already the operations extend from lat. 32° 20′ to 36° 12′, and from long. 72° 48′ to 79° 31′.

Captain Montgomerie reports that 'year by year as the Sur'vey has advanced, the physical difficulties have increased; the
'average height of the stations has latterly been from 17,000 to
'20,000 feet above the sea, though fortunately the quantity of
'snow has not increased in the same proportion as the height.
'Indeed beyond the Himalayas the snow has been less than on
'lower peaks of the outer ranges, but, on the other hand, there
'has been a great increase of hardship from the sparseness of
'population and from the difficulty of procuring food and fuel,
'the latter being particularly felt in such inclement regions.
'For a time the surveyors have been entirely dependent on argols
of Yak and other dung for fuel, occasionally aided by the thin
'roots of the Tibetan furze which can be grubbed up here and
'there.

'At first the population dealt with could all understand Hin-'dustani, but latterly hardly any of the inhabitants have had 'the least idea of that language, and communication in Little 'Tibet and Ladak has been necessarily carried on by means of 'interpreters.

'Notwithstanding the great elevation of the country surveyed and the consequent severity of the climate, the rigorous rules of the G. T. Survey have been adhered to throughout.

'Luminous signals, either heliotropes\* or reverberatory lamps, were used even on stations from 15,000 to 19,000 feet above the sea.

'The Hindustani clashees of the Survey seemed to have a real pride in serving the instruments entrusted to their charge. No matter what the weather might have been, and though the snowfalls on the stations were occasionally so heavy that rays had to

<sup>\*</sup> A heliotrope is a circular mirror fitted with mechanism for vertical and horizontal motion, that it may be turned by hand so as to follow the motion of the sun and reflect rays in any required direction. It is usually 10 to 12 inches diameter to be capable of sending flashes powerful enough to attract notice at a distance. As, however, so large a blaze of light would dazzle the eye of any one observing it through a powerful telescope, the heliotrope is supplied with diaphragms, like the stops of a photographic camera, to regulate the diameter of the transmitted pencil of rays, which is usually made about a tenth of an inch per mile of distance from the observer.

'be cleared through the snow, yet the signal men were always ready to show their heliotropes and lamps.

'As a general rule they responded at once to the observer's

'signals.

'A heliotrope shining out from the top of a snowy cone was by no means an uncommon sight, and its effect can be better imagined than described.

'The difference of elevation between the stations being usually very large, orders were transmitted to great distances by means

of the heliotropes.

'Altogether great credit is due to the natives of the plains who served the signals at such elevations in such a rigorous

'and to them uncongenial climate.

'The commissariat and financial arrangements for a large Survey party were in themselves very difficult. Food had sometimes to be carried fifteen to thirty marches. Ready money payments had to be made to the Tartars. The transmission of letters was not easy. Besides which numerous other difficulties naturally occur in carrying on survey operations over a vast tract of the most rugged and elevated country in the world. Altogether this Survey formed a very complicated task as will be readily admitted when the extent of the country under Survey is known to nearly equal the area of Great Britain, and to be in many places destitute for seven to fifteen marches of all the necessaries of life except water, which even occasionally failed, nothing but salt water being procurable.

'The junction which has been made between the Kashmir series and the North West Himalaya series in the neighbour-hood of the Barra Lacha Pass gives every confidence in the accuracy of the results, which indeed is remarkable, bearing in mind that the junction made is between secondary stations.

'In a total circuit of about 890 miles, of which nearly 500 appertain to the Kashmir series, there is only a discrepancy of eight-tenths of a second in latitude, and one-tenth of a second in longitude, and a difference of 4% feet in the height of peaks over 18,000 feet, after levelling across mountains of every altitude, from the plains up to 20,000 feet,—a result which must be considered decidedly satisfactory.'

In the seven years 1855.61 the triangulation executed by the Kashmir party has covered an area of 93,500 square miles, executed at a cost of Rs. 2-9 per mile, while 47,000 miles have been topographically filled in at an additional cost of Rs. 1-12. For some years nearly one third of the whole strength of the

Trigonometrical Survey has been concentrated on these interest-

ing operations.

The numerous notices which have been published from time to time in the Journals of the Asiatic Society regarding the progress of the Kashmir Survey, and which have usually been reprinted in the columns of the local newspapers, render it unnecessary for us to dwell much longer on this the most interesting and popular section of the Trigonometrical Survey. The latest accounts mention the discovery and survey of great glaciers by Captain Austen in the Braldo and Baska branches of the Shigar Valley,the Baltora glacier no less than 36 miles long, the Biafogause, nearly as long and forming with the glacier on the Nuggair side, from which the watershed is not sufficiently marked to part it, a continuous mass of ice nearly 64 miles in length, unequalled in dimensions by any known glacier out of the Arctic regions. Capt. Melville has recently added photography to his topographical operations, and has commenced a series of very admirable photographs, which we hope soon to see published, in illustration of the inhabitants and the scenery of the districts under survey.

Each succeeding season some surveyor ascends higher than he or either of his comrades had ever done before. The latest and greatest exploit of this kind was achieved by Mr. Johnson, who took observations at a station more than 20,600 feet above the sea or upwards of 600 feet higher than any on which a theodolite had been previously up, though a mark has been erected as high as 21,480 feet. The height of Mr. Johnson's station, be it remembered, has been rigorously deduced from reciprocal trigonometrical operations, and not obtained by boiling point thermometers, which scientific explorers have been known to employ, and flatter themselves they had reached altitudes never before attained, while in reality their fancied exaltation was caused by their not having enough fuel to make water boil. In the Survey, thermometers are only used when it is required to fix the height of a pass, or other position which cannot be seen from any of the Trigonometrical stations. But the thermometers are invariably boiled in the first instance at the nearest convenient stations above and below the places where they are to be em-Thus their boiling points become known for certain known altitudes, and it is hence easy to find by interpolation the altitudes corresponding to intermediate boiling points. All the errors to which these instruments are liable are more surely eliminated by this process, than by any other.

It is a singular circumstance that the heights of the mountains

around Kashmir have been generally greatly under-estimated by all the scientific travellers who visited the valley previously to the operations of the Trigonometrical Survey. They obtained the mean height of the valley very closely, but the great Nunga Purbut, which reaches a height of 26,630 feet, was supposed by Vigne and Cunningham to be only 19,000 feet high, which is nearly a mile and a half less than its true altitude; while the Huramook mountain was under-estimated by 3560 feet, a mistake the more curious because the mountain is so near Sirinagar that its summit may be seen by reflection in the lakes, and its altitude can therefore be easily measured with a sextant. These mistakes created the erroneous impression that the mountains of the Western Himalayas are much lower than their Eastern sisters, which is far from true;—on the Karakoram Range a peak has been discovered whose height is 28,290 feet, the highest known mountain in the world after Mount Everest.

We have placed among the publications at the head of this article the first volume of the results of the De Schlagintweits' mission to India and High Asia, as it gives values of the Geographical positions of several places subsequently fixed by the operations of the Trigonometrical Survey in Ladak and Thibet, which therefore serve as a measure of the accuracy of the methods of obser-

vation adopted by the members of the mission.

We do not share the annoyance which has been so extensively occasioned by the selection of foreigners instead of our own countrymen for these interesting scientific enquiries. So long as science is advanced it matters little who are the instruments employed in its promotion. Our rulers fall into no very uncommon mistake when they prefer and show most honor to the prophets of science of countries other than their own. Nor is the selection without its advantages, for the work done is likely to be all the more thoroughly analyzed and sifted; its errors will be more certainly and speedily exposed; while all in it that is good and valuable will find friends enough to espouse and protect it.

While we readily acknowledge the extent of valuable information collected by the learned pupils of the illustrious Alexandre Von Humboldt, we cannot but wish that they had published the result of their labours with less pretension and elaboration. We believe that the astronomical and magnetic observations contained in their first volume might have been very easily and with great advantage compressed into one small octavo volume rather than expanded over a large quarto. We confess to feeling somewhat appalled on learning that eight more such quartes are

still in store for us to hunt through; and patiently attempt to extract the wheat from its husk.

We find no less than seven pages of quarto devoted to the details of a few latitude and longitude observations at Leh, depending on a small Theodolite and Chronometer. Elegant as is the process by which they are reduced, we do not feel much interest in the details of the differential equations, or their treatment by the method of least squares, and we doubt their utility as much as we dislike their estentations display, when we find that the resulting longitude is erroneous by about 22 miles, being 77°14'36" instead of 77°36'42" as subsequently determined by the Trigonometical Survey. We are not surprised at the amount of the error, as the observations were dependant on a single Chronometer which had been rated at Simla four months previously, and had meanwhile been carried over the highest mountain ranges in the world. But we think the Messrs De Schlagintweit should have been more cautious in adopting their thus obtained value of the longitude of Leh, in preference to that given in map of the Punjab (1854),\* which they merely notice with the remark that 'it makes the longitude more than 20' farther to the East.'

From Leh northwards their map exhibits a series of western proclivities culminating in Tibet and Turkestan, where the chief towns are placed about 2° west of the positions hitherto assigned them, for the most part by the astronomical observations and itineraries of the French Jesuits in China. It is much to be regretted that the Missionaries were unable to extend their triangulation of China to these provinces, but, so long as they remain the only European geographers who have visited these countries, and have been allowed to take observations without molestation or hindrance, we must adopt their positions, however roughly determined, in preference to any other values. Humboldt makes the following remarks on this subject in the second volume of

his Asie Centrale:

' Je pense qu' aussi longtemps que dans les mêmes points on 'n'aura pas fait de nouvelles observations astronomiques, il est 'prudent de conserver les positions adoptées par des personnes ' qui non-seulement avaient l'habitude d'une discussion sévère des directions et des distances, mais qui ont pu se livrer à ces ' discussions dans l'interieur même de l'Asie.'

The Survey operations have fixed the positions of the Ka-

<sup>\*</sup> Published under the superintendence of Captain Thuillier, at the Office of the Surveyor General, Calcutta.

rakoorum and Mustak passes which are within twenty marches of Yarkand, and we know that the prevailing impression of the officers employed in these operations is that Yarkand is slightly to the East of the position assigned by the Missionaries, whereas the Messrs De Schlagintweit place it 2°, or about 120 miles, further West. They make a similar alteration in the position of Lake Sirikol in the Pamer mountains, most unjustifiably we think, for its longitude was determined in person by Lieutenant Wood of the India Navy, the only European who is known to have visited the lake during the present century, and who moreover was a very skilful observer and geographer.

Bokhara they place, without visiting,  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  west of the position hitherto assigned, and Toshkend upwards of  $4^{\circ}$ ; on which an eminent geographer has remarked that 'if the Aral were to 'recede in the same proportion, it would fall into the Caspian.'

These hasty and inaccurate alterations are not creditable to their authors, who were evidently in a hurry to furnish the public with the fruits of their labours, of the value of which they do not seem to have had any misgivings. We doubt whether any geographer would adopt their positions instead of those hitherto accepted, and we are not surprised to find that in a map of 'Asia between the parallels of 20° and 60°, recently published in the Office of the Surveyor General, the original values of places in Tibet and Turkestan have been used in preference to those adop-

ted by the mission to 'High Asia.'

We must now bid farewell to these interesting topics, and continue our narration of the progress made by the Survey in other parts of India since we last reviewed its operations. Our limits warn us to be brief, nor do we care to inflict on our readers the dry details of the ordinary operations of the Survey. persons have any idea of the labor they often involve. The mere measurement of the angles of a triangle would seem to have nothing so difficult about it, but that a slight training would enable most persons to acquire the necessary skill in manipulating the large Theodolites. But the successful carrying of a connected series of triangles, without a single weak link in the whole chain, along any given direction, without turning to the right hand or to the left, whatever the nature of the country or the obstacles to be crossed, is a matter of no small difficulty, and requires a rare combination of energy, judgment, and physical ability. The number of measures of each angle which have to be taken, and repeated on different parts of the graduated circle, to eliminate accidental and instrumental errors, entail an amount

of labor which is little imagined. Often in the morning, always from noon until sunset, and afterwards for at least half the night, the observer is at work, watching his signal heliotropes and lamps through all their mazy wanderings, and patiently trying to make his telescope bisect their paths. Years ago Colonel Everest wrote as follows, of the difficulties of carrying a rigorous triangulation over the plains.

'The smoke from the daily and nightly fires, which, particular'ly in the cold season envelopes the villages and clings to the
'groves surrounding them; that arising from brick and lime
'kilns and conflagration of weeds; the clouds of dust raised by,
'herdsmen and their cattle, in going out to graze in the morning
'and returning in the evening; by travellers and processions of
'men, carriages and cattle proceeding along the divers roads for
'business or pleasure, and by the force of the wind, the slightest
'action of which suffices in this arid parched-up soil to obscure
'the view, form an assemblage of obstacles which it is only

'possible in very favorable contingencies to surmount.'

These favorable contingencies only occur for short intervals which happen at very varying times of the day and night; and thus the observer has to be constantly on the watch that no opportunity may escape him. Few persons, but those who have tried, know the wearisomeness of ten or twelve successive hours. or even half that time, spent in an observatory tent measuring angles. Great is the amount of strong green tea which has to be imbibed at night on these occasions, to keep the observer from falling down asleep on his instrument. And the results so laboriously obtained are not of a showy nature. The chart of triangulation possesses far less general interest than the topographical map of which it is the basis. It is no slight addition to the ordinary discouragements of the triangulator that his labors are so slightly appreciated, while those of his comrades of the pencil and color box are so highly prized, and he needs considerable hardiness and pertinacity to carry his work steadily forward, heedless of the soft seductions of local authorities, who are ever anxious to catch hold of a Surveyor, and employ him on making maps to illustrate their favorite projects, for the amelioration and development of the districts under their control.

We might enlarge on the other trigonometrical operations which have been carried on simultaneously with those we have already described. But we have promised not to inflict dry details on our readers, so we will merely state that they comprise the following principal series of triangles with their usual

accompaniments of secondaries; a double series from Purneea eastwards to Gowhatty, and thence to Sylhet; -another along the East coast from Calcutta to Vizagapatam; -a third, West of the great Arc, along the meridian of Rahoon, from the Himalayas to the Calcutta longitudinal Arc; -a single series, laboring under the cruel appellation of Goorhagur, because it unfortunately has for its meridian the Goorhagur Station of the N. W. Himalaya triangles, though we think it might with greater intelligibility and equal propriety have been termed the Umritsur series, as it follows the meridian of that city,—is the southern extension of the Kashmir triangulation to the longitudinal Arc; -a meridional series, provokingly denominated the Jogi Tila, from Jhelum to Pak Puttun; -an oblique Sutlej series from Mittun Kote to Pak Puttun; -and several small longitudinal and meridional series in the northern portion of the Bombay Presidency, the triangulation of which is now completed.

In the twelve years since 1849, to which year Colonel Waugh's Blue Book gives the details of the progress of the Survey, the

following amount of work has been executed:

Himalayan Triangulation, ... ... ... 161,011 sq. miles. All other Triangulation, ... ... ... 171,112 ,, ,,

Amounting to, ... ... ... 332,123 ,, ,,

Himalayan Topography, ... ... ... 89,895 ,, Spirit leveling (commenced in 1858) ... 1629 linear miles. In other words, the triangulation performed in these twelve years covers an area nearly treble that of Great Britain and Ireland, of which a portion almost exactly equal to England, Scotland and Wales\* combined, has been topographically delineated in the Himalayas, on the scale of four miles to the inch;—in addition a line of levels has been executed, which is probably the longest ever measured in any part of the world. The average cost of the Triangulation, including superintendence, head quarters offices, special astronomical observations,

<sup>\*</sup> The following areas are taken from Black's Atlas—

England, 50,898 square miles.

Wales, 7,430 ,, ,,

Scotland 32,164 ,, ,,

Ireland, 31,874 ,, ,,

Total ... 122,366 ,, ,,

and all charges other than Military salaries connected with the department, has been less than Rs. 9 or eighteen shillings per square mile, while the Topography has cost less than Rs. 3-8,

or seven shillings.

During almost the whole of this period the Trigonometrical Survey was superintended by Andrew Scott Waugh of the Bengal Engineers, who was appointed to its charge, together with the Surveyor Generalship of India, in succession to Colonel Everest, in the year 1844, while he was still a subaltern. After holding the combined appointments for seventeen years, he resigned the service in March 1861 as Major General Sir Andrew Waugh, having been knighted by the Queen in acknowledgement of his services to Geography.

Colonel Everest who for so many years was the iron chief of the Indian Survey, and who enjoys the rare merit of having initiated methods of operation and formulæ of computation of superior rigor and accuracy to any ever before employed, and who never did any thing by halves, wrote thus strongly in favor of Lieutenant Waugh on recommending him to the Hon'ble Court

of Directors as a successor to himself.

'He is beloved and respected by all the subordinate members of my department and held in honor and esteem by all who know him personally; his talents, acquirements and habits, as a scholar, a mathematician, a gentleman and a soldier are of high order, and as such I feel that in recommending him as a fit person to succeed me, I do but perform the last essential service which I may ever have it in my power to render to masters from whom I have received so many acts of kindness, and to whom

' my gratitude will be for ever due.'

While his labors in the service of Government were unremitting, he at the same time succeeded in winning the regard and affection of his assistants to an extent which few heads of departments are fortunate enough to obtain. More particularly was he beloved by that large and important section of the Survey whose members belong to the Uncovenanted Service, which has furnished the department with many true men and brave, who have worked side by side with their military Officers, and vied with them in readiness to undergo fatigue, exposure and privations of every kind, and one of whom at present holds the palm of having ascended the loftiest Himalayan summit yet reached by any surveyor.

Sir Andrew's kindness and consideration were most displayed where most needed. And he has bequeathed to his successor in

the Superintendence of the Trigonometrical Survey the task of retaining the regard and esteem which has thus been created for the Head of the department.

A few words on the future operations of the Trigonometrical

Survey may fitly close this Article.

The greater portion of the triangulation of India Proper is now completed, and only three meridional series, East of the great Arc and South of the Calcutta longitudinal series, remain One of these will extend from Jubbulpore to Madras, and might afterwards be continued Southwards to Ceylon. of the axis of Indian Geography four small series have still to be completed, the Southern continuation of the Jogi Tila, two meridional series in Rajpootana between the Sutlej and the Karachi arc of longitude, and one on the meridian of Mangalore between the parallels of Mangalore and Bombay, in southern continuation of the Khanpisura series, which is again a continuation of the Goorhagur and Kashmir series, all being nearly on the same meridian. Mangalore and Madras should be connected by a longitudinal triangulation, crossing the great Arc at Bangalore, where there ought to be a base line. The series of triangles on the meridian of Madras and Mangalore will thus become especially valuable, as additional ares for the determination of the figure of the earth; their lengths may be made as much as 111 degrees without bringing their northern extremities into dangerous proximity to the plummet-attracting Himalayas.

Of most immediate importance is the extension of the Calcutta longitudinal Arc to the Eastern Frontier, which is required for the Atlas sheets of the districts East and North of Calcutta. It will probably be taken in hand immediately, and as the triangulation is not of great length, we may hope at no very distant date to receive the long delayed Atlas sheets of these districts,

which are so much wanted.

Formidable is the task which awaits the Trigonometrical Surveyors on the Eastern frontier. Their triangles have to be carried through independant Tipperah, Chittagong and Arracan into Pegu, thence into the Tenasserim Provinces and down the Malayan Peninsula to Singapore. The greater portion of this vast distance is covered with dense jungle, through which in many parts roads have not yet been constructed. This sort of ground is the most difficult of any for Survey operations. When the Surveyor who is reconnoitering for stations reaches the summit of a hill, instead of seeing the country around mapped out before him, enabling him almost at a glance to decide on a

line of operations, he has often to spend days in cutting down trees to open out the view, perhaps to find all his labor lost, because some other hill, before invisible, is discovered to intervene between him and the objects he wishes to see.

A longitudinal series of triangles has to be carried eastwards from Gowhatty to the extremity of the Assam valley, where a terminal base line should be measured which will be nearly on the same meridian as the base line to be measured in Pegu.

It is hoped that our relations with the Burmese Government may allow of the connexion of the Assam and Pegu base lines by a meridional series passing through Ava, which will be a fitting boundary to the eastern triangulation of British India and

its dependencies.

On the completion of the topography of Kashmir and Ladak, which may be expected in one or two more seasons, unless the falls of snow are unusually severe, the surveyors will be transferred to take up the topography of Kumaon and Gurwal. We hope that arrangements may be made with the Nepalese Court for the extension of the Survey into Nepal, which is a very great desideratum, not only for the ordinary practical purposes of a survey, such as affording local information and opening out routes for trade, but for the sake of Geographical science. Higher mountains than Mount Everest may still await discovery in the interior ranges, which the jealous and exclusive policy of the Nepalese has hitherto concealed from the gaze of our surveyors. Surely Jung Bahadoor might with a little exertion be persuaded to imitate the liberal and enlightened policy of the Ruler of Kashmir, for recent events ought to have disabused him of the now puerile idea that the entrance of Europeans into a native state is but the precursor of its annexation to the British dominions.

While the more purely practical operations of the Trigonometrical Survey will be carried on as rapidly as the strength of the Department will permit, opportunities of adding to the stores of Geodesical science will not be lost sight of. It is in contemplation to carry a series of Astronomical observations for the determination of latitude down Colonel Everest's great meridional Arc, and another series along the longitudinal arc between Calcutta and Karachi. These may be expected to throw some light on the question of local attraction, as well as to give a more correct mean figure of the Indian are than can be deduced so long as the Astronomical observations are limited to its centre and extremities. The Mangalore and Madras arcs will also be

valuable contributions to Geodesy.

But an operation of greater interest and importance will be the employment of the Electric Telegraph, which now connects the remotest parts of British India, to determine Astronomical differences of longitude between the most important Stations of the Survey. Thus an Astronomical arc of longitude extending from Rangoon to Karachi, of no less than 30° in length, will be eventually measured, and when compared with the Trigonometrical value of the same Arc, will throw light on the figure of the Earth. The Telegraph lines which are now in process of construction between the Mediterranean Sea and Karachi will be employed as links of a chain of operations which are required to determine the difference of longitude between India and England, and will be further useful in fixing the longitudes of places in Egypt, Arabia, and Persia, which no Trigonometrical Survey is

likely to reach during the present century.

Whether Submarine Telegraphs will ever succeed in Indian seas is very questionable, but it is probable enough that sanguine capitalists may expect them to do so, and risk the venture. We entirely approve of a suggestion which has been made to Government to allow Officers of the Trigonometrical Survey to accompany all such enterprises, more particularly those of which the eventual success is most doubtful, in order to take advantage of the primary success which, though often short-lived, has always hitherto attended these operations. Had a few Astronomers accompanied the expedition for laying down the Submarine cable between Suez and Karachi, and been furnished with the requisite instruments, they could easily have taken a sufficient number of observations for determining the arc of longitude, during the time that communication remained perfect. Thus the cable would have been the means of effecting at least one object during its ephemeral existence.

The Survey does not yet possess suitable instruments for these purposes, but we understand that the Secretary of State for India has most promptly and liberally sanctioned a recent application for them, which was supported by the Astronomer Royal. In order that their construction may be efficiently superintended, Sir Charles Wood has secured the services of a retired officer of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, Colonel Strange, whose mechanical skill has contributed in no small degree towards perfecting the instruments of the Indian Survey, and whole successful execution of the Western Longitudinal Triangulation

we have already noticed in this article.

ART. III. Mr. Seton Karr's Letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 19th October, 1860.

VEARS ago, the question was debated as to what scheme the Government should adopt for the education of its millions of British Indian subjects. It had done a good deal, in years gone by, to encourage first the cultivation of Oriental classical learning, and then that of English literature and science; but next to nothing for the enlightenment of the masses. The state, however, was in financial difficulties, and could not, in consequence, afford to be over-liberal with the public funds. Still the time was assumed to have arrived, when something should be done for the cause of popular education. The Home Government was importunate and sent out a despatch, laying down a broad and liberal policy. As results, we have Universities at the Presidency towns, an expensive Department—speaking comparatively -for direction and inspection, a few Vernacular Schools, scattered over the country, and a grant-in-aid system, which is inoperative, because premature; but still no general scheme, which reaches the masses, or is in any degree adequate to their wants and numbers. Our educational funds, as it appears to us, have been in the main devoted to forcing embryo 'Masters, and 'Bachelors,' in supplementing or supplying the funds of schools, where native lads are taught to 'murder the Queen's English,' and, in short, in benefiting a class or sections of classes, who, while they have most desire for a little education—a desire the offspring of a keen perception of its practical and immediate utility to themselves—are, at the same time, just the class who are quite able to pay liberally for their share of the benefit.

The question was debated, we have said, and now after the lapse of two or three years we have had published a summary of the results of the debate as far as Government took part therein, with the outline of a scheme founded on those results. The publication of this summary, so long after date, if it mean any thing, must surely point to a revival of 'the previous question,' to a desire on the part of Government to ventilate anew the subject of popular education, and its willingness, with the prospect of improving

finances, to undertake more than it has done for the popular cause, in this very important item of its duties and obligations. In this view the apparent purposelessness of now promulgating the late Bengal Secretary's letter of the 19th October 1860, so long after the subject of discussion has passed from before the

public, is satisfactorily and sufficiently explained.

It is not our purpose to analyze, to approve or combat the conclusions or suggestions of this letter: many of them are precisely our own. But the whole system, so constituted, we presume, has been on practical trial ever since, with what success is fully known to those only, who may be behind the Departmental screens; for scant of late has been the information made public on the subject. At this juncture, however, we desire to offer certain suggestions on the subject of the education of the people by means of their own Vernacular, which were put on paper, and intended to have been put forth when that question was first broached. And the same excuse, that to our apprehension suffices, as above hinted, for the justification of Government, in now, after the lapse of years, giving to the public Mr. Seton Karr's letter of the 19th October, will perhaps be admitted also in our own case.

We have a further apology to make. British India is an extensive empire, embracing within its limits races who present a great variety in their physical and moral aspects, in language and creed, temper and intelligence, customs and prejudices. The same observation applies with truth, in a less degree, even to those provinces into which the empire is sub-divided. No one, without such extensive experience as is possessed by few, is competent to enunciate from his own little corner of the country, views and opinions, plans and propositions, which shall be equally applicable and suitable to all these varying races and conditions. The broad principles of a policy, may be the same for North and South, East and West. But when we descend to practice, to the adaptation of a policy, to the elaboration of a scheme or plan by means of which it is to be applied, and its objects are to be attained, special considerations, peculiarities, and prejudices, varying with latitude and longitude, require attention and allowance. It is on this account that our suggestions in this paper shall entirely, and our remarks generally speaking, be limited in their reference to a small section of the Lower Provinces, namely, to the Province of Orissa, as at present defined. In this section of the country, we have well defined and moderate limits to work within, and a sufficiently numerous population, with a well defined character and distinct dialect, to work upon. There is a great call for experiment here, especially if we consider the backward condition of the Province, and the comparatively slight efforts that have been made to improve and advance it; and that here, just as much as elsewhere, we have not yet succeeded in our quest after what shall be a popular, practical and practicable plan of Vernacular education.

It may perhaps be proper for us in the first place to glance slightly at the character of the people with whom we have to

do, in so far as it concerns our subject.

The people of Orissa prior to the commencement of the present century had, for many years, been under the iron rule of the Marhattas, a rule, as far as Orissa was concerned, pre-eminently rapacious and selfish, cruel and unscrupulous. The country was held by them latterly solely for the revenue it could be made to yield, in the same spirit that first prompted the robber hordes of its conquerors to overrun and plunder it from time to time, long before they acquired such title, as they at a subsequent period possessed, more regularly to collect and appropriate Revenue was with them the main point. To the blind and short sighted policy of these barbarians, the improvement of the country by facilities of intercommunication, the prosperity and contentment of the people, not to mention their education, were subjects that never suggested themselves. native Oryah appeared on ordinary occasions with a decent garment round his loins, the circumstance was assumed to indicate that he was better off than he should be, and he had to pay for his temerity. If the wife of a native Oryah exhibited herself in public with a ring in her nose, or a pair of valuable bangles on her wrists, she was marked, and the Marhattas knew only too well how to turn such a circumstance into money. fraud were the only laws familiar to the rulers and the ruled, and from long habit, resort to the former appears almost a necessity in some parts, even in these days of courts and litigation, while the latter has become a habit of mind, so inveterate as to force the inference that the people do not regard it as a vice. Those who have been in familiar contact with the people, more especially in places at a distance from the centres of population, will have observed traits of character, and heard popular proverbs, illustrative of what has been said above.

A long reign of oppression of this description, has obliterated all the better qualities, which, we may suppose, existed in the character of the old Oryah. His was ground to the earth, till he became an abject slave, without a spark of independent feeling, pride or self-respect. He had been taught by long hereditary, as well as by personal experience, to regard with suspicion every motive and action of his masters, until his mind became diseased, and this remains its now normal condition. He was reduced to that state of destitution, in which truth and honor appear but expensive luxuries. Such we found him in 1803; and his character at the present day bears a close likeness to

this picture.

Out of such a long night of mental darkness and physical oppression he suddenly emerged, when the British wrested the country from his oppressors, at a date that may almost be called recent; and because he did not at once open his eyes to the light, and his mind to the liberty that then burst on him, and because his old habits still clung to him, his new masters, or his more favored neighbours, delight to designate him the Beetian The ancient Bootia produced Pindar and Plutarch, and the modern one seems also to have produced at least one man of genius, Mrootunjoy, who in 1803 was at the head of the establishment of Pundits at the College of Fort William, as first constituted by Lord Wellesley, and is said by a late writer, no doubt thoroughly informed on the subject, to have been a 'Co-'lussus of literature, his knowledge of Sanscrit classics unrivalled, 'and his Bengalee composition never surpassed for ease, simpli-'city and vigor;' he was one of the principal teachers of the learned Dr. Carev.

Nearly as much as has been said of the Oryah, might perhaps be said of the Bengalee, and Hindoostanee many years ago; but neither was so subjected to the Marhatta rule. The Mogul rule at least was not so pre-eminently selfish and rapacious; and a great deal of the comparative advancement of the Bengalee may be attributed to his much prior contact with Europeans. In due time, the same results will exhibit themselves in Orissa as in Bengal; but the life of a generation forms about the same measure of the progress of a nation, as perhaps the period of a year in that of an individual, we cannot therefore expect any sudden change. It must also be allowed, that the debasing creed of Hindooism, as at present received, appears always to have had among the Oryahs its most faithful votaries, and caste one of its strongest holds—a fact that has no doubt con-

tributed not a little to the degradation of the people.

Such then, practically speaking, is the character of the Oryah to this day—naturally suspicious and apprehensive of all motives

and actions on the part of his rulers, especially of such as tend most directly to elevate and improve his condition, as education, any system of Municipal Conservancy &c., because be cannot understand disinterestedness, or the moral obligations of duty. Far behind his neighbours in means to make himself comfortable, with a natural bent and relish for fraud and chicanery, and when these can secure any private ends of feeling or profit, resorting to them without scruple; wedded to his conservative and barbarous superstitions, and yielding a blind and un-

questioning obedience to his spiritual teachers.

Now, few Oryahs from personal experience are able to appreciate the value of a good education. They have never been well educated themselves; they cannot therefore comprehend the refined argument that knowledge is to be acquired for its own sake. Nor can they, on the other hand, see that there is much force in the more practical argument, that knowledge should be acquired for the advancement and material advantage it secures. The former is a proposition that can be addressed to a civilized and enlightened people only. In reply to the latter, the Oryans say: our children must be, generally speaking, what we are, they must follow for the most part the same handicraft, profession or trade, and for this purpose no particular education is necessary. As for Government service, we do not see the advisability of putting ourselves to straits now, with the view of hereafter securing it for our sons. Government service is a will-o'-the-wisp. which we should never be able to approach; for all the chief subordinate offices, civil, fiscal and judicial, are occupied by Bengalees; every department swarms with their kith and kin. What chance have our sons under such circumstances, to succeed in their efforts to obtain Government Service without interest, where interest is all prevailing? And there is force in this rejoinder; for in the list of subordinate employés, the Mookerjees, Banerjees, Boses and Ghoses, and other uncouth Bengalee patronymics preponderate; the Musalmans are not a few; while the Dass, the Putnaick, the Pudhan the Mabanty and other Oryah caste names are in the minority. Out of about 550 employés in the offices, Sudder and Mofussil, of the Magistrate, Collector and Salt Agents of the Province, as reported in 1859, and making a deduction of 120, on account of Canoongoes, whose posts are hereditary, only 216 were Oryahs, while 224 were Bengalees, the rest Musalmans. Setting aside the past few years, there is no doubt, the Bengalee candidate has been preferred to the Oryah, not so much because

he was more fit, as because he was backed by the interest of the Sirishtadar or other head native officer, and aided not a little by the Bengalee sympathies of the 'Hakim.' Had not this been the case, had a larger degree of patronage been extended to the Orvah, as having more right to local appointments than strangers, and due allowance made for the disadvantages under which he had labored, as compared with the Bengalee, the desiderated impetus to education would have long ago been given, and would now be shewing results. Recent rules, however, and a more impartial consideration for the Oryah, have already begun to work a change in this respect; and the Oryah begins to believe, that education is likely to benefit his children. thus hope, that the necessary movement has begun at all events, and there is no reason to doubt, that there needs only a practical plan of education, adapted to the character and resources of the people and patiently and steadily persevered in by duly selected agents, to give education a firm footing in the Province.

We need not stay to argue the obligation of Government to educate the people. That it is our duty, in consideration of the debased and ignorant condition in which we find them, to shew them what their duty and interest should lead them to do for themselves; to place within their reach the incentives to, as well as the elements of, enlightenment, civilization and advancement, is plain. But it is not so plain, that Government is bound to cover the country with expensive schools, normal and model, and to take the entire education of the people into its own hands, and at its own exclusive expense. Example and assistance appear to be all that Government is required to afford, and in the due and judicious application of these principles to a broad, suitable, and practicable basis lies, in our humble opinion, the secret of a successful Government scheme of general education

for Orissa.

To what plan or basis shall these principles be applied, so as best to meet the idiosyncrasies, the prejudices, and the condition, mental and material, of the people? Would it be best to ignore altogether their own efforts in the way of education, feeble and misdirected as they are, and at once to inaugurate a new system on the part of Government, altogether independent of those efforts? Or would it be advisable rather to supplement them and to introduce such elements of improvement and progress, as would gradually work out a more perfect and satisfactory scheme, without any violent change or innovation? To graft on the old stem, which has sturdy and strong roots, new branches of a more

generous kind, rather than to uproot or even neglect it, and substitute a sapling, new to the soil and climite, which would be long in attaining to maturity? The answer, we think, is plain.

We assume then that our chief attention and study should be directed to, and our efforts based upon, the indigenous machinery, so to speak, of the people themselves. Native schools, or 'chatsalees,' as they are called, rather abound than otherwise in the country. In 1854, on a requisition from Government, and after due enquiry through the police, there were reported to be in the Cuttack District 2,074 schools, with 15,547 scholars; in the Poorce District 510 schools, with 5,542 scholars. For the Balasore District we may safely allow 500 schools, with 6,000 scholars. Or a total aggregate of 3,084 schools, with 27,089 boys for the whole. The total population of the three Districts, as ascertained about the same year, was in round numbers 2,550,000. These last figures are open to doubt. But we are inclined, for the purposes of this paper, to assume the population as 2,000,000. Assume that about 10 per cent of this number are lads who should, under circumstances far more favorable than exist, be at school. (We have read somewhere that nine per cent is the proportion allowed in England.) In this country an inevitable deduction of a must be allowed, as representing the number of boys who cannot attend school on account of the extreme poverty of their parents, caste prejudices, and other reasons; and the proportion would be as follows:-

 Boys who should be at school
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 200,000

 Deduct boys who cannot be at school
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 65,000

 Boys who are at school
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 27,000

If the above data and assumptions are correct, we have the not unsatisfactory result, to speak comparatively, that one fifth of the number of lads, who can, and should, be at school, are really being educated in some sort of way already. The absence of any encouragement to education, the general poverty of the masses, and other causes that might be cited, render these results encouraging. It should seem from the above figures, that the average attendance at each chatsalee is about 7½, which will appear a very likely average, to those who have seen many of them. To promise that in the course of a few years, as the result of attentive and considerate supervision, and material resistance on the part of Government, and as the natural fruit of those measures, which Government have taken or may take for encouraging and fostering education in the country, this small average shall be much increased, as far as the

existing schools are concerned, and many new chatsalees established by the people of their own motion, is to promise not

more than may be assuredly predicted.

For our own part, we think it a most encouraging fact, that 27,000 Oryah lads are being educated in the indigenous schools. Additions to this number may we think be made, on the ground, that it is a well known practice in the country for Zemindars and wealthy families to have a schoolmaster attached to their establishments, and to educate their children privately at home. The results would thus be found still more favourable. But the fact, that there are 3085 schools, as many masters, and upwards of 27,000 boys to commence operations with, presents we think no insufficient basis to work on. In fact there are here a great many more schools than Government can directly aid, enough fully to occupy the time and attention of its existing agency, and more than enough to demand a much larger supply of improved school literature than is at present, or is likely to be for some

time to come, available.

A great deal has been written and said about the rapid and encouraging advance of education in certain Districts of the N. W. P., and that not without sufficient reason. But when we come to compare notes, it will be found that in 1853 even after Mr. Reid's system had been in full and successful operation for three years, in those eight districts, among a male population of 4,272,000, he could only number 3469 schools with 36,884 scholars, including, it may be presumed, the Government Schools; while the numbers of schools and scholars before his system was introduced in 1850, were respectively 2,014 and 17,169 only. The results in Orissa, as reported in 1854, contrast very favorably indeed with those shewn above. In the one case, we have, just about the same time (1854,) in the Districts of Cuttack, Pooree and Balasore, among a male population of say one million souls, 3085 schools, with 27,000 scholars, representing the unaided and self-directed efforts of the people themselves. While in the eight Districts of the N. W. P., among a male population of 4,272,000, we have 3469 schools with 36,884 scholars, representing not only the efforts of the people themselves, but the direct results of a very practical and successful Government scheme, worked by a full staff, and supported by a liberal assignment on the part of Government.

A similar comparison with educational statistics in Bengal, might or might not be equally satisfactory; but we think there is no room for discouragement in Orissa. There is a sufficiently

broad basis to work upon, a voluntary and self-sustained effort on the part of the people, sufficient to justify a larger share of that countenance and assistance from Government which has been extended to other parts of the country with what looks like an

invidious partiality.

It is not to be denied that the education imparted in these 3,000 schools by these 3,000 indigenous school-masters, is, as in every other part of the country, of a most imperfect and unsatisfactory character, and does not extend in most cases beyond simple reading and writing, with the elementary rules of arith-And the mode in which it is imparted is moreover not The schoolmasters, or Obodhans are also the best in the world. themselves imperfectly educated, according to European ideas. But the improvement of this national system of education, and this large body of indigenous schoolmasters, is just the grand object to which the efforts of Government should mainly be directed. These schools are the schools of the people, accessible to the means, and within the reach of most, having no prejudices or opposition to overcome—and these schoolmasters are the hereditary schoolmasters of the people, enjoying their respect and confidence, possessing, there is no doubt, a powerful though secret influence among them, which, evoked against any exclusive Government scheme of education, would for a long time present an effectual barrier against all improvement and success. In many cases, these men, are Brahmins, and, if we are not mistaken, in other Naicks, in some few perhaps Mahantees, all, more or less, wearing the sacred thread, the general referees in all matters of account among the villagers; not seldom they are the village doctors, possessing a voice in the arrangement of certain private domestic affairs; and generally speaking their position is such, that the opposition they could bring to bear, is not to be despised; while, on the other hand, if made friends to the cause of improved education, their influence would ensure it, if not absolute, yet comparative, success. The efforts of Government exerted through this medium, would not arouse the superstitious and ignorant prejudices of the people, while the natural effect of establishing independent Government schools over the country, and placing at their head masters with enviable salaries of ten and fifteen Rupees a month, would be to raise up a strong spirit of jealousy and consequent opposition. These well paid rivals would be regarded by the native schoolmasters as interlopers, wielding the ferule by right neither of caste nor of prescription and destined, if successful, to take the bread out of their mouths. Especially will this be so, where

the new men are Bengalees or foreigners, as is most frequently the case. The former are regarded with a certain degree or disgust and dislike by all orthodox Oryahs. It will not avail to argue the right or wrong of this prejudice, or, because in our estimation foolish and unjustifiable, to act as if it did not exist. There is no doubt that it does exist, and will operate to the detriment, if not the total failure, of any scheme which shall be

forced on the people in disregard of it.

Now the general standard of education among the people, is so very low, that it does not seem at present the best policy to raise that standard per saltum to the comparatively high point apparently aimed at. We require first to place within reach of the massess of the people, a moderate standard of education, comprising the ability to read and write correctly, and a knowledge of the elementary rules of Arithmetic. To these attainments, which will have a practical bearing on their material affairs, we should wish to add a few ideas of Geography and History, some correct principles of morality, and a store of general information; which acquirements will tend to the enlargement of their minds, the improvement of their habits, and the correction of their ignorant prejudices. It would be far preferable to raise the masses to this standard, than to elevate a few only to a much higher one; and we think that the existing agency, the indigenous schools and schoolmasters, may be rendered quite adequate to this end. If these ideas be correct, it is manifestly impolitic to adopt any plan of general education, which shall not acknowledge the native Chatsalees and Obodhans, as its basis, and their improvement and encouragement as its immediate object, with a trust, thus to reach the great aggregate of the population through a medium acknowledged and approved of by themselves, without arousing their superstitious fears, and prejudices.

We now proceed to apply the two principles above noted, to the outline of a plan of general education. We have said that example and assistance are what is required from Government, and that mainly in the due and judicious application of these principles, lies, in our opinion, the secret of success. It is not meant to be said that these principles are new ones, for they are at present acted on by Government. Model and other schools on approved plans, and far above comparison with any thing of the kind that is indigenous, have been established in the country, and thus the example as to the mode of imparting an improved education, its elements and results, besides the

incentive which the mere force of example supplies, have not been wanting. But how diffuse and weak have these efforts been! How perfectly impotent as regards the masses! And so with assistance. This has not been withheld; but in being for the most part restricted to the grant-in-aid system, has been insufficiently and unsuitably applied. In sketching the outlines of our scheme, we shall not recommend it because it possesses any abstract excellence, which in our judgment over-balances all others, because, for instance, it is, perhaps, best calculated to call forth and encourage independent action on the part of the people themselves—in itself a most important matter—or because it is the least expensive, or likely to be the most popular and acceptable. Under the circumstances, it is not the absolute perfection as a whole, or the abstract excellence of the plan, which should give it the preference, but its fitness and feasibility, qualities which will ensure the attainment of our end, and which should ensure it our support, although we may be conscious that it is not perfect, and is open to the objections of those, who would prefer theoretical to practical excellence. We cannot have a perfect scheme; one which shall at the same time be the most sound, comprehensive, and enlightened in principle, and the most practical and practicable.

In the first place then, the root of all improvement, and in our opinion the first step, lies in the creation of an improved and sufficient school literature in the Vernacular. In Bengal, the School Book Society, the Vernacular Translation Society and private enterprize, supply a large and abundant variety of school books in Bengali, good and cheap; so that there is no necessity to undertake there, what in Orissa Government must do, directly or indirectly, in this matter. We have, it may be said, a sufficient number and variety of books in Oryah to begin with, and no considerable immediate outlay seems necessary. The copyright of the following books, belongs to Government.

- 1. An Elementary Grammar.
- 2. Niti Kotha, or fables.
- 3. Hitopodesh.
- 4. Nitibodh.
- 5. Geography.
- 6. Arithmetic.
- 7. Euclid.
- 8. Outlines of Geography.

Besides these, there are, a History of Orissa, Outlines of Natural Philosophy, a smaller Arithmetic and Grammar, and other school books which, as having been published at the expense of Government, or the School Book Society, or under their patronage, would be available without objection. Put together, the whole would present a sufficiently numerous series to select from in commencing operations. These books might be greatly improved and curtailed; some would indeed require revision. But we have shewn that there is no want of rough material, and therefore no necessity for a large outlay in the initial preparation of a school literature. All that is required is that Government, or the School Book Society, should undertake the supplying of the books, and furnish the first out-lay of printing and publication, to be after-

wards recovered by the sale of the books.

In passing, it may be remarked, that it has been the practice heretofore to print small editions of a work; thus necessarily, in order to avoid loss, having to fix the selling price at a much higher figure, than would otherwise be requisite. It seems also to be something like a practice to throw aside a work which has been approved, purchased and printed by Government, as soon as a first small edition has been exhausted and to adopt another work, because, it is supposed by a different judge to approach nearer to the standard of a school book, than its predecessor. This can hardly be considered judicious under the circumstances. It is quite true, that the Vernacular Oryah, sometime ago perfeetly uncultivated, possessing neither grammar nor dictionary, has been of late undergoing a change, and we may say an improvement. Books, therefore, published ten or fifteen years ago, are now perhaps, considered to be inaccurate, unidiomatic, and susceptible of, and requiring, revision. But this is no sufficient reason why they should be totally abandoned; nor does it justify the delay and fresh outlay required for the publication of an entirely new series. If it be considered that there is a probability that an edition of 5000 copies of any school book, will be absorbed in, say, five years, it would be undoubtedly better to print one edition of that number, which would allow of a small selling rate per copy, rather than to have within the same period small editions of two or three works of the kind, the first cost of which would be more than double that of the larger one, and in consequence require a higher selling rate, and so far interfere with their circulation and usefulness. is a point that has been disregarded heretofore, and it is not possible to say what share the disregard may have had in rendering the efforts of Government to improve the people's education, futile. If every Deputy Inspector, and Inspector is at liberty to exercise and act on his own discretion, and undo what his predecessor has done in this respect, there is an end to the matter: our school literature will always be in a transition, but not necessarily, in an improving state. However, we require the introduction of good and suitable books into the indigenous schools; and this cannot be done, unless the selling prices of the books, can be brought within the very limited means of the people. This is feasible by having large editions of suitable works. By way of illustration we give the following statement.

A small edition of Bishnoo Sharma's Hitopodesh, 12mo. was printed by Government at the Cuttack Press. It cost Rs 367; so that in order to avoid loss, the selling price had to be fixed at 13 annas per copy; a price which, as far as the indigenous schools were concerned, was quite prohibitory. Now suppose, 5000 copies had been printed, the cost of this larger edition would not have been much more than 1000Rs and the selling rate could then have been fixed at a trifle over 3 annas

per copy. The work would have been sold rapidly.

Let us then have large editions of a judiciously selected variety of school books, printed in two or more separate parts, so as to make each successive demand on the slender pockets of the parents and friends of the school boys for the purchase of school books, as light as may be. The books will sell in due time, if only adopted by the Education Department. The main point, as we reiterate, is to bring out the books in such a manner, as to ensure their being within the reach and means of the great mass of humble village people, else they must fail in half their mission. The pride of both printer and publisher—we have known it to stand in the way—must be held in abeyance; and they must consent to produce books, on rough and coarse material, if necessary, without expensive bindings and cloth cover, so that the primary object of cheapness may be attained.

In this respect, then, is the aid of Government called for; and without it, no school can flourish, and no general scheme, having for its object the education of the masses, can in any degree succeed. A great deal more might be said about school books, more especially as regards their character, but want of space forbids our enlarging on the subject. One point may be merely noticed, and that is, that while the Bible, the perfect code of duty and morality, is excluded from all native schools, we give them no substitute. This surely ought to be done. An unobjectionable substitute might be produced, and along with Geographies and Grammars should be placed in the hands of the rising native generation.

We now proceed to sketch the outlines of a plan of educa-

I. Establish at each of the head quarters of the three Districts of this Division, a Vernacular School, with the following staff and allowances:—

Head Pundit			 25
2nd Ditto			10
English Abecedarian	maste	r	 20
Chowkeydar			 4
Contingences			5
Prize allowance			5
5 Scholarships at 5 ea	ach		 25
5 Ditto at 3 d			 15

Total Rupees 109 per month.

Government have been pleased for many years past to maintain, at no trifling cost, what are called Anglo-Vernacular Zillah The 'Vernacular' may be omitted from the designation, for English is what is actually taught, the maintenance of a Pundit, or Vernacular teacher, being but a disguise, and a very poor one, and the post all but a sinecure. We are not of those who either condemn this class of Schools as totally useless, or uphold them as a powerful means for the improvement and education of the people. They have been a long time in existence, and we think, have failed to produce results in any degree commensurate with the large outlay of public money that has been made on them. They have given us a class of less than half educated writers and ministerial officers, and must notwithstanding their short comings, have diffused a mental leaven of improvement and intelligence among the restricted sections of the community that have availed themselves of their advantages. But they have not influenced the masses, and their stanchest supporters must admit, that they have yielded no results, which can be regarded equivalent for the total neglect of the Vernacular education of the millions, who meantime have been left in the outer darkness of their ignorance and superstition. are by no means advocates for the abandonment of these schools. We are grateful for the modicum of good they have achieved, and anticipate an enlargement of their sphere of usefulness; but we would make them subordinate though important parts, of the scheme of which they have hitherto constituted almost the sum total. Our idea is that the state conscience has accepted the maintenance of these zillah schools as a salve for

the neglect of those more general and comprehensive, and therefore costly, measures which are imperatively demanded for the lower and middle classes of its Indian subjects. There can be no objection to the Government educating the aristocracy of the country, whom it has itself made; the upper ten thousand, who have benefitted so much under the fostering care of the State. Let these now, however, pay for their own education, as they well can do, and handsomely too. Government has done its duty amply towards them. It has lavished its favors on them; it has maintained High Schools and Colleges for their general education, and has now founded Universities to afford the means of attaining, and to confer the high distinctions accorded to, riper Scholarship. It has done enough in all fairness, and may now, having raised what we have called the upper ten thousand into a position from which their means and their self-interest will prevent their receding, it may safely withdraw by degrees, in a large measure, from the support of so exclusive a system, and devote its attention and educational funds to the millions. These are to be reached through the Vernacular only. For with all deference to the high authorities who have inveighed against education by means of the Vernacular, we consider it a sine qua If ever the millions of India are to be taught self-government; if ever they are to be imbued with the moral and social principles of an enlightened civilization; and what is all important in a religious point of view, if ever they are to be brought to acknowledge the folly and wickedness of idolatry, and to accept the doctrines and duties of the Christian faith, it must surely be through the medium of their own mother tongue. And these are among the ends of education, and may not be sacrificed, without a failure in duty, to the interested outcry for a superficial knowledge of the English tongue, raised by those who have an eye to the share of the loaves and fishes which such a knowledge is likely to secure.

With these views we suggest the establishment of Vernacular Schools of a superior class at each of the centres of population. It comports as much with the duty of Government to give the inhabitants of the towns the chances and advantages of a proper education as those of the rural villages. In these centres are accumulated as many inhabitants as we should find in any eighty or a hundred villages, and they are as badly off for good schools as the latter, while the temptations and idleness of a town life are more injurious and mischievous to town children, than any thing that is to be found in the quiet and more

simple and, in respect to daily employment, more active life of a village community. On the other hand, people living in the towns have a much better perception of the advantages of education for their children, and are inclined more readily to avail themselves of any opportunities that may be placed within their reach. At the same time as a measure in consonance with the views expressed above, we would remodel the so called Anglo-Vernacular Schools, now existing at the head quarters of each district, double or treble the present fees, and re-cast the constitution of these institutions, so that the following results may be secured:-the removal of the temptation, which is now held out by low fees and a low standard, to obtain the merest smattering of English to the total neglect of education of any other kind or in any other way; the reduction of the excessive cost to Government of a boy's English education so as to set free the public funds, which by rights should be expended on a more public and general scheme, and are required for that purpose; the elevation of the standard of education, so that the English instruction given may be somewhat less crude and contemptible, than it now must in most cases be confessed to be.

We cannot, however, sympathize with the outery for Normal Schools, at least to such an extent as to persuade ourselves that all endeavour to educate and improve the education of the masses, is as so much strength wasted, unless we have specially trained teachers to place over the schools established. Normal School teachers are very well in their way, and much to be But surely it is not meant to be said, that we should have normal schools teachers for our village Chatsalees? Unless the Government find the pay, such teachers will never be at the head of village schools; so that their sphere of usefulness, is limited to superior schools, either Government or private. The want of normal schools, and normal school teachers, is then no sufficient reason-none at all in fact-why no efforts should be made with such agency as is available, be it indifferent, or bad even; or why the full tide of Government aid and endeavour should be checked. 'The people are,' in scripture phrase, 'perishing for lack of knowledge,' while Government propose to rear scientifically trained teachers, by a process necessarily so slow that years must elapse before they will be ready. The growing desire for education will create the demand for improved teachers, just as it has done in other countries. other words, the latter will follow the former, as its consequence and result, and not precede it as its cause. The

contrary way of thinking, however, is in keeping with the straining after perfection, and the lofty standard that has marked the education policy of the Government from the beginning. They despise the day of small things, contemn the humble efforts of an impoverished and belated people, and abuse, as incorrigible blockheads and impracticable obstructives, the hereditary schoolmasters of the people, who nevertheless hold the position, and exercise the influence, which are just the position and influence that Government seek to fill and direct. There are numbers of schools and schoolmasters; but because they are imperfect, they are tabooed and neglected, and Government set themselves to constitute an entirely new agency, about which no one would quarrel were not the pressing interests of the people, and their strong prejudices, points for consideration in the question.

We have then no objection to English schools and Normal schools. But our advice is that the steed be not allowed to starve, while the grass is growing. Let not these otherwise desirable institutions stint the funds and energies that should be devoted to the broader, the more imperative demands of popular education and advancement, much less absorb them; and we should be specially careful how the spurious outery for English—not English literature and science, nor English ethics—but the mechanical power to read and write that language, be it never so imperfectly and ungrammatically, is gratified, at the sacrifice of the more important interests that the State is supposed to have at heart,

in a scheme of public education.

The sites of the Vernacular Schools we have proposed for the chief town in each Zillah, should be judiciously selected, and the musters should be natives of the province, the best that can be had. A fee of 4 annas a head per month, and in the lowest class or classes 2 annas, might be safely levied. The curriculum of studies must, for this superior class of schools, be higher than can just at present be furnished from the existing school-book series; but this is a want which it may not be difficult in a short time to supply, by the translation of standard works, either from the English or Bengali. We have proposed an English master to teach the rudiments of that language to the highest class or classes, but always in subordination to the more immediate objects of the institutions. We have provided for thirty scholarships in the three Zillah schools, which should be invariably filled from the pergunnah schools, to which we shall come presently. The scholarship boys might be allowed a preferential claim to the post of

pergunnah schoolmaster. More than this it is at present impossible to accomplish. We can no more provide all the indigenous rural schools with masters educated in our more expensive institutions, a complete education in which almost implies means and a position in the social grade above the average, than we can ever supply normal school teachers. A rural schoolmaster earns, in one way or another, from three to four rupees a month; and he is not underpaid, if the poverty-stricken condition of the people be taken into consideration. But boys whom we have passed through our pergunnah schools, and then taught in our zillah schools, cannot be expected to content themselves with so meager a livelihood as that afforded in the position of a village In process of time, however, and without any violent displacement or revolution, we may be able to supply many rural schools with masters educated in pergunnah schools; the sons and natural successors of the old Obodhans, or Gooroomohashovs as they are called in Bengal. When this step is gained, half the battle of popular education will have been fought out, and the improvement and progress of the education of the rural population would be measured by, and depend upon, the improvement and progress of the higher Government institutions, instead of the two, as now, being dissevered links of the same chain, or disjointed members of the same body educational, without the smallest sympathy, the one with the other.

The total expense of the three zillah schools to be established and maintained at the cost of Government, would be 327 Rupees per month, or 3924 Rupees per annum; while the fees, which might most properly be made available as a set off against this expenditure, will, it may be reasonably calculated, amount to from

one fourth to one third of the same.

II. Establish at the most centrically situated, or most populous village in each pergunnah, a vernacular school, with the following scale of establishment and allowances:—

Head Pundit	 	10	0	0
Boy, as an attendant	 	1	8	0
Contingences and prizes	•••	3	8	0
Three scholarships at 2-8	 	7	8	0
Three ditto at 2	 	6	0	0

where the number of boys attending a pergunnah school exceeded 30, we would add an

Assistant Pundit ... The scholarships in these pergunnah schools should be awarded to the best boys of the aided rural schools, or, if on consideration it seemed advisable, might be set apart exclusively for the sons of aided rural schoolmasters. These pergunnah schools would require the closest attention and supervision; and for these purposes, a system of circles of visitation would be required, which should be made to embrace aided and inspected rural schools. The fee in pergunnah schools, might be fixed at one anna six pie, or one anna only per month. Simplicity and inexpensiveness should be aimed at in the conduct of these schools. The supply of books, while abundant, should consist of cheap works; and every lad be required, or induced to possess copies. The pundit might be custodian, and be allowed a commission on the monthly We would endeavour to abolish the practice of scribbling or ciphering on the floor, which, though a method practical enough, is calculated to admit imperfections into the instruction so communicated, and is objectionable in other respects also. An abundance of cheap slates and black boards would be xcellent substitutes.

We are aware that Vernacular Schools were established at numerous places in the Lower Provinces some years ago, and were at last abandoned as entire failures. But this was the result of an almost entire want of proper inspection. The pundits were allowed to do just as they liked, and like all Asiatics, who have a singular lack of any thing like a sense of duty, lapsed, in the absence of close and careful supervision, into the uttermost indifference and idleness, as far as their immediate charges were Fictitious returns saved them an immense deal of trouble, and shielded them from censure, and when any special effort was necessary, a few pice judiciously distributed purchased the temporary attendance of a decent number of boys. system of course broke down to the surprise of no one. now that there is a special bureau for the direction and management of educational affairs, with Inpectors, and Sub-Inspectors, native schools will be, or ought to be, efficiently supervised, and the pundits no longer left to their own devices and proclivities. Frequent visitations and strict superintendence will keep them to their duties; while rewards and advancement will provide some stimulus for their pupils.

It is impossible here to enter more minutely into detail; and

we shall content ourselves with affording an approximation to the cost of Pergunnah Schools for three districts of the province. Some of the pergunnahs of the division, are so small in extent, that it would not be necessary to have a school in each. Say that schools were established in 100 pergunnahs. The total cost would be at 28-8 for each school, Rupees 2,850 per month, or per annum 34,200. The fees levied in these Schools would not be of much avail as a set off against this expenditure. Their aggregate would, however, afford an ample fund for additional pundits, where such were required. The above would be the maximum cost to Government; but the punditships of these schools would advantageously be divided into three classes, on ten, eight, and six Rupees a month; so that the sum total is susceptible of some diminution on this account, and might on the average be stated at 2,670 per mensem, or 32,040 per annum.

III. Let all the rural schools or chatsalees, as far as can be done without excessive inconvenience, be visited, and a certain number within the limits of each pergunnah, say as many as six in some, and three in others, be selected by the Deputy Inspector or Inspector. The points for consideration in the selection, should be locality in a populous village or neighbourhood; the existence of a permanent school house or place which would afford accommodation as such; the duration of the school; the number of pupils; the character of the Obodhan or teacher; his willingness to submit to visits from the Deputy Inspector, and to use books that would be supplied him for his school. There are other minor points, which do not need specification. Let the Obodhans or teachers of all such selected schools be paid by Government monthly one or one rupee and a half, and in special cases, two

rupees, as a grant-in-aid.

This may appear a trivial measure; but, if we are not much mistaken, it would be regarded otherwise by those mainly interested. A man who earns from two to four Rupees per month, as the little all on which he must subsist, would not ordinarily despise a clear and certain addition of one, or one rupee and a half, to his slender pittance. Living well, as things go in the Mofussil, on two annas a day, this addition would find him food for a week; and however insignificant it may sound or appear, it would have its weight with the recipients. We may calculate that about 500 rural schools would be aided in this inexpensive way. The aid so given to so many schools might very properly be regarded in the light of a retaining fee, in return for which we should, in the generality of cases, be enabled to direct the

influence of the old Obodhans, to lay their overt antagonism, to instil a few ideas of progress into their heads, to place some books in their hands, and through them in the hands of their pupils, to improve the manner and material of their instructions, to supply a stimulus to their rude pupils, to remove some prejudices, and generally to encourage, foster and strengthen any desire that might exist for knowledge and information. And when the old race of Obodhans have retired from their spheres of labor, we should be in the best position to replace them gradually, in many cases with teachers educated in our own schools, who though not deep in the mysteries of scientific teaching, would still be great improvements on their predecessors, and continue to improve with the lapse of time. If we assume then that 500 indigenous rural schools be aided in the manner above indicated, the monthly expense will be say

700, or per annum Rupees 8,400.

We would not recommend any peremptory interference with the Obodhans, and we would require no periodical returns. Visitation by Officials of the Department would of course be made a necessary condition of the grant-in-aid; and such visitation frequently repeated, in a friendly and conciliatory manner, would secure all that is required. A visitor would take down the statistics and condition of the schools, and should every month submit a tabulated statement exhibiting the results of his observation. Here we may also add that if visitors and Deputy Inspectors have tact, and display a friendly spirit and manner, it will not be a matter of much difficulty, while it should and must be an aim of duty, to visit and improve rural schools other than those aided by Government. Of course the same amount or control and influence over them, as may be exercised over aided schools, cannot be expected. But there appears no reasonable obstacle to the attaining a degree of influence, which will be for good only. Example is catching. The spirit of competition and improvement, will be abroad in the land. We are indeed afraid to suggest a quid pro quo with regard to these non-aided schools, in return for which our visitation and inspection would be so much better tolerated; for the little bill that we shall have to present will, we fear, be considered sufficiently formidable already.

IV. In order to complete the scheme, it would be necessary that there should be visitors of circles; say three in the Cuttack, and two in each of the other Districts, making seven circle visitors, a properly qualified Native Oryah Deputy Inspector for each

Zillah, and an Inspector of Schools, with head-quarters in the District, and not at Calcutta. The Visitors and Deputy Inspectors should, before every thing else, be natives of the province, and not Bengalees; and the first qualification of the Inspector should be a thorough practical acquaintance with the Vernacular of the District. It is a solemn farce to give us a local head, who besides having no local habitation, cannot personally communicate with the teachers of his schools. The educational machine, like every other machine, requires constant practical supervision by a responsible and capable head; not a supervision which contents itself with reports and statements only. All efforts for the advancement of popular education are not unlikely to fail as inevitably as those that have been made heretofore, if every thing is left to the Pundits and visitors, or even Deputy Inspectors, or what is tantamount to the same thing, if we have an Inspector who knows not his workmen and his material, and his ground too, and is unable freely and unhesitatingly to communicate his ideas, wishes and advice directly to those whom it is his duty most to guide and influence. In every case, as far as practicable, visitors and Deputy Inspectors should be natives of the province. We really do not want Bengalee scholars, who are always hankering after appointments in their own province, and who find no sympathy or companionship in the Mofussil, where their duty lies, and who rouse not a little dislike and opposition among a population peculiarly prejudiced, by constant references to and comparisons with things as they are in the more favored The entire establishment of visitors and Deputy land of Gaur. Inspectors, would not cost more than 550 rupees a month—namely at an average of thirty rupees a month for visitors, and eighty rupees for Deputy Inspectors, with small, though sufficient, travelling allowances.

We have thus sketched in outline a somewhat comprehensive scheme, more so at least than any that has yet been tried and one that embraces a good proportion of the existing rural schools of the people. There is, however, for the present a deficiency or disproportionateness in it, in the provision made for aiding the indigenous schools. These aided schools form the links uniting the people's efforts with those made by Government on their behalf, and the better aided and more numerous they can be made, the closer and more beneficial will be the connection. Any extension of the scheme should therefore be in this direction. We thus admit that the provision we have made for the aiding of rural schools is at present rather insufficient in proportion

to the comparative importance of that object; but that provision is susceptible of gradual and great extension, which can be effected at any time, when justified by success, or made possible by the growth of funds, which do not now exist. Next in the grade of importance are the Pergunnah Schools. They will afford living and practical example to village schools, schoolmasters and people. Ere long they will furnish better Obodhans than now exist; they will hold out a little career to many village school boys, who otherwise would have to content themselves with the imperfect and extremely limited instruction that their present masters are capable of affording, or to neglect even that from want of a stimulus, an object of ambition. Besides these and other advantages, these Pergunnah Schools would directly educate a proportion of the school-going population, namely, from two to three thousand boys. finally of great importance are the proposed zillah schools. does not speak well for the Education Department, that in the great centres of population, in each of which from thirty to forty thousand native inhabitants are to be found, possessing a greater desire for the education of their rising progeny, and on the whole undoubtedly much better able to pay for the advantage, there exist no purely Vernacular (Oryah) schools above the grade of ordinary chatsalees or village schools. Our plan supplies this deficiency, and if judiciously carried out, would, we have every reason to believe, prove most satisfactory.

We shall content ourselves with two more paragraphs. First as to the aggregate expenditure required by such a scheme in

its completeness:-

3	Zillah Schools pe	r mensem	327	per annum	3,924
100	Pergunnah do.	do.	2,850	do.	34,200
500	Aided village do.	do.	700	do.	8,400
7	Circle visitors	do.	245	do.	2,940
3	Zillah Inspectors	do.	270	do.	3,240
	Books gratis	do.	50	do.	600

Total Rupees ... ... do. 4,442 do. 53,304

By fees, and a reduction of expenditure in the present Anglo-Vernacular Zillah Schools, the total cost might be reduced, in round numbers, to half a lakh of rupees. It would of course be confined to that tract of the country, which is called the Mogulbundee, or settled part, which, if we are to accept the census of 1854, the latest that has been made, contains a population of

2,550,000. This, however is, as we have already remarked, probably an exaggerated estimate, which might, with approximate accuracy, be converted into 2,000,000. The expenditure of the half lakh would therefore be at the rate of about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  pie a head

per annum.

In the second place we have to indicate the source from which the public funds may hereafter be greatly relieved of the burden of this expediture. The Mogulbundee of Orissa, is a temporarily settled tract, the current settlement expiring in 1867. The Mofussil Jumma, or gross land Revenue, may be assumed as twenty lakes of Rupees. Judging from the results of the renewal of settlements of isolated estates within the Mogulbundee, or adjacent to it, which, having had shorter terms to run than the general settlements of the Province, have been since made afresh, and judging also from the great enhancement that has of late years taken place in the value of land and its produce, it is not too much to predict, indeed it seems well within probability that the resettlement of the province would, in 1867, yield a land revenue of from twenty-two to twenty-four lakes of Rupees. Is there any resonable objection why a slight cess should not be added to this jumma, for educational purposes? Two per cent would yield from 44 to 48,000 Rupees; and this would go a long way towards the aggregate outlay on education. Other sources of Revenue, annually on the increase, may be supposed for the nonce to supply the balance. This principle of levying on, or adding to, the jumma of the land at settlement, such a cess as the above, is one that has been acknowledged, if not acted on, by Government, and to our apprehension is most equitable and just in the abstract, and would effect so light an enhancement of the rent-payers' burdens, as to be hardly appreciable. In the ease of this Province, the Government are fettered by no unwary promises as in permanently settled estates, and ere they promulgate any, we think it would be worth the while to take the matter into consideration. Half a lakh of Rupees thus contributed by the people themselves, with any further allowance from Imperial funds, which it might please Government to make, would, or should, do a great deal for the cause of popular education in this long neglected, but promising province of British India.

ART. IV.—1. History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745. By Robert Orme, F. A. S. Madras: re-printed by Pharoah & Co. 2.—Public Records.

WE wonder how many people have read through Orme's Hindostan. Macaulay, indeed, has pronounced that old world author to be inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting; but then he is oppressive from the load of detail. His work is not a history properly so called, such as Macaulay himself would have written, but a graphic report by 'our own correspondent.' A hundred years hence, people will prefer to read the annals of the Crimean War summed up into a single chapter by some future Gibbon, rather than labour through Dr. Russell's picturesque but long-winded volumes. In the same way the present generation will probably prefer reading a concise narrative of the course of events in early Madras history, to wading through the mass of facts recorded by old Orme.

But there is another circumstance which interferes with the popularity of Orme's work. The period to which it refers is extremely limited, extending over sixteen years only, namely,

from the year preceding the French occupation of Madras in 1746 down to the triumphant capture of Pondicherry in 1761. Of the previous history of India his knowledge was very slight and untrustworthy; and the later history he never atempted. Then, again, the bulk of his work is chiefly devoted to the progress of affairs in the Madras Presidency. He did indeed spend some years of his early life in Calcutta, and thus has incorporated in his annals a narrative of events in Bengal both before and after the Black Hole tragedy in 1756. But throughout the period to which he restricted himself, Madras stood prominently forward in British India; whilst during a large portion of that period he was himself a member of the Council at Fort St. George. In Madras, therefore, his very minuteness of detail has served to perpetuate his memory and concentrate his fame. His work is a treasury of authentic stories of the early deeds of the Madras Army, and thus has been for generations the delight of every

camp and cantonment throughout the Presidency, which could boast the possession of volumes which up to the moment of the present republication have been both costly and rare. Orme in hand any Madras resident can point out the spot where Maffuze Khan was beaten by the French at St. Thomé, and where Count Lally planted the guns which were to batter down the walls of Fort St. George. Moreover the topographical knowledge of Orme extended to almost every part of Southern India, which was at that time known to the European. Mysore was indeed a terra incognita; but with all the famous localities between the eastern Ghats and the sea, he seems to have been thoroughly familiar. The old camp at Trichinopoly, the sacred island of Seringham, the broken ramparts at Arcot, the great pagoda at Conjeveram, the precipitous rock at Ginjee, the bloodstained fort at Vellore, and even the remains of Dutch glory at Pulicat and Sadras, are all invested with the liveliest interest by the graphic pen of the old antiquarian.

Having said thus much for Orme we dismiss him without further ceremony. Recent researches in the Madras records have thrown a new light upon the early progress of British settlements in this country; and accordingly by their aid we purpose to sketch the early history of Madras from the foundation of Fort St. George down to the period when the annals of the Presidency begin to connect themselves with those of India, a date which coincides with the close of the period treated by our

historian.

Early in the seventeenth century, whilst James I was studying Hebrew at Hampton Court, the English and Dutch were trying to establish fortified factories on the Coast of Coromandel, in order to exchange the cloths of that locality for the pepper and spices of Java and the Moluccas. The Dutch came first and erected a great square massive Fort at Pulicat, about 30 miles to the north of the present site of Madras, and another at Sadras, about 30 miles to the south of that site. At Pulicat scarcely a vestige is to be found of the Dutch of the olden time, beyond a quaint burying ground, a street lined with trees, a few Dutch houses, and a few heavy masses of half buried brick work, which serve to show where the Fort once stood. But at Sadras the destruction has been but partial, and the hand of time has dealt lightly with the ruins. The watch towers and stair cases, the Governor's house and the Officers quarters, the barracks, the cells for prisoners, the magazines, the store rooms, the ramparts,-all are still there, showing the heavy brick work, and neatness and primness of style, for which the Dutch were so celebrated.\*
At this early epoch the English tried to settle at Pulicat along

\* We know of no place in India so redolent of old Dutch life in India, as Sadras. There the pilgrim may wander, not only through the old Fort; but through the Governor's official residence, now a traveller's bungalow, and above all, through the ruins of Myhn Heer's magnificent garden house; and at last he will almost fancy that the great merchant princes of the seventeenth century have but just vanished away, with their huge pipes, their fiery schnaps, and their stately vrows. The following extracts from some notes taken on the spot about a year ago by the writer of the present

article may be not without interest.

"The Fort at Sadras must have been a very imposing place a century and a half ago; and enough of the fortifications are still standing, to show the great strength of the masonry, as well as the arrangement and plan of the place. The visitor can still walk along the elevated terraces, and examine the magazines, the store rooms, the treasury, the barracks, and the terrible dungeons. He may still enter the residence of the Commandant, and even ascend to the watch towers and guard-rooms. But there, in a spot once an arena of constant business and bustle, all is silent and desolate. The purple convolvulus luxuriates amongst the ruins, and nothing is heard but the selemn roar of the waves, which dash upon the sandy beach unchanging and

unchangeable.

"The Fort was originally a great square, or rather a parallelogram, rising up to a considerable height on a sandy eminence within three hundred yards of the sea. It seems to have been about six hundred feet long, and four hundred feet broad. All round the Fort there was a double line of wall, or rather two walls, with the space between them filled up with earth so as to form a magnificent terrace walk; and each corner of this large fortified parallelogram was formed by a strong bastion. Within the Fort on the land side, was the line of barracks protected by the massive walls. On the sea side were the watch towers, and quarters of the Officers of the garrison. On either side is a well constructed bomb proof magazine. In the south-west corner is the old burial ground, with its massive tombstones of sculptured granite, where many a troubled and aching bosom found a resting place at last. The entrance to the Fort is composed of a beautiful and strongly built archway, surmounted by a tower; and near it is a large well, sufficient to have furnished a continuous and plentiful supply of water to the whole garrison. Such was the Fort of Sadras in the olden time, when the Dutch merchants lorded it over their little territories, and treated all other Europeans with the utmost suspicion and disdain. Rising abruptly from the sea, it must have been seen from distant ships miles and miles away. At the same time the unhealthiness arising from the height of the walls must have been greatly tempered by the glorious sea breeze, which rushed along the terraces and through the watch towers and guard rooms, bringing to the weary denizens of the Fort all the freshness and coolness of the radiant waves. Once more we may fancy we hear the gun announcing the arrival of another ship in the offing, and see in our mind's eye the stolid Dutchmen, cut off from their native land, eagerly drinking in the news of the landing of their own William of Orange on the shores of Great Britain, or listening anxiously to the story of his mighty and desperate struggle

with the Dutch, but the arrangement between such commercial rivals was altogether impracticable. They then tried a neighbouring locality, but it did not answer. At last in 1639, the

against the overwhelming power of Louis. Once more we may see a trembling harkara hurrying in with the terrible news that the Mahrattas are once again plundering and ravaging the Carnatic; whilst the sudden clanging of the midnight alarm bell is summoning all hands to get in the goods from the town, to serve out ammunition, or to man the walls. Once more we may see all the agitation and bustle of that quaint old Fort, from the stately Governor of the settlement, to the young boy in the counting house, or the emaciated prisoner in the hot and feverish dungeon; whilst the watchmen of the night are straining their eyes from every tower to catch the first glimpse of those portentous fires which generally heralded the approach of that terrible and savage foe. But all is silent now. Eighty years have passed away since that strange old settlement fell into British hands. That too was a stirring time. The Tigers of Mysore were desolating the Carnatic up to the very walls of Fort St. George, when a prompt old English General mined the Fort in all directions lest it should fall into the hands of Hyder, and left little beyond the cracked and shattered walls in the state they are standing now.

"One peculiarity of the old Dutch Fort at Sadras is so illustrative of the national character, that it must not be passed unnoticed. In all directions we see manifestations of that peculiar squareness, neatness, primness of design, which gives to the whole group of buildings and surrounding walls almost the appearance of a neat model of something still larger and grander. Everything seems to have been ordered, regulated, and cut by rule and square, from the staircases and terraces to the watchtowers and guardrooms. But this same love of order and rule rendered the Dutch remorseless and inexorable towards prisoners and deserters. The wretched victims were consigned to horrible dungeons, rarely to quit them except to enter their graves. Delinquents and defaulters were treated with unsparing severity amounting almost to ferocity; and we may remark that, next to the Inquisition, few administrations were more relentless and cruel than those of

the Dutch Governors in India and Batavia.

"A hundred yards inland from the Fort stands what was once the town house or official residence of the Dutch Governor. It consists of one ample hall, with rooms on either side, and a long spacious verandah in front. This building is also interesting to the visitor, inasmuch as at present it forms the traveller's bungalow; and we may add, for the information of tourists, that free accommodation may be obtained at all times, only the traveller must take his own provisions and mattresses. The most curious feature connected with this building is the quaint old garden. An English garden in India disappears entirely in a very few years, if no attention is paid to the cultivation; but though nearly a century has passed away since this Dutch garden was left to itself, the ruins still remain. Every fancifully cut bed, and straight prim path, was lined with brick covered with white chunam; and to this day the lines still remain to indicate the beds and pathways of olden time. There too are the solid seats, the massive walls, the neat tank with little channels for watering the beds, and the luxuriant remains of trees and flowers which still struggle against the thick overgrowth of prickly pear.

year before the sitting of the Long Parliament, a Mr. Day proceeded to the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé, where he found unexpected encouragement from both the Portuguese authorities and the native powers. A little strip of land along the shore, about five miles long and one mile inland, was obtained from the Rajah of Chandragheri on payment of an annual rent of 1200 pagodas;\* and an oblong fort facing the sea was constructed without delay, and named after the patron Saint of England,—Fort St. George.

The state of the country round about the little Fort would be a marvel to the present generation. The Mussulmans had not as yet pressed so far to the south, whilst even the Mussulman kings of the Dekhan (the countries lying between the Nerbudda and the Kristna) were as yet independent of the Great Mogul. The Rajah of Chandragheri was a Hindoo,—the representative of the once famous Native sovereignty of Bijianagur, the last of the great Hindoo kingdoms, which had been overturned about

eighty years previously by a confederacy of the Mussulman

<sup>&</sup>quot;But this Town House and grave looking garden are dwarfed into insignificance by the side of the magnificent Garden House, which once rose in stately grandeur nearly half a mile inland, and where the Dutchmen of old displayed their taste for flowers and canals to their heart's content. There was once the Dutchman's beau ideal of luxury and retired dignity. A quaint but splendid edifice, strong as a castle, but rendered light and elegant by its graceful towers, elevated terraces, and curious arches. The gardens spreading over four acres were all cut up into straight walks, mathematical beds, and endless water channels. Trees and flowers all were luxuriant but trim; and the deep waters of the lake-like tanks, were as solemn and imperturbable as a Dutch canal. In a word, all the wonders of a residence at the Hague were reproduced in that sandy plain. The indications of the past are still so fresh, that the imagination easily calls up a picture of the days that have been. The walks once more alive with young Dutch traders, solemn as judges; and with fair young vrows, stately, prim and blooming as the precisely cut beds of flowers. From yonder tower a starched lady in ruffles may have been looking down upon the yellow lotus flowers in that deep lake; or watching the Governor and Council sitting in that small embowered island, with the eternal schnaps and coffee and stupendous pipe. All is intensely Dutch, and yet here and there glides a mild Hindoo, or a jewelled and bangled Ayah. But all is a dream of the past. Silence and desolation are the only denizens now; and nature alone luxuriates amongst the ruins."

<sup>\*</sup> The original grant on gold leaf was preserved for more than a century, but appears to have been lost during the French occupation of the Fort, 1746-48.

kings of the Dekhan.\* Seven years after the foundation of Fort St. George, the poor Rajah of Chandragheri was compelled to fly before the advance of the Mussulmans, and to take refuge in Mysore, leaving his territory in the Carnatic, inclusive of the English settlement, in possession of the Mussulman

king of Golconda, the modern Hyderabad.

Meantime the English at Fort St. George began buying up cottons and muslins, and selling looking glasses, knives, lead, and crimson and green cloths after their usual fashion. To the north of the Fort sprung up a large Native village of mud and bamboo, which formed the nucleus of the modern Black town. Immediately to the south was a little fishing village, where the inhabitants had been fishing and making nets since the days of Rama, and where they are fishing and making nets still, just as they did in days of yore, and utterly regardless of the world around. Further to the south, about three or four miles from the Fort, was the decaying Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé; whilst inland beyond the English territory were groups of native villages, which still give their names to the now fashionable quarters of the modern city of Madras. When the Rajah of Chandragheri fled into exile, the English obtained a fresh lease from the Shah of Golconda on the old terms of 1200 pagodas per annum; and also kept a Brahmin vakeel at the court, who transacted all the business, and sent them all the news.

The interior of the Fort was arranged in a strictly commercial style. There were some twenty soldiers, and a staff of civilians in the old fashioned grades of apprentices, writers, factors, and merchants. There was also a governor and a chaplain. All the

<sup>\*</sup> The old Hindoo empire of Bijianagur, extended during the fifteenth century over the greater part of Southern India, and thus nearly corresponded to the present limits of the Madras Presidency. Its metropolis on the river Toombuddra was literally constructed of granite of the cyclopean style of masonry; and to this day the ruins are said to be the finest in all India. There is a continued succession of streets, intersected by aqueducts and paved with granite, for a distance of three miles; whilst the temples, and other buildings public and private, are on a colossal scale and of the purest style of Hindoo architecture. The extent and grandeur of this city of the dead, are sufficient to indicate the greatness of the old Hindoo sovereignties before the advent of the Mussulmans. The Forts at Vellore and Chandragheri were built by the Bijianagur Rajahs. Ram Rajah the last ruler was defeated in 1564 on the plains of Tellicota by a confederacy of the four Mussulman Shahs of Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, Golconda, and Beeder; and until within a comparatively recent period his head was preserved in the city of Bejapoor.

civilians, from the youngest apprentice fresh from Christ's Hospital up to the governor himself, attended morning and evening prayers daily, with two sermons on Sundays, and something extra on Wednesdays. The Directors moreover supplied the Fort liberally with Bibles and Catechisms, and a copy of the five folio volumes of Poole's Synopsis for light reading. The scale of salaries was somewhat limited; apprentices only getting £5 a year, the chaplain £100, members of council £100, and the governor £300; but then considerable fortunes could be made by private trading. The entire establishment, excepting the soldiers, took their meals together, so that board and lodging were furnished by the Directors in addition to the pay. The whole English population of the place varied from a hundred to a hundred and fifty souls, according to the number of soldiers, which varied with the times or rather with the fears of the Directors at home. A number of native peons were also taken into military service, and armed with swords, bucklers, bows and arrrows, and other primitive weapons of the country. Morals were at a low ebb of course. Drunkenness and dicing were the great vices of the time; whilst both soldiers and civilians naturally inclined towards the women of the country, especially towards the Popish Portuguese women of St. Thomé. Sometimes they desired marriage, but this the chaplain resolutely refused to perform, unless the women solemnly renounced Popery, and promised to attend the Protestant chapel and profit by his teaching.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Although drunkenness, duelling, gambling, and licentiousness were only too common, the strictest rules were laid down for preserving sobriety and morality. Sir William Langhorne in 1678 issued express orders,—and certainly his views were liberal,—that no person was to be allowed to drink above half a pint of arrack or brandy and one quart of wine at a time, under a penalty of one pagoda upon the housekeeper that supplied it, and 12 fanams (about a rupee) upon every guest that had exceeded that modest allowance. Drunkenness was to be punished by a fine or the stocks. All persons addicted in any way to licentiousness were to be imprisoned at the discretion of the Governor, and if not reclaimed were to be sent back to England. All persons telling a lie, or absenting themselves from morning or evening prayers, were to be fined four fanams for each offence. Persons being out of the Fort after eight o'clock in the evening were to be punished; and any one committing the heinous offence of getting over the walls of the Fort upon any pretence whatever, was to be kept in irons until the arrival of the ships, and then to be sent to England there to receive further condign punishment. It was also ordained that all persons swearing, cursing, banning, or blaspheming the sacred name of Almighty God should

The position of some of the early Madras Governors must have been a very peculiar one. In Charles II's time the French and English were allies in Europe, but in the East they were rivals. On one occasion a French Admiral landed a force at St. Thomé, and captured the place from the Mussulman authorities; and the Madras Governor could not help the Mussulmans to drive them out because of the European alliance, and consequently had to give presents of scarlet broad cloth, looking glasses, sandals, and other similar articles to the Mussulman officers at St. Thomé, lest they should transmit complaints of his conduct to the court at Golconda. Then, again, the Native great men generally, extracted frequent presents by threatening to get the town rent raised. Moreover in 1677 the Mahrattas poured into the Carnatic under the celebrated Sivajee, and demanded presents, which were of course promptly forwarded. Meantime the Directors at home insisted upon collecting a house tax in their town at Madraspatanam, which was rapidly increasing in size and population; and this step threatened to depopulate the town, and was only carried out with great difficulty.

About 1688, the year of the "great and glorious" revolution at home, a serious danger threatened Fort St. George, and the place was put into a state of defence. The independent Mussulman kingdoms of the Dekhan had long been a source of annoyance to the Great Mogul; for every rebellious prince in the royal family of Delhi, every disgraced minister or disappointed general, rushed off to the Dekhan to secure a refuge, and in many cases to procure the means of revenge. The throne at Delhi was at this period held by Aurungzebe, the Oliver Cromwell of the East, and perhaps the greatest of all the Mogul Sovereigns. The conquest of the Dekhan was his favourite scheme, and the grand army of the Mogul was marched to Bijapore and Golconda, and the Mussulman Kings of the Dekhan ceased to be. Madras thus underwent a further change of masters, and had to forward large presents to the Mogul Officers. But

pay a fine of four fanams for each offence; that any two persons, who should go out into the fields to decide a quarrel between them by the sword or fire arms, should be imprisoned for two months on nothing but rice and water; that any soldier giving another the lie should be made fast to a gun, and then receive ten small blows with a rattan, well laid on by the man to whom he had given the lie; and that any officer who should in any way connive at the offence, or at any mitigation of the punishment, should forfeit a month's wages.

meantime Aurungzebe had awakened a new enemy who was ultimately to overthrow the Mogul power. A great army of Mahrattas under Sivajee poured into the Carnatic and plundered Conjeveram, only forty miles from Fort St. George, and then advanced upon Golconda. A protracted and desolating war between the Mahrattas and the Moguls ensued, which lasted for ten years, and more than once threatened to overwhelm Fort The principal domestic events in the history of the St. George. English settlement at this period were the institution of a Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses in Madras; the rise of the Armenian community under special privileges; and a great exchange of feasting and festivities between the Dutch Governor of Pulicat and the English Governor of Fort St. George, who were of course very good friends during the reign of Dutch William. A famous naval fight, now quite forgotten, also took place between the English and French in the Madras roads and within view of the Fort; whilst the Madras territory was extended a little by the possession of some of the villages which make up the modern city of Madras. Throughout the whole period, interlopers, or pirates as they were charitably called, were very troublesome; whilst a rival Company started at home, and occasioned great loss and anxiety. These matters however are recorded in general history; the following story will prove more novel and entertaining, whilst largely illustrating the early relations between the English and the Moguls.

About the year 1700 Dawood Khan, a Mogul General of some eminence, was appointed by Aurungzebe to be Commander in Chief of the Carnatic, which of course included the little English territory of Madras. The great object of Dawood Khan was to obtain a large present from the English, and accordingly he visited St. Thomé, and hinted that he required the modest sum of ten thousand pagodas. At that time the Governor of Madras was Mr. Thomas Pitt, better known as the grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham, and the possessor of the great Pitt Diamond. Mr. Pitt was determined to thwart the avaricious Nabob, but for some months negociations were conducted with an outward show of the utmost possible cordiality. On one occasion,—Saturday, 12th July 1702—a splendid feast was given to the Nabob in the Consultation Room in Fort St. George. The whole entertainment was conducted on a magnificent scale. The train bands were ordered out, and the little streets of the Fort were lined with soldiers from St. Thomè gate to the Governor's quarters.

A dinner of six hundred dishes was dressed and managed by a Persian inhabitant; at which the Nabob, the Dewan, and the Bukshee all ate and drank very heartily; and indeed the devotion of the Nabob to the cordial waters and French brandy must have been highly gratifying to his entertainers. dinner the dancing girls were introduced into the Consultation Room to divert the Nabob; and about sunset the latter departed, announcing his intention of getting up early next morning to pay a visit to the ships in the roads. Next morning, however, it was reported that the Nabob had got so drunk the night before that he could not go. But these civilities did not divert Dawood Khan from his primary object—the ten thousand pagodas; and Mr. Pitt deemed it expedient to form a band of Portuguese volunteers, and indeed the Fort was kept in a state of constant alarm. On one occasion, when more than half intoxicated, the Nabob suddenly moved towards the Fort with a great detachment of horse and foot and all his elephants; but was induced to halt until Mr. Pitt could be informed of his The halt proved too much for the sobriety of the Mussulman lord, and he staggered into a Portuguese chapel and slept away until the evening, when he sent a messenger to Governor Pitt to tender his apologies for not coming, and to request the favour of a dozen more bottles of cordial waters. A few months afterwards affairs reached a climax. Dawood Khan made still greater demands, which Mr. Pitt resisted. At length the Mussulman fairly besieged the Fort, cut off all supplies, and seized all goods coming from up country. The blockade lasted for three months, after which some kind of compromise was effected, and the siege was raised.

Mr. Pitt was Governor of Madras during the unprecedentedly long period of eleven years. The most remarkable event in his career was the good understanding which he managed to effect with the Great Mogul at Delhi. Aurungzebe died in 1707, and his three sons as usual on such occasions, engaged in deadly conflict for the throne. Shah Alum the eldest took some steps to propitiate Mr. Pitt, in order to induce the English Governor to arrest and secure a dangerous brother, who might try and escape on board one of the vessels in the Madras roads and renew the conflict in Bengal. Governor Pitt in return sent the most fulsome letters of compliment, by which however he succeeded in obtaining many decided advantages for Madras. Subsequently Shah Alum gained the victory over his brothers, and secured the throne without any assistance from the English.

The successor to Mr. Pitt, was Gulstone Addison, the eldest brother of the great Essayist. Poor Gulstone, however, died a month afterwards, leaving a fortune to his celebrated relative. In 1710 Dawood Khan was finally recalled, and Sadatullah Khan was appointed Dewan of the Carnatic, who is remarkable in history as being the first Dewan or Nabob of the Carnatic, who endeavoured to make the office hereditary. In 1712 Shah Alum died at Lahore, and another desperate fratricidal struggle took place between his four sons; which after some months terminated in the death of all four, and the accession of a nephew, known in history as Feroksere. About this time the celebrated Cheen Kulich Khan, the ancestor of the present Nizam, was appointed Soubah of the Dekhan, under the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, or 'Regulator of the State', by which latter designation he is generally known. During the reign of Feroksere, the English settlement at Calcutta sent an embassy to Delhi; and a firman was obtained, which settled some disputes between the Governor of Fort St. George and the Nabob of the Carnatic, and was of course received at Madras with every demonstration of respect and rejoicing.\* But the power of the Moguls was already on Feroksere owed his elevation to two Seiad brothers the decline. Abdullah and Hussein, and was anxious to escape from their thraldom. Fortune seemed to smile upon the attempt. Abdullah was vizier, and he removed the Nizam from the government of the Dekhan, and appointed Hussein in his room; and Feroksere secured the services of the deposed Nizam by proposing to make him Vizier in the room of Abdullah, who was to be assassinated. The plot was ripe for execution, for Hussein was away in the But all went wrong through the criminal weakness of Feroksere. He had a favourite,—a low profligate minion who was hated by the whole court, and who persuaded the King to postpone the execution of the plot, and to make him Vizier instead of Abdullah discovered the scheme, and saw that so the Nizam. long as Feroksere lived his own life was in imminent danger. Accordingly he made friends with the Nizam, and summoned Hussein from the Dekhan. The terrible events which followed have been but too often parallelled in Oriental history, but are well worthy of notice. Hussein reached Delhi with 30,000 horsemen, of whom 10,000 were Mahrattas. The very appearance of the Mahrattas, Hindoo robbers as they were, suggested ideas of

<sup>\*</sup> Copies of the correspondence between the envoys and the Calcutta governor are to be found in the Madras records.

massacre and plunder to the Mussulman population of Delhi. In a word, the whole city was filled with dread, for every one felt that a terrible convulsion was at hand, and no one could foretell the issue of the struggle. A wild rumour suddenly brought matters to a climax. The Mussulmans rose against the Mahrattas, and plunder, fire, and massacre began. Within the Palace another conflict was taking place. Feroksere had fled for refuge to his harem. and refused to leave it. The rude soldiery of the Seiads rushed into the sacred apartments, and soon discovered the unhappy Emperor in an agony of terror, surrounded by his mother, wife, and daughter, and other princesses. Shrieks and prayers for mercy were of course unheeded. Feroksere was dragged away to a dark chamber, and the hot iron was drawn over his eyes; whilst the booming of cannon and strains of music were announcing to the people of Delhi that the wretched sovereign was deposed, and that another puppet king reigned in his stead. In a few hours order was restored, and two months afterwards the fatal bowstring ended the days of the unhappy Feroksere. We need not follow the Mogul history further. It will be sufficient to say that in 1720 Mohammed Shah reigned at Delhi, and the Nizam regained

the government of the Dekhan. Madras history during this period is marked by extreme qui-

etude. The rent of 1200 pagodas was regularly paid to Sadatullah, the Nabob of the Carnatic; whilst the Nizam was so much occupied with resisting the Mahrattas, and endeavouring to establish his own independence in the Dekhan, that he does not appear to have interfered in the Carnatic, and certainly did not trouble himself about the little English settlement at Fort St. George. These had been money making times, but still the Company had found it necessary to appoint a Governor of Madras prepared to cut down the expenditure of the settlement; and this financial reform was achieved by a Scotchman who had been many years in the naval service, and is still remembered as Governor Macrae. The result was that in 1726 the entire public expenditure of Fort St. George, including all the charges for salaries, soldiers' pay, diet, repairs, miscellaneous charges, was reduced from 39,000 pagodas per annum to 35,000 pagodas only; or reckoning the pagoda at four rupees, or eight shillings sterling, which was about the rate of exchange in those days, from about £15,600 to £14,200 a year. At the same time the town revenues were 64,000 pagodas, or nearly double the whole expenditure of the settlement.

In 1727 a new charter from the Crown for the establishment

Six halberdiers.

of a Mayor and Corporation, was granted to the city of Madraspatanam, and was celebrated with much rejoicing, and especially with a great procession from the Governor's Garden House to the Fort, which would seem rather strange in these days. We copy the order of the procession as set down in a contemporary record, premising that Major Roach commanded the garrison, and that the Pedda Naik was the hereditary head of the town police:—

Major John Roach on horseback at the head of a company of Foot soldiers,

with kettledrum, trumpet, and other music.

The Dancing Girls with the country music.

The Pedda Naik on horseback at the head of his Peons.

The Marshall with his staff on horseback.

The Court Attornies on horseback.

The Registrar carrying their old Charter on horseback.

The Serjeants with their Maces on horseback.

The old Mayor on the right hand and the new one on the left.

The Aldermen, two and two, all on horseback.

The Company's Chief Peon on horseback, with his Peons.

The Sheriff with white wand on horseback. The Chief Gentry in the town on horseback.

In 1732 Sadatullah Khan, Nabob of the Carnatic, died of grief for the loss of his wife. He left no children, and his Nabobship was conferred on his nephew Dost Ali, who was called Nabob of Arcot from his residence in that capital, which was about sixty miles from Madras. Meantime the weakness of the Mogul, and the evil effects of the Mussulman rule were sharply felt in Southern India. Under the Hindoo Rajahs, the tanks or reservoirs of water, which are absolutely necessary in the Carnatic, where the rains are scanty and uncertain, were constantly kept in repair; but such had been the neglect or rapacity of the Nabobs of Arcot, that these tanks had been altogether neglected, and rice had risen to a famine price, and great privations were endured by the Native population.

Significant events were now transpiring in India which were to culminate in that great change in the relations between the English and the Native powers, which ultimately led to the establishment of the British supremacy. On the southern frontier of the territory administered by the Nabob of Arcot, and about two hundred miles to the southward of Madras, lay the little Hindoo kingdom of Trichinopoly. In 1732 the Rajah of Trichinopoly died without issue, and according to the custom of the time, his second and third wives burned

themselves with his body, or in other words, became suttee. The first wife succeeded to the Government as Ranee, but her authority was disputed by a Prince of the blood. Under these circumstances, the Rance appealed to Dost Ali, the Nabob of Arcot, for aid; and the latter sent an army under his son Subder Ali, and his son-in-law Chunda Sahib, to take possession of the The name of Chunda Sahib should be borne in mind, kingdom. as he conducted all the negociations on this occasion, and subsequently rendered himself famous in history. The army invaded the territory of Trichinopoly, but could not take the capital. At length the Rance was induced by Chunda Sahib to admit a body of troops. Orme says that she had fallen in love with the latter gentleman, but this story is apocryphal. It is certain, however, that Chunda Sahib swore on the Koran, or rather on a brick wrapped with the same splendid covering that usually envelopes a Koran, that the troops so admitted should only be employed in the restoration of the Ranee, and should then be withdrawn. Of course such an oath was made to be broken; and it will be sufficient to say that Chunda Sahib speedily mastered the Fort, imprisoned the unfortunate Ranee, and

made himself master of the kingdom.

These incidents were duly reported to the Governor of Madras by the vakeel at Arcot, but more important events were to follow. The Mahrattas were rapidly becoming a power in India. Nadir Shah, the usurper of the Persian throne, had advanced his empire over Afghanistan, and then marched on to Delhi. The sack, massacre, and outrage which followed in 1739 still form one of the darkest pages in oriental history. The little government at Fort St. George heard the story with dismay, but their more immediate fears were excited by the Mahrattas. In the year of the Delhi massacre, Fort St. George was put in the best posture of defence, for advices were pouring in from all quarters that the Mahrattas were coming. The Nabob Dost Ali gallantly prepared for action. The plain of the Carnatic is surrounded on its western frontier by a chain of ghauts, about 100 miles from the sea; and the Mahratta army was expected to enter by the pass or gorge of Damalcherry, about 100 miles westward of Madras. At this pass Dost Ali posted himself with a large army, but he was betrayed. The Mahrattas entered the Carnatic by another route, and then attacked Dost Ali in the rear; and on the 12th May 1740, the tidings reached Madras that Dost Ali was utterly defeated and slain. The excitement of that time is strikingly depicted in contemporary records.

Volunteers were raised, sailors were brought in from the ships, provisions were stored, fresh guns mounted, native huts cleared away from before the walls; whilst the Mahrattas plundered Arcot, Conjeveram, and other places in the neighbourhood, and behaved in every respect like an army of relentless and remorseless robbers. Fortunately they turned to the south and seized Trichinopoly, after which Subder Ali, the son and successor of Dost Ali, succeeded in buying them off by the payment of ten lakhs of rupees. Eventually they returned through Mysore to Sattara, carrying away Chunda Sahib, late ruler of Trichinopoly, as their

prisoner.

Subder Ali was thus relieved, but his distresses were not over. His end proved a tragical one. His father had kept back the tribute due to the Nizam, and consequently no sooner had the new Nabob been plundered by the Mahrattas, than he was called upon to send a vast sum to Hyderabad in the shape of arrears. Under such circumstances he affected extreme poverty, and a desire to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca; whilst he sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures, to Madras; the wife and children of Chunda Sahib having already found protection at the French settlement of Pondicherry, then under the Government of the celebrated Dupleix. Subder Ali meantime neglected no means to satisfy the Nizam. He called upon the various commanders of towns and forts of the Carnatic to pay up their arrears of tribute, but of course met with excuses and delays, especially from Mortiz Ali, the Governor of the Fort of Vellore. The town of Arcot lies about 60 miles from Madras, and the Fort of Vellore about 20 miles further; and at this juncture Subder Ali moved from Arcot to Vellore, both to enjoy the protection afforded by the Fort, and to force Mortiz Ali to pay up his share of the arrears. His army encamped in the suburbs and under the walls, whilst he resided in the Fort constantly attended by a body of guards and a numerous re-But the festival of the Mohurrum arrived, and Subder Ali imprudently permitted the greater number of his retinue to spend two or three days with their families. The very day the leave had been granted his food was poisoned, but he threw off the effects and was induced to believe that he had only suffered from an attack of bile. Mortiz Ali now saw he had no time to An Afghan was found, whose wife had been outraged by Subder Ali, and who was supposed to be eager for revenge. A few of those black Abyssian slaves, who are ever ready to commit any atrocity required by their masters, were engaged to assist

the Afghan. At midnight the party entered the bed chamber of Subder Ali. The servants sleeping round the bed were at once seized and disarmed. The Nabob tried to escape through the window, but was arrested by the Afghan, who first upbraided him with his adultery, and then avenged the outrage by stabbing him with his poinard until he was dead. The next morning the news of the tragedy was carried to the army, but on promise of receiving all arrears of pay, the soldiers at once acknowledged Mortiz Ali as their new Nabob. The latter proceeded to Arcot with great pomp, in order to seize the treasures which would enable him to keep his promise, but found that the said treasures had all been sent away to Madras; and the soldiers, not receiving their expected reward, began to feel some compunctions for the deed which had been committed. palace was surrounded by a tumultuous mob of excited sepoys; and Mortiz Ali in great terror disguised himself as a woman, and quitted Arcot at night in a covered palanquin, and proceeded with all speed to Vellore. Next morning Seid Mahomed Khan,

son of Subder Ali, was proclaimed Nabob.

Scarcely had this revolution transpired, when tidings arrived that the Nizam-ool-Moolk had left the Dekhan with an overwhelming army, and was approaching the Carnatic. This event naturally created a great sensation. The Nizam marched through the Carnatic to Trichinopoly, which he wrested from the Mahrattas. Here an English embassy from Fort St. George humbly waited upon him, but were far too insignificant to be honoured with an interview. The Nizam then returned to Arcot, where he appointed an adventurer named Anwar-oodeen to be Nabob for a time, promising to give the Nabobship to Seid Mohamed as soon as the latter arrived at manhood. Thus Anwar-oo-deen had a positive interest in the death of the young prince, and another tragedy soon took place in the palace of Arcot, even more terrible than that which had recently transpired in the blood-stained walls of Vel-In June 1744 the marriage of one of the relations of the late Subder Ali was celebrated at Arcot, and the young Seid Mahomed presided at the ceremony as head of the family. All the members of the house, including even Mortiz Ali, were present; and the regent Anwar-oo-deen was also invited. On the morning of the festival, twelve Afghan soldiers, with their captain at their head, approached the young prince, and, insolently demanded their arrears of pay; and, after some expostulations from the attendants, were turned out of the palace by force.

Further on in the day, however, they advanced again and apologized for their disrespectful behaviour; and this submission removed all further suspicion of their conduct. In the evening, Anwar-oo-deen was said to be approaching, and accordingly the young prince and all his guests arose from their seats in the reception hall, and passed into the vestibule in order to receive the regent at the foot of the steps which led to it. Foremost among the spectators below were the thirteen Afghans, who saluted Seid Mahomed Khan with great reverence; and their captain then ascended the steps with the air of a man desirous of propitiating his lord. He was thus permitted to approach the person of Seid Mahomed, when he suddenly drew his dagger and stabbed the prince to the heart with the first blow. The marriage rejoicings were in a moment overshadowed with horror. 'A thousand swords and poniards were drawn in an in-'stant; the murderer was cut to pieces on the very spot; and 'ten of his accomplices suffered the same fate from the fury of ' the populace below.'\*

By this deed of blood Anwar-oo-deen became Nabob of the Carnatie; but the extent of his implication is a mystery which in all probability will never be known. He was the founder of the family of which the last scion died in 1856, and who is still

represented by Prince Azim Jah.

Such was the state of things when in 1744 the war of the Austrian succession drew Great Britain into collision with France, Mr. Morse was then Governor of Madras, and M. Dupleix was Governor of Pondicherry. Old Morse was a Company's merchant, and no more; Dupleix, on the other hand, was not only a French merchant but an Indian statesman. The object of Morse was to keep down the expenditure, and present a favourable balance sheet every year to his Honorable Masters. object of Dupleix was to gain a share in the sovereignty of Southern India; and to effect this end he employed every resource at his disposal, utterly regardless either of the balance sheet or of his Honorable Masters the French Directors. Both the English and French Governments prepared to send out expeditions for the protection of the settlements of their respective East India Companies. Thus an English fleet was sent out by the Government of George II. under the command of Commodore Barnet; and a French fleet was dispatched by the Government of Louis XV under the command of M. Labourdonnais.

<sup>#</sup> Orme.

At this crisis Dupleix was in his element, whilst his English rivals were nowhere. The far seeing Frenchman seems to have had a wholesome horror of actual warfare, but was endowed with a brilliant genius for intrigue, and perhaps for chicanery. The English fleet was the first to arrive in the Bay of Bengal, but Dupleix prevailed on the Nabob Anwar-oo-deen to command the English not to make war within the limits of the Carnatic, and by these means he undoubtedly preserved Pondicherry from an attack by sea. Dupleix also liberally entertained the wife and family of Chunda Sahib at Pondicherry, and even corresponded privately with Chunda Sahib himself, who was still a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas; for the illustrious captive was representative of the old family of Sadatulla Khan, and might succeed in a future convulsion in overturning the authority of Anwar-oo-deen. At last in 1746, Labourdonnais arrived, and took Madras almost without a blow, but on the express stipulation that it should be restored on the payment of a moderate ransom. Dupleix here made a grand display of his intriguing powers. He amused the Nabob by assuring him that though Madras had been captured by the French, yet it should be ultimately delivered up to him as lord paramount. He utterly refused to ratify the terms upon which Madras had capitulated to Labourdonnais: he declined to deliver up the place on ransom, he seized all the private property of the English inhabitants, and he marched off all the leading people to Pondicherry as prisoners of war, One significant event followed these unprincipled transactions. The Nabob Anwar-oo-deen was naturally enraged at being overreached by the wily Frenchman, and marched an army of Mussulmans to capture Madras; but to his intense surprise and mortification his army was beaten back by the French Artillery, and thus the spell was in a great measure broken which had hitherto held the Europeans in subjection to the native powers.

On the fall of Madras the English had removed the seat of Government on the Coast of Coromandel to their settlement at Fort St. David, about 100 miles to the south of Madras, and 16 miles to the south of Pondicherry. Dupleix attacked Fort St. David, but the English were assisted by the Nabob and the attempt failed. The English in return attempted to capture Pondicherry, but that attempt also failed. At last in 1749 the war was brought to a conclusion by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and to the bitter regret of Dupleix, Madras and Fort St. George were restored to the English, after an occupation of two years.

But a new revolution was to convulse not only the Carnatic

but the Dekhan, and for a brief interval Dupleix was to realize his dream of empire. At the very moment that he was irritated beyond measure at the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the news arrived that the old Nizam of the Dekhan had been gathered to his fathers at the ripe age of a hundred and four years, and that two claimants had started for the vacant throne at Hyderabad, namely, Nazir Jung, a son of the deceased Nizam, and Mirzaffir Jung a grandson. At the same time Chunda Sahib had procured his release from the Mahrattas, and was prepared to make an effort to wrest the Nabobship of the Carnatic out of the hands of Anwar-oo-deen. Nazir Jung was far away to the north, fighting an elder brother, and apparently regardless of the designs of his nephew Mirzaffir Jung. cordingly Chunda Sahib managed to form an alliance with Mirzaffir Jung, and Dupleix became at once the life and soul of the confederacy. Money and troops were raised, and it was decided that the united forces should in the first instance make Chunda Sahib Nabob of the Carnatic; and then make Mirzaffir Jung Nizam of the Dekhan.

The first part of the programme was cleverly performed. Anwar-oo-deen, the suspected murderer of the young Seid Mahomed, was utterly defeated and slain. Arcot surrendered without resistance; and the English at Madras were thunderstruck by the news that the two allies of Dupleix had achieved the most brilliant success; that Mirzaffir Jung had assumed the state and title of Nizam of the Dekhan, and had then on his own authority appointed Chunda Sahib Nabob of the Carnatic. The new Nizam and new Nabob next proceeded to Pondicherry, where they were received with all respect and pomp by Dupleix. One trifling achievement was alone required to consummate this Mahomed Ali, the son and heir of Anwar-oo-deen, and an important man in after years, had fled to the strong city of Trichinopoly; and the capture of that place alone remained to complete the conquest of the Carnatic, and the utter overthrow of the family of Anwar-oo-deen. Accordingly Dupleix pressed in the strongest terms for an immediate march upon Trichinopoly; but the two Native Princes seemed indisposed to turn their backs upon the pomps and pleasures of Pondicherry; and moreover, at length confessed that their treasures were all exhausted, and that their army would soon be clamouring for pay. Under such circumstances, the allies at last marched not upon Trichinopoly but upon Tanjore, where they demanded a large sum from the Rajah. The result might have been

anticipated. The negociations were spun out to a dreary length. Demands, threats, protestations of poverty, excuses, and lies of all kinds, rendered the process of extracting the subsidy a most tedious and protracted affair. At last bombardment was tried, and then the Rajah consented to pay a large sum. But the delay was not yet over. The Rajah paid up the first instalment in driblets; and that too not in pagodas or rupees, but in the shape of gold and silver plate, old coins, jewels, and other species of nondescript wealth. At this moment news arrived that Nazir Jung had marched into the Carnatic. The armies met at Ginjee, and the result seemed to have ruined for ever the cause of the allies. Dupleix was not a fighting man, and accordingly had sent M. D'Auteuil to command his contingent. Then the French Officers mutinied for pay: D'Auteuil and Chunda Sahib fled to Pondicherry: whilst Mirzaffir Jung surrendered at discretion to his uncle, and was immediately thrown into irons.

Dupleix's schemes were thus utterly defeated, but his spirit was unconquerable. He opened one negociation with Nazir Jung, and another with some discontented Afghan chiefs in Nazir Jung's army. The result was that the French attacked Nazir Jung's army, and the Afghans refused to repel them. Nazir Jung was shot dead by one of the insurgents, and Mirzaffir Jung was immediately freed from his irons, and hailed Nizam of the Dekhan.

To describe the emotions of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix when the news reached Pondicherry, is beyond our power. Chunda Sahib rushed out of his house without palanquin or attendance of any kind, and threw himself into the arms of Dupleix. The two friends, the Mussulman and the Frenchman, embraced like men escaped from shipwreck. Guns were fired, Te Deums were sung, Mirzaffir Jung made a triumphant entry into Pondicherry, and Dupleix arrayed in the costume of a Nabob was created Governor of all India south of the river Kistna for the Great Mogul. A few months afterwards Mirzaffir Jung was himself slain by the Afghans, but his brother Salabut Jung was at once raised to the vacant throne, and thus the French influence continued to predominate in the Court of the Nizam.

The feelings of the English during the progress of these extraordinary revolutions must have been mortifying in the extreme. They were still prepared to support Mohammed Ali, the son of Anwar-oo-deen; but Mohammed Ali was shut up in the Fort of Trichinopoly, which was daily expected to fall into the hands of Chunda Sahib. Moreover the English generally were

utterly dispirited and unnerved. At this juncture the English Company was saved by the genius of Clive. He volunteered to draw off Chunda Sahib from Trichinopoly by making an attack on Arcot. He was only twenty-five years of age, and only 500 soldiers could be spared; but the crisis was a desperate one, and his services were accepted. Amidst a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, Clive pushed on to the gates of Arcot. The garrison fled in a panic, and his little army entered without a blow. Clive instantly prepared for a siege. The garrison recovered its panic and encamped close to the town; but Clive marched out at mid-night, and completely routed them without losing a man. Matters seemed now to wear a serious aspect for Chunda Sahib and the French. An army of ten thousand men was collected and sent against Clive, under the command of a son of Chunda Sahib. The siege lasted fifty days. Threats and bribes were tried in vain to induce Clive to capitulate. At last an overwhelming attack was made on the great day of the Mohurrum; but Clive resisted the most desperate onsets, and eventually the siege was raised. To this day the defence of Arcot must be regarded as one of the most brilliant achievements in military history. It turned the tide of affairs throughout the whole of the Carnatic. Mysoreans and the Mahrattas alike came forward to support the cause of Mohammed Ali and the English. The French and Chunda Sahib were compelled to retire from the walls of Trichinopoly to the fortified pagoda of Seringham; and were there pressed so closely that their forces deserted in crowds. At last Chunda Sahib surrendered to the Rajah of Tanjore, who put him to death; whilst the French troops surrendered prisoners of war. Subsequently Trichinopoly was again besieged by the French, but the details are of little interest now. In 1754 the war was brought to a close, Dupleix was recalled, and Mohammed Ali, the ally of the English, was acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, a dignity which has recently been brought definitely to a close.

The English and French at Madras and Pondicherry would now have been content to live together like good neighbours, when the seven years war, which broke out in 1756, once more brought them into collision. But this war does not come within the scope of the present review, which was intended chiefly to illustrate the early progress of the Madras Presidency, and the early relations between the English settlers and the Native powers. The unsuccessful siege of Fort St. George by Count Lally in 1758-59, and the successful capture of Pondicherry in 1761 by Sir Eyre Coote, are thus principally worthy of notice

from the prominent place they occupy in the graphic pages of Robert Orme.

The subsequent century of Madras history remains to be written, and when written will be found to possess a value and interest at present wholly unknown. It would not only unfold the gradual extension of the British power from a jageer to an empire, but it would exhibit the history of those patient administrators who conscientiously sought to adapt the Government to the people, rather than to force the people to accept their own foreign ideas. But upon this point we need not now dwell.

ART. V .-- 1. Directions to Revenue Officers.

- 2. Report of the Indigo Commission.
- 3. Report of Sclect Committee of the House of Commons on Colonisation and Settlement.
- 4. Col. Baird Smith's Famine Reports.
- 5. Act X, 1859.

IN early life we are full of faith in the unfailing efficacy of abstract truths. We assume, and apparently without much inconsistency, that what is true must be irresistible and that great truths have only to be proved to be so, and all mankind will come together and join shoulders to carry them out in practice. But, as we shake off the dreams of youth, the stern features of a new life slowly declare themselves, and in the presence of unpleasant and undeniable facts we are reduced to take a more gloomy view of human nature and to accept the painful maxim that political fallacies are at least as powerful as political truths.

For a period of one hundred years we have been consecrating political errors in a country from which the civilisation of the West has been scrupulously excluded. India has had a strange national existence under a government which has been, perhaps out of compliment, called an enlightened despotism.

If in this country we have brought a slight on our religion, imprecations on our law courts, disgrace on our policy, and a slur on our credit, we have likewise failed to protect the most fruitful land in the world against the curse of poverty. Happily, indeed, in some respects the past is relaxing somewhat its fatal hold on the present and resigning its influence over the future: in a proclamation, which but for the absence of earnestness would

have inaugurated an era, we declared Christianity to be the religion of the rulers of this country; the laws are being steadily infused with the broad principles of equity; our public policy is more manly if not yet actually dignified; our credit has been restored, and growing intelligence may be remarked throughout the country, yet the evil which has so long clung to the land of India is still permitted to continue its work of ruin and mischief, while vacillation has undone what a happy accident had almost realised.

Recent events have gone far to engender a feeling of uncertainty in the public mind, and to damp the hopes raised by some of the last and most important political acts of Lord Canning. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to foresee, much less to predict, the time when the public interests, so thoughtlessly neglected now, will receive the attention which

they not only deserve but absolutely require.

It can hardly be denied that the difficulties which have beset the solution of the land question have checked and retarded the material prosperity of this country. Whenever property in land is burdened with injudicious conditions, the progress of one of the most useful classes of society is necessarily arrested. Indeed, the importance of the subject is such as can hardly be exaggerated. The earth to which we all return is our most cherished acquisition. The strongest passion in the human breast is the love of land. Money making ever points to it; capital seeks it all over the world; small landlords labor to become great ones; while the stream of emigration turned from kindred Australia, it poured in full tide on the states of the American Union, because there land was less burdened by the evils of special legislation.

In a country like this where commercial enterprise is so miserably confined the fate of the land determines the fate of society. In India the question affecting land affects the well being of native society; it regulates the happiness of millions; it controls their criminal statistics; and can arm or disarm the energy of the class to whose labor society is so greatly indebted. Whether for good or for evil the treatment of the land question in India has marked epochs in her social history which cannot escape the notice of even a casual observer. The solution of this difficulty cannot any longer be deferred without also deferring the progress of a people painfully backward in enterprise. Land has, of late, acquired a value which renders it a matter of the last importance that it should no longer be allowed to deteriorate under the influence of imperfect legislation. We shall not discuss here the danger of resisting a revolution which tends to increase the value of property.

It is not easy to attach convertible value to land in a country so peculiarly situated as India; but when various causes have combined to effect this result, there is, placed at the disposal of society a powerful means of resisting the effects of those awful

calamities which overtake us in times of peace.

Agrarian troubles generally spring from a conflict between a vitiated land system and the passion for land from which the most thriftless classes of an agricultural society are not free; let us not mistake them for the troubles which arise from the unpleasant reminiscences of past injuries. When Sir Robert Peel set on foot the famous Devon Commission, he is said to have stated to the House of Commons that the distempers which affected Ireland were material evils, and may be traced to a land system, which almost disorganized society by disturbing the natural relations between landlord and tenant on which alone depend the hopes of a lasting peace.

Whether we look for tranquillity in Bengal to the social welfare of the millions who are bound to the soil, or to the prosperity of those important interests which unite England and India in commercial harmony, we must endeavour to improve the system under which property in land can be acquired and held under the government of India. It is not yet a vain hope that, with the solution of the main puzzle, the collateral difficulties which impede the growth of the spirit of enterprise in native

society will also be successfully overcome.

'Who is not weary and sad,' asks Miss Martineau, 'at 'the mere mention of land tenures in India'? Whatever may be the nature of the feeling roused by the 'mere mention' of the subject, we cannot deny that the evil, which so thoroughly pervades it, has grown to such dimensions as to leave us no other option but a speedy and practical treatment of the disease. Twentyfive years ago the subject received an amount of attention which was certainly not to have been expected from the ignorance which then prevailed on all matters connected with the land of the country; whether the statesmen of those days anticipated the difficulties which now beset our path, or whether the inquiry was only a matter of routine, the discussions of those days are on record, though as a matter of course unanimity of conviction on such a subject was not consistent with either the zeal or the ignorance of the men who took part in it; yet the absence of unanimity, has led to the complications which we have now such just cause to deplore. Each party appropriated to a province the use and benefit of its favorite theory, and freely experimentalised

upon, what it considered, its own exclusive domain. The results of these experiments are the different land systems which now prevail in this country. But even with the experience of a century before us, we have not acquired sufficient confidence to decide on the claims of the contending theories. We may study to neglect the laws of nature, but they assert themselves against the obstacles contrived by human ignorance and stupidity. Though we have failed to elect the most practicable from among these rural systems or to substitute a better in their place, the evils with which these systems are so largely leavened have borne fruit, and each after its kind.

One conclusion, however, is inevitable: the systems which necessitate prejudicial protection to property and a dangerous amount of over-government cannot work with the progress of commerce. The existing theories must disappear under the altered relations of landlord and tenant which are indispensable to the creation of capital. It would be wise, while yet it is possible, to save society from the rude shocks to which it will be exposed, if the disease which now afflicts it, is allowed to work

out its own cure.

Whether these precautions be adopted or not, the course of events cannot be resisted. The changes which are looming in the future involve the destinies of India. The machinery by which a small revenue is raised with oppression must give place to one which is capable of increasing the productive powers of land and labor without over-taxing them. The change must evidently be of a radical character, and we must be prepared to forget the policy which derives its name from the miserable traditions of a century of misrule.

It is admitted by one of the most enlightened statesmen of the old school, 'that the land tax is generally so high, that it 'cannot well be higher;' and yet we cannot venture to deny that the public coffers have never been full, and that we have recklessly rejected the means of replenishing them. It is also alleged, without any exaggeration, that we extort all we can from every available source of income, yet our revenue has not been such as to secure us against a formidable deficit. We have cultivated only a fifth of the cultivable land of the country, and yet we find the desire to increase cultivation contemptibly weak!

The origin of the evil which has so far frustrated all our attempts to secure to the natives the advantages of an enlightened despotism, must be sought elsewhere than in the character of the people or the quality of the soil; it taints our public policy,

our judicial courts, and that system of government under which both land and labor have suffered so long. A faulty land system has been so long perpetuated by a faulty judicial machinery that they now seem only to stand in need of mutual help to complete the work of mischief. A weak executive, contradictory and vague laws, are evils great enough to counteract the merits of the best land system in the world, but if we add to these a land system almost paralysed with inherent defects, private virtue and private enterprise can alone save society from that state of stagnation which precedes the

rough work of disorganisation.

When a regulation-hampered judiciary virtually closed the door to legal remedies, society was gradually thrown back to that state of existence in which the power to act is the only justification of the act itself. While such was the danger which beset our best guarantees of administrative success, empirical statesmen hazarded a general censure on the judicial machinery and suspended law to check agrarian insurrection. It is stated that the late Company estimated its fiscal officers above its lawyers and politicians, but if such was the fact, it only illustrates the proneness of public bodies to preach virtue without the courage to practise If public approbation could instil genius into the official mind, we might by this time have reckoned among our Lushingtons and Dorins some men who would have the temerity to adopt the most elementary principles of political economy; but unfortunately it was essential to official success that the traditionary policy should be preserved in its integrity, and our fiscal officers were too well satisfied with lucrative subordination to incur the danger of enunciating new principles of land economy unacceptable to the traditionists. Thus the defects of the land system were now placed on the law courts which did not originate them, and then on the landlords who had so much to complain of in them, while the evil worked its way far beyond the reach of wild doctrinaires who still hoped for success by the application of exploded specifics.

The disease at length assumed that chronic form which necessitates immediate and severe remedies; but unhappily for the public, while we stood in need of a mind gifted with a ready power of analysis and a will that would not swerve from its honest though severe purpose, we were favoured with philanthropic hearts which swelled with sympathy for the patient. While probing the wound might have led to eventual recovery, we tenderly concealed the rottenness with ointment and blessed our good

fortune that philanthropy was so much more welcome than professional skill.

Undoubtedly we had no reason to expect a successful unravelling of the land difficulty by the hands of those who though possessing a very kind heart and benevolent disposition, were yet wanting in a knowledge of the nature and bearing of the various tenures which obtain in the country and had only a few isolated and purely local facts, learned by personal experience, to guide them. Arm ignorant men with arbitrary power and afflict them with a predisposition to morbid philanthropy, and you may then form some idea of the working men who some thirty years ago were called upon to reduce into some sort of order and coherence the rules and orders which threatened the value of land all over the country. They succeeded, as they only could succeed, by despotically adjudicating valuable rights and perpetuating certain evil in the place of doubtful good. The published records of Government do not expose the enormities which were then committed under the sanction of law, but yet enough has been admitted to justify the impression that the evils themselves could not have been worse than the remedies which were to work the cure: orders were passed so averse to justice that they could not be 'carried out.'

In 1821 an attempt was made to restore order where confusion was so dangerously rife. Of the provision then made we can with justice remark that, considering the strong bias which influenced the official mind in favour of socialism, they restored to society an amount of life and intelligence which was incomparably superior to a state of simple existence. The Act which next propounded the new theory was deficient in practicability; in 1833 the famous Act IX. which is in fact a useful modification of Act VII. of 1822, was passed, and order partially reclaimed what had so long been wrested from it by anarchy.

We purpose in the following pages to investigate the causes which led to the failure of the different land systems of India, and to suggest means for remedying the defects which still retard the

prosperity of the landed interest of the country.

Our first and most enduring mistake was to act under the influence of oriental traditions and to assume the position of the universal landlord of the country. The exploded principles of socialism, which have been condemned in Europe, were accepted here as the only true guides of public conduct in relation to property in land. This levelling philosophy found advocates

among those who were themselves the creatures of a social organization which they taught the Indian public to condemn as monopoly. Lord Harris did not scruple to assert what was perhaps too much tainted with the leaven of the traditionary policy to be distasteful to the lords of Leadenhall, that the land of a country was government property, and government should 'distribute' it so as to ensure the greatest amount of good to the public and the individual cultivators of the soil. The principle, which was so easily enunciated, was certainly difficult to carry out, and if it was not wholly impracticable, its success was regarded as a dangerous contingency.

To admit that socialism has ignominously failed in a country which wealth reclaimed from waste or conquered from a race of aboriginal cannibals, and yet to adopt it where the most complicated rights to land have existed from time out of memory, was simply to perpetuate an act of legal plunder which may succeed, but cannot be justified. With the best intentions in the world no doubt we have condemned to ruin influential men, whose only crime seems to have been the possession of large property.

The fiat went forth, and virtually though only for a time, the land of the country was placed in the hands of one class of our subjects and the capital in the hands of another. The pet theory of Government landlordism was carried out at the cost of the sacrifice of a body of men who were universally regarded as the natural lords of the soil.

When Lord Canning proposed the abolition of all land tenures in Oude, men who were afraid to espouse a measure so recklessly bold were yet pleased with what was a clear attempt to place the land of that province at the disposal of the most careless landlord it is possible to imagine. Even to them the justice of the measure seemed hardly capable of defence, but the end was regarded as a full atonement. To say that the scheme had been long approved of by English economists and speculators is to say but little in its defence, while it is but fair to remark that it could not have been more completely condemned than by the adverse judgment of men whom it was intended to benefit.\* It is hardly safe for any Government to indulge too far in the paternal maxim that we are to trust more to our own conscience than to the conscience or wishes of our subjects.

<sup>\*</sup> With but one exception our economists have carefully avoided the exmination of the burdens on land, and yet they have hardly ever hesitated to speak authoritatively on the land tax of India, and on the subject of land tenures generally.

When we assumed in this country, what has not unfairly been called the 'degrading position of a landlord,' those who could look into its distant consequences could not predict any good either to those who assumed the position or to those over whom it was assumed. Had land been subject to a reasonable tax as a 'chargeable property' the prosperity of the agricultural and hence of the commercial classes would have added to the taxable resources of the Government: but having seized the very vitals of a society essentially agricultural, and having availed ourselves of all the existing appliances for extracting the best part of our public wants from them, we have not only impoverished the land but unfairly confined the operations of indirect taxation. Under the direct control of land by government we have realised much from the land but have not realised enough; we have not worked its resources and yet the sources of income seem to be exhausted

and poverty on the increase.

That land was held in private proprietorship before the conquest of the country by foreign invaders is a fact which the advocates of government landlordism do not venture to deny, but yet they assert that the Government to which we succeeded had a lien on the land, and hence it is argued naturally enough that we have succeeded to that right. If we look to the country where the theory might have been carried out in comparative safety, we find that government control and interference characterised by the settlers and the aborigines, in terms of seditious severity. To the abominable policy of Government being the sole purchaser of land is ascribed the evils which have attended our occupation of the fertile soil of New Zealand. While private traffic in land has not developed any peculiar evil, the system adopted by Government has twice lead us into a war with the natives, and if Government will condescend to be a perpetual supplicant for land it cannot at the same time be the protecting arbiter.

But in India it has been generally accepted that the East India Company, succeeding to the various native Governments, became absolute proprietor of the land, and that private property in land can only exist under its warranty. This interdict on private property is an idea borrowed from oriental habits, and has been guarded by a commercial jealousy which even community of race and feeling could not disarm. The unscrupulous assertion of this dangerous prerogative has retarded the progress of civilization, withholding the investment of capital and the devotion of energy from a country so happily circumstanced

by nature. A jealous government was not unwilling to avail itself of a power which would include 'interlopers' and keep the natives well 'in hand,' though it is not less true that the efforts of government cannot develope the material resources of a country, much less restore life and intelligence to its decaying society. We are, however, beginning to value, for what it is worth, a theory which at one time was exceedingly popular and cannot now boast of the support of a single advocate of reputa-We have even gone so far as gladly to assent to Mr. Campbell's sneer and to declare that land 'was to be private 'property with right to abuse and mismanage it at the discretion 'of its owner.' We are gradually beginning to recognise the force of the well known maxim that, as regards property in land, the energies of individuals are of greater value to society than the boasted influence of the most powerful Government in the world. We are growing in our appreciation of the importance of individual interest in land, and we are not unwilling to renounce all faith in the cumbrous machinery which has kept the land of this country free from the influence of private proprietors.

The experience on which we ground our distrust of the policy which condemns a large country to a state of prolonged pupilage is not likely to suffer from the facts which are daily brought The khas or direct Government management of land has achieved a painful identity with mismanagement; it has borne fruits which we have proclaimed to the world by our determination to get rid of all khas states, and we have already abandoned our hold of five hundred such estates within two years. seems rather strange that though we have betrayed no extraordinary reluctance to grant freedom to trade and commerce, we have been painfully tenacious of our lien on land. Times, no doubt, have changed since the days of the resumption-panacea, when every piece of land resumed by Government was considered as happy a spot on earth as the imagination could well conceive; but unpleasant facts have since come to light, and these resumed lands have not been found to conduce much to the happiness of society or to the coffers of the public exchequer.

The origin of khas management may be traced in the unhappy results of those defects which we were unable to separate from what was essentially good in the Perpetual Settlement of Bengal. We took fright at the appearance of evils which we could not foresee, and in our love of extremes we were resolved as far as it lay in our power, never again to allow land to dribble through our fingers; we were not only eager to acquire land, but wherever

it was rescued from private proprietors we were determined not to abandon it again to the hands of selfish managers. Where only one evil existed before we now succeeded in adding another; that was all that the *khas* management has done or was expected to do. We have inflicted our wisdom on a whole Presidency, and, under the ill discharged duties of a landlord, Government has earned deserved unpopularity. Well may Mr. Campbell remark that there is a desirable mean between a blind bestowal of absolute right and a creation of limited interest in the land.

The secret of the failure of khas management does not lie too deep for even ordinary research. Principles, with which the students of political economy were familiar, had been lost sight of, and in a fit of philanthropy Government was content with the assumption of an anomalous relation to the private owners of the Government. Under direct management the fostering care of the individual was wanting, while those who were most intimately concerned in the fate of the land incurred all the risks without an adequate share in the profits. The needy millions who thus lowered their heads to this Governmental Juggernaut were, if we can use the phrase, raised above the evil influence of a failure by hopeless poverty. On one side was the indifference of a public body, and on the other the unremunerative exertions of the cultivating classes of India: under their united influence

land reluctantly produced a small return.

The middle classes of India, whom Government regarded as an impediment to national progress, were carefully removed, and their place was allotted to the cultivators who were destined to enjoy the advantage of the immediate guardianship of a benevolent Government; yet our first step towards the carrying out of the new policy was to create swarms of native officials and native speculators, who neither possessed ability to command respect nor honesty to win the good will of their charge. Without character or principle the Government hirelings robbed the ryots and embezzled public money, while the crafty speculators, who had only a passing interest in the land, proved even worse than the authorised despoilers of the ryot's rights: the native collectors had a longer term allowed for their nefarious work and naturally enough the average intensity of their violence was weaker when compared with that of the speculating capitalists, who had to do all they could within ten short years. Both, however, were busy in converting their opportunities into their money's worth, and in securing to the cultivators all the miseries of direct management in the shortest space of time

practicable. In short, Government has proved the worst manager of land it is possible to imagine, and after a short though bitter experience we have reluctantly admitted that the resumption laws might as well not have been passed, and that Government might well have abandoned an impossible duty for others more befitting and necessary.

Of the three great modes of 'settlement' the Ryotwar is the very incarnation of the ideas which first suggested direct management and the destruction of the middle-class. Nearly the whole of the Madras and portions of the Bombay Presidency suffer from the evils which arise out of a system borrowed from the school of socialism.

The Ryotwary is a direct holding on which payment is made at the close of the official year for land actually occupied, which holding may be renewed or relinquished at the pleasure of the cultivating ryot, while Government appropriates to itself the whole of the rent like a private individual. Government assumes all the difficult functions of a landlord and deals with the cultivators as tenants. The credit of originating this system, or as it is not unfairly called this want of a system, is due to a Mahomedan chieftain who sacrificed all superior land tenures in his country with the view of subjecting the cultivators to the oppression of an all powerful proprietor. Without avowing Tippoo Sahib's object we have imitated his example, and yet his notorious wealth would lead one to suppose that the system was remunerative when it was nursed by an unscrupulous despot.

That some such patriarchal mode of dealing with land should have found favor with weak minded philanthropists is not a fact for wonder, but that after nearly a century of failures it finds zealous advocates in high quarters only proves the tenacity of political fallacies. With the introduction of the Ryotwar system, middle men, the chief stay of indigent cultivators, have disappeared with their capital; and the tillers of the soil thus deprived of their natural guardians have had to lean for support on a power who could barely reach them. But government owns and appropriates the only surplus production of the land, while the Ryotwary cultivators are destined to the misery which cannot be avoided in the absence of capital.

Lord Harris remarks with pitiful simplicity that he entertains 'serious doubts' of the correctness of the opinion that the defects of the Madras land system were the chief cause of the degraded condition of the ryotwary cultivators. His lordship admits their poverty and their wretchedness generally, but attributes them to the principle which he has elsewhere advocated, that small holdings render poverty inevitable. We should like to be told how Lord Harris hopes to extricate the Madras ryot from his difficulties as long as he holds miserably small patches of land under the most uncertain and capricious tenure it was possible for human ignorance to introduce? If Lord Harris, after his admission that poverty and small holdings were inseparable, had had the courage to investigate the nature of small possessions in general, he might have succeeded in solving his 'serious doubts' as to the merits of the system so opposed to the growth of capital.

We seriously question if there is any system of land tenures in any other country in the world which renders the growth of population an unqualified evil, and whether, if such was the influence of the Madras system, that system was not condemned by that single fact? Land neglected, the natural resources of the country undeveloped, increase of population an evil, and emigration a necessity, are evils which even with men who are unwilling to trace events to their causes would carry weight and

importance.

It has been computed that for each acre of cultivated land in the Madras Presidency, five are lying fallow. Land cannot be sold for rent arrears for the simple reason that land in Madras has no marketable value, and 'the contentions there begin,' says Sir J. P. Grant, 'when a ryot is forced not to give up but to take land.' In Ireland about twenty years ago hungry swarms were starving on the surface of a rich soil while the country was bending under the weight of impoverished cultivators and falling out of cultivation in the absence of men whose capital could replace what neglect and ignorance had lost.

We cannot but regard with pain the self-confidence of some men who boast of being wedded to the principle of the Ryotwar system of Madras: men who, while parading the fact that it has reserved the largest portion of the produce of land for the Government, forget to add that when compared with the other land systems of the country it is the least productive. It seems almost incredible that any one in the possession of his right senses would venture to defend the principle of a system which is kept up by compulsory cultivation, and of which the very essence is Government advances and remission of assessment. What is there to boast of in a principle which secures to us the smallest amount of success with the greatest amount of sacrifice?

under the Ryotwar system the land which is cultivated but does not produce is exempted from Government charge, and that it rests with the ryot to take up or relinquish the engagement at pleasure. This choice of liability has been styled, with what attempt at irony we know not, 'freedom of action;' the phrase may probably carry a hidden compliment to the system which admits it. But to call that freedom of action, which has only engendered a perilous amount of uncertainty in the fiscal department, and allowed the ryot a licence which is fatally capricious and suicidal, is hardly less ridiculous than to say of a man who had cut off his nose to spite his face, that he enjoyed a greater amount of freedom of action than those who shew a greater regard for their nasal organ.

As if the system was not essentially defective, a sudden increase of half a million of the land revenue drove Madras officers The different causes which comwild with a paroxysm of joy. bined to produce this momentary relief were too deep for the comprehension of those who are too wise to doubt their convic-Yet how they contrive to get over the matter of irrigation, how they manage to explain away the rise in price, the equitable reduction of assessment, and the first fruits of European capital and enterprise, it is impossible to surmise; but fortunately the glee-making did not endure long, and a sudden fall has again established the intrinsic worthlessness of the Ryot-Whether it is safe to trust to a system so miswar system. chievously uncertain, as to admit of a fall in revenue of nearly 1,00,00,000 Rupees within two years, cannot long puzzle a mind

uninfluenced by pet theories.

The amount wasted on the collectors of public revenue in Madras is said to be equal to the revenue it brings. A spiteful Bengal civilian considers it more than equal. Thirty seven thousand revenue collectors, if brave and honest men, could be drilled into a formidable army, but it seems that they are too well pleased with the judicial depredations which they have so long carried on with success to emulate the uncertain glories of war. Yet with this legion at our command concealed cultivation costs Government over half a million a year. It would, however, be unreasonable to expect any other result when needy informers and village headmen are the only checks on dishonest cultivators; when so much has to be trusted to their love of fair play, to their honesty, to their dislike of interference with private interests,

and when advances and remissions must be treated as a part of

the Ryotwary system.

The absence of that immediate and effective support which a private landlord can offer to labour, and the evils which attend isolated labor in a poor country have hopelessly ruined the cultivators of Madras. Beggars can help beggars only in perpetuating mendicity, while the hopes of a 'let off' which it is fancied Government can always afford, keep poverty free from

the imputation of discontent against the State.

Annual remissions and annual advances, form a sort of patch-work which keeps up socialism in the 'benighted Presidency.' If a system, which has failed in Madras, which has failed in Bombay, and which has failed whenever it was put to a practical test, can yet honestly be said to rest on unassailable 'principle,' then we say that either the principle is too deep for human inquiry or impracticable with human means. It has been well remarked 'let a village go to ruin and it ipso facto becomes ryotwar,' if such be the normal condition of the socialistic system, let us undertake the labor of construction, despite the difficulties which may attend it.

Call it a system or the want of a system, the conclusions to which experience drives all reflecting minds do not inspire us with hopes of its sudden success: it is hostile to the accumulation of capital, to the growth of a middle class, and it also involves the evils of a government by agents. We trust, however, that the Torture-Commission has exposed both the principle and practice of a theory of land government which at once strug-

gled to be a policy and a philanthropic scheme.

While first principles held undisturbed sway in Madras and portions of the Bombay Presidency, a system which discountenanced but did not repudiate the claims of capital was inaugurated in the North West Provinces of India. With the Ryotwar system we were trying the experiment of working out social amelioration by means of labor alone, and if possible, to effect a perpetual divorce between labor and capital; in the North-West we were endeavouring to ascertain the result of the operations of labor with as small a taint of capital as possible. Yet the dread of capital is the common feature of both the systems: and it is not too much to say that the alarm with which we view the progress of capital would alone prove how incapable we were to discuss imperial questions involving the fate of the landed classes of the country.

The Village or the Community System which has obtained in Upper India, the Punjab and Scinde is the system under which a village is leased for a fixed term, and at a fixed rate to certain men who possess the rights of property in it. It was introduced into some parts of the North West in succession to the Bengal system, when we first fancied that we had obtained an insight into the evils which attended the Perpetual The causes which led to the failure of the Community System were the division of land under joint liability of all the proprietors; the obstacles it threw in the way of capital; and the inherent impossibility of a scheme which aimed at the conversion, by means of labor alone, of needy cultivators of the soil into capitalists. The position of the small coparcenary proprietors was a perfect anomaly: unable to acquire capital under the pressure of a high assessment they had to seek it elsewhere, and in supplying their wants they disturbed the equilibrium which was essential to the existence of the 'community.' frequent change of proprietors was cutting at the root of the very principle which was the safeguard of the 'brotherhood,' and yet the 'community' could not hold together without capital, and was not able to resist the danger to which it was subject from the interference of capitalists. Every outsider who gained admittance into the 'community' was a capitalist, and every addition to the number of such capitalists expedited the destruction of an institution which relied for safety on its successful expulsion of capital. Litigation was too expensive a means for seeking redress under a system so thoroughly patriarchal. The attempt to confine the sale and purchase of land among the copartners, who were equally poor, was for all purposes of utility simply an impossibility, and if it was enforced against the laws of property and the dictates of common sense, it reduced the value of land and the importance of the landholders.

We prohibit the sale of land to strangers because a free admission of any extraneous element into the system is opposed to the principle on which the 'Community' is founded. Thus the system, which stands so much in need of capital, and which cannot work with success unless land has a fair marketable value, is averse to the admission of the capitalists themselves. We have said elsewhere that dishonest alienation of land is to be disallowed on the broad principles of equity and justice, and we are also willing to declare that the right of pre-emption should exist in all village communities; but unless land is worth a

certain, and fair amount in money, the possession of land cannot

be any object with the influential classes of society.\*

The community system might have been conceived in a spirit of well-meaning charity to the cultivators of the soil; by allowing them a share in the rent of the land it conferred on them a blessing which they did not enjoy elsewhere. But the great want of the 'community' was capital, and capital does not generally grow with the speed with which a land policy may be enunciated. The well being of the 'community', which depended so much on a free and judicious employment of capital, was unfortuately entrusted to a class of men, who had neither the means nor the intelligence which could meet the ordinary difficulties of a corporate existence. Village without capital or settled habits were the institutions of other days, and, in reviving them in a form but slightly altered from the original, we have been guilty of a piece of anachronism which has failed of success.

A system, which worked in harmony with a political organisation peculiar to itself, could not work under a regime so completely foreign as that which we introduced into the country. That native rulers should reconstruct a land-system which native rulers had originated, would perhaps be a commendable act, provided the times needed such obsolete machinery; but for us to resuscitate it when its necessity had passed away, and when new emergencies are arising which demand a very different treat-

ment, is a culpable waste of time, labor and capital.

The community system belongs to that purely agricultural age which ceased to exercise a happy influence on society when commerce created new wants. 'The members of a compulsory partnership,' . s Mr. Mead calls the small coparceners, cannot act in harmony when the motive for union induced by external danger does not exist. But we are glad to remark that, what the Torture Commission was to the Ryotwar system, the famine of 1860 was to the village system of the North West; it put the 'community' to the test of one disturbing influence not naturally irresistible, and the system failed miserably. Extravagance to-day and want to-morrow, ruined the proprietors who so greatly needed capital and who produced it so slowly.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Lands do not belong to any particular family they are accustomed by sale to pass to strangers, often even to the very lowest people, because lands are not protected by the laws like guardianships." Cicero, for L. C. Balbus.

The increase of wealth outside the 'community,' and the increase of poverty within it disturb the unnatural relations which exist between the labor of the 'community' and the wealth of the outsiders. As commerce advances the 'community' succumbs to the pressure of the monied classes, and eventually disappears under their influence. How capitalists succeeded in acquiring property in communities so jealously guarded against foreign intrusion it may not be necessary to investigate here, but the melancholy fact of such intrusion is patent even to the advocates of the system which is crumbling under the revolution. Mr. Campbell has not failed to remark that the pure Zemindaree 'communities' are disappearing by degrees, and the cause of their destruction is what a traditionist philosopher called 'the ever vitiating influence of capital.' It would be worth our while to inquire, whether it is necessary to resist the progress of events merely to support the decaying members of a useless fabric. If capital has in certain places permitted the 'communities' to preserve the appearance if not the essentials of wealth, the capitalists have acquired such hold over the land of the 'communities' as to extort the best part of the produce of their labor and by the application of a gentle pressure the original proprietors have been reduced to their natural position of simple cultivators.

We shall not refrain here from testing the facts which lead Mr. Campbell to hold up the Punjab system as 'a model and example for other parts of the country.' In the Punjab the community system was not only favorably received by the people, but the circumstances under which it had the best chance of succeeding were not wanting. The local government was averse to the destruction of the 'communities,' the judicial officers were called upon to watch the sale of land to outsiders, and to oppose the intrusion of capitalists among the cultivating proprietors by prohibiting or discountenancing even freewill transfers of landed property. Every circumstance conspired to uphold the corporate character of the community, and yet what has been the fate of our injudicious interference with private rights? Assessments are being incessantly revised, remissions have been freely granted, jumma has been permanently reduced over two fifths of the country, and the village communities are uniformly poor and helpless.\*

<sup>\*</sup> We regret that we were favoured with a copy of Mr Cust's Tenant-code too late to make any other use of this valuable paper beyond extracting from it matter for foot-notes. 'I do not think,' says Mr. Cust, 'that much mis-

If they have apparently lost little by the direct transfer of land, they have not been able to keep themselves clear of the ledgers and bonds of the capitalists. Whether any partiality for these 'communities' can be defended by the statement of favourable facts, is no longer a subject for discussion: and if they are to be maintained at the cost of those who are concerned in their success, the blame of future failures should be laid on the shoulders

of those who still advocate their cause.

Between property and useful property there is a distinction which has seldom been recognised by those who have legislated for the land of this country. The property created by means of the North West system was different from the property springing out of the Bengal land system in the one important particular, which rules the choice of wise men between one description of property and another. In 1793 the Marquis of Cornwallis fixed in perpetuity the annual rent payable by the land owners of Bengal. The nature or extent of the inquiry which led to the discovery of the proprietor of any individual estate in that province it is impossible at this distance of time to ascertain, but that even in those days the newly elected proprietors were not considered identical with the real owners of the soil, may be inferred from the fact of their being entitled 'hereditary superintendents of land.' They were subsequently called 'manufactured proprietors'; but considering that the creation of useful property in the soil was our object, the right of property whether manufactured or otherwise created it is not necessary to investigate here.

In return for the perpetual fixity of Government demand it was resolved that if the revenue was not duly paid, the estate was to be sold, and the Collector gave a title to the new owner without giving him possession. It was also ruled in favor of the landlord, after twenty-four years experience of the working of the new system, that he should be duly invested with the power of distraint for arrears due from the tenants, and to this necessary authority was allied the questionable privilege of enforcing the attendance

of the tenant in the manorial court.

The settlement of Bengal was not fixed in perpetuity after so searching and complete an enquiry as a measure of such imporchief has been done yet, the settlements of Punjab proper are but just completed, and are for ten years only; but those for Cis Sutlej states and Trans-Sutlej states are for thirty years. Moreover, I fear that the average pressure of our settlement is so heavy, that there is not as yet much room for rent. We have granted reductions of lakhs of rupees, but the Price Current has failen faster than the Revenue.'

tance deserved, and while our attention was absorbed in the creation of new and valuable property in land we unconsciously over-rode other rights which existed in it from time immemori-Subordinate rights might have been bought out, and subordinate servants might have been offered relief, but their summary sacrifice has proved prejudicial to the cause of society. Whether subordinate rights ought to have been maintained or not is a question perfectly independent of the justice of the claim of the subordinate tenants to compensation for property of which they were forcibly deprived. In withholding from men their just rights, we did not trouble ourselves with discussing the necessity for offering some relief to those who suffered by a public act. This was the full extent of the injustice committed by those who introduced the Perpetual Settlement; but the official classes, in duty bound to uphold the traditionary policy of their masters, condemn the measure, as having entailed on the government a grievous loss of public revenue. loss of revenue, 'remarks Miss Martineau commenting on the Perpetual Settlement, 'was never suffered by any government;' and this sacrifice was made, she observes, 'without any beneficial effect on the public interest as far as it is perceptible to common observation.' We doubt not that it was under some such conviction that Mr. Halliday, who seems to have been sensitively alive to the defects of the Permanent Settlement, 'proposed as a panacea for the evils which were destroying the 'rural societies' to purchase of Zemindars lands offered for sale, and by degrees to redeem the country from the curse of a fixed tenure. He was, however, candid enough to express his regret that this scheme of enfranchisement would not be carried out with the rapidity he so much desired, as land was 'but rarely' sold for arrears of revenue. A statesman without any favorite theory to uphold would have inferred from Mr. Halliday's ill-judged admission that the fixity of tenure had at all events placed the land of the country in the hands of those who could utilize it, and had removed it beyond the depressing influences which characterize the systems which prevail elsewhere.

We are also too apt to forget that the objects which we aimed at by the adoption of a Permanent Settlement have been attained without the failures which usually attend projects of land reform. We endeavoured to create a valuable and certain revenue at a time of need and perplexity, and we have succeeded in our attempt. If we have failed in other minor particulars to

which our attention was subsequently drawn, let us congratulate ourselves that on the whole we have obtained an amount of success which has not attended similar experiments in the other parts of the country. Fixity of tenures led to an increase of cultivation, created a spirit of enterprise in the owners of the soil, conduced materially to the growth of capital and of a middle class, and has rendered the relation of landlords and tenants mutually beneficial. Let us not forget that it has also to a very great extent obviated the unpleasant consequences of Government interference with individual rights. If we have in ignorance destroyed certain subordinate rights of questionable value, the measure has still been attended by a preponderance of good which cannot be overlooked; and let us now console ourselves with this universal truth that no scheme of human conception can ever be so thoroughly good as to be wholly free from evil.

Bengal owes its material prosperity to the Permanent Settlement which by fixing in perpetuity the Government jumma has rendered land a valuable possession. Periodical settlements were undoubtedly useful as preparatory measures for that advanced system which is embodied in the Bengal settlement. Periodical inquiry into the character of the different tenures and the quality of the soil has led to that intimate acquaintance with the productive capacity of land and the utility of subordinate tenures which will lead to the exercise of an equitable discretion in adjusting the claim of the different classes of proprietors. If fixed assessment for a term of years is preferable to an uncertain tenure, the settlement once for all of Government demand is preferable to a fixed demand for a limited term. The only part of the country where land brings prices equal to those in England is the province where land is held under a Permanent Settlement.' 'In England,' says a writer in the Times, 'there is many 'an acre of land that would not be worth a pound under a limi-' ted tenure which is worth thirty or forty pounds as unconditional 'property.'

Yet Bengal does not possess the monopoly of rich soil, the fruitful Doabs are populated by a hardy race who are accustomed to a life of labor for which the natives of Bengal are unfit. In the North-West a steady though slow rise in the price of grain to five rupees per maund caused the loss of thousands of lives, while in Bengal a sudden rise in the price of rice from fourteen annas to four rupees and four annas per maund simultaneously raised the price of labor! Let us compare the income tax receipts of Bengal with those of the sister Presidencies; let us also mark the proportion of direct to indirect taxation in the several provinces of the empire, and we shall have two important facts before us, which could only be explained by reference to the systems of land tenures under which the soil is owned in the different Presidencies. In Bengal, the proportion of direct to indirect taxation is as four is to nine, and it is also there that the price of labor is steadily and rapidly on the increase; no argument ever so elaborate can so satisfactorily establish the advantage of fixed over uncertain assessment of Government demand as the results which we have just cited.

It cannot be denied that enterprise and capital cannot benefit land unless property in land is full and free. Some of the richest estates of Bengal have been sold and resold by Government, owing partly to the strictness in the liquidation of land revenue, and partly to the action of the Civil Courts; but land has gradually passed into the hands of men who have accumulated capital and who can happily resist both the calamities

of season and the depredations of the law courts.

A great revolution has silently swept over the courts, and society has reaped from it advantages which it would be easier to repudiate than to disprove. On the other hand, had Government arbitrarily interfered with the transfer of property from a prodigal to a thrifty class of men, the laws of nature would have asserted themselves and human enactments would have succumbed under a force it was impossible to resist. But the action of capital being free, and labor allowed to justify its rights to a share in the general prosperity, the relation between capital and labor was regulated by those laws which render them mutually necessary and their combined action beneficial to the community at large. Under the village system of the Provinces, an attempt to adjust the claims of labor and capital could only end in the sacrifice of the system itself; restrictions were therefore imposed and the system was saved at the cost of national progress.

The Perpetual System has developed the tendency which in every prosperous country leads to the destruction of unremunerative cottier farms and to the formation of wealth-producing estates. Remissions of public revenue are scarce in Bengal; Government revenue is realised with ease and punctuality and the capital of the landlord has materially weakened the chances of a sudden collapse of the system under ordinarily adverse influences. Within

the last four years the average amount of revenue realised from land in Bengal has exceeded ninety-six per cent of the demand; as private income increases with cultivation and rent weighs lightly on land we shall hear less of defaulting landlords and more of flourishing estates. The ryot himself feels the coming change: if he is not better off than he should be, we feel no hesitation in stating that he is better fed, better clothed and better housed than the same class of men under the systems which boast of 'first principles', and enmity to so-called conventionalism.\* The philanthropists who regret that the land tax cannot be raised so as to afford means for the reduction of indirect taxation seem either to mistake the nature of wealth or misunderstand the nature of the change indicated by an increase of indirect taxation.

Commerce and the arts of life advance at a pace with which the progress of agriculture cannot compete, and it is therefore by no means an easy task to determine the proportions according to which manufacture and agriculture should divide the taxes of the country. Even those who have but cursorily dwelt on the subject admit that any continuous though gradual increase of land tax would soon render the burden on land inequitable, and to our mind it is an undeniable position that the system which would lead to the increase of capital among the landed gentry would also enable the country to bear with elasticity an increase of indirect taxation and to add to the resources of the tax-paying multitude.

With such facts before us we would strongly recommend the adoption of the Permanent Settlement throughout the country. Wherever we have completed a correct scientific survey of the culturable land, and land tenures have been thoroughly investigated and the results placed on record; wherever the periodical settlement has worked with success, and the country bears the signs of wealth, the permanent limits of Government demand should be at once offered to the landholders as the main condition of the newly proposed settlement. If it be necessary to proceed with greater caution, let us restrict the introduction of the Perpetual Settlement to the naturally favoured tracts of the country, and where a well grounded prosperity has prepared the land for the change. Sir Robert Montgomery who has styled the

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;The prosperity of the rural population,' remarks a native journal, 'is evidenced in their better clothing, a considerable improvement in their physical appearance, and a corresponding change for the better in the condition of their cows and oxen.'

Permanent Settlement 'a blessing,' considered the landholders of Campore ready to accept a permanent settlement at any temporary sacrifice; \* and unless we deceive ourselves this feeling in favor of the change is not confined to one district; wherever it is publicly offered by the Government as a policy which has only to be accepted to become the law of the land, it will be welcomed by

the people as an unqualified boon.

Light assessment which has been so recently acknowledged as essential to the success of land settlement, will expedite as well as justify the necessity of the change we so heartily advocate. Government has ruled that the assessment under the new settlements should be reduced by from sixty-six to fifty per cent, and the order was received with universal commendation. It is hoped that such a reduction will place a valuable profit within the reach of the cultivator, and that the savings of a few years will prepare

him for the change which we propose to carry out.

With the Perpetual Settlement in force we shall have to take leave of protective legislation for land, and, having created a valuable property for the landlords, we shall be perfectly willing to leave the 'communities' to fight their own battle. weighs lightly on land, and indirect taxation brings the native commercial classes under the influence of the Financial Department, the landed interest will enjoy the advantages of a reform which will not disturb the prosperity of the classes who have hitherto enjoyed an unfair immunity. And thus we shall realise what Miss Martineau in her dreamy 'suggestions' calls 'the reduction and re-arrangement of new and increased taxation to enable us to reduce the tax on land.'

In the Punjab as well as in the North-West there are certain tracts of land so fortunately situated in every respect that even the most timid would not scruple to introduce there the Bengal system of land settlement. One of the most important and certainly the most immediate result of the introduction of the Permanent Settlement will be, that new lands will contribute to the public exchequer and thereby lighten the burden on the old. As agricultural wealth steadily increases and capital accumulates in the hands of the landowners, we shall have less and less to fear from those terrible visitations which press so fearfully on the lives and means of the poor. In the Madras Presidency, where the cultivators are too poor to incur the risks which attend even an

<sup>\*</sup> We quote at second hand.

ordinarily long lease, we should as a preliminary measure reduce the 'assessment,' and by short periodical settlements prepare

them for the perpetual fixity of Government demand.

As the temporary settlements lead to the permanent so does the permanent settlement prepare the way for a higher blessing. Under the native rule the expenses of the State were defrayed from the receipts of land tax, and the other sources of income, if any, were only supplemental. And even now, after a century of British rule, nearly half of the imperial revenue is derived directly from the soil, and the landed interest bears the weight of public taxation; with the progress of commerce, however, we trust the tax-burden will be equitably divided among the different classes who owe their prosperity to public security. The representatives of commercial and professional industry should each bear its own liability and thereby lighten the average weight borne by the various classes, who are all equally indebted for protection to the Government of the country. Any marked inequality in the distribution of the aggregate weight of public taxation is likely to affect public credit, and the inequality in favour of one only increases the danger of injustice towards the rest. The land system which commenced with a periodical and has passed through a permanent settlement, must end with the redemption of land revenue. We must facilitate the formation of profitably large estates without any of the harrassing conditions which short-sighted land legislation is likely to impose on them.

The author of the pamphlet entitled 'the Land Revenue of India' while advocating the perpetuation of the land tax as it now stands, remarks on its origin as follows: 'so the tax of armed 'aid levied on the land was long paid in kind, but as man became 'valuable as a wealth-producing rather than a fighting animal, 'the tendency to commute such service for a money payment gathered strength till such commutation was the right and 'ordinary custom of all. Thus originated the land tax.' The writer who makes distinction between a fighting animal and 'a wealth-producing animal' might have with advantage extended his observations to the increasing importance of trade and growing facilities for exchange, and also distinguished between the ordinary wealth-producing and the commercial wealth-producing animal, who is also the champion of national progress and

social reform.

As a nation advances in commerce and the arts of life its domestic economy progresses towards artificial perfection, and

as every obstinate resolution to divide the burden of the public tax equally between the fighting animal and the agricultural animal would eventually lead to injustice on the former, so any attempt to divide the tax-burden between the agricultural and the commercial animal, unless in proportion to their respective abilities, would lead to the decline of agriculture, and so also in the long run to a falling off in the raw materials which supply the staples for commerce. We must therefore relieve the agricultural animal of a portion of his burden and place it on the shoulders of his consort whose vigour is on the increase and whose powers of endurance have improved at a pace unknown to the comparatively weak vitality of agriculture.

We must therefore allow capitalists who own land to redeem it from State dues, and thus to stimulate the progress of agriculture

and the increase of agricultural capital.

It is not unlikely, as has been freely prophesied, that at first the power of redemption will not be used to any remarkable extent; but there cannot be a doubt that, as peace and intimate commercial alliance with Europe brings native society into that tranquil condition which is so propitious to prosperity, those who will have amassed wealth will not be deterred from availing themselves of a power to confer a lasting good on themselves and their country. Since we are not necessitated to discuss the intrinsic merit of the measure, and the objection to it rests on the grounds of expediency; let us but concede the privilege of redemption in favor of those who would profit by it, and we flatter ourselves that it will not be long before the moneyed classes evince an anxiety to relieve themselves of an impediment which seriously hinders the growth of capital. rent-free estates the author of the pamphlet on 'Land Revenue' remarks that they are not flourishing, and that they are not a bit better than the 'liable' estates; but he admits that they bring to their owners 'full three times as much.' We must confess that it is a satisfactory feature of the policy which created rent-free estates that the properties they brought into existence have been productive of some good to certain classes of society if not to the government itself.

The success, which, sooner or later, must attend the redemption of land revenue would be rendered intelligible to those who have an interest in the success of its operations by a study of the most important maxim of land economy: that the more property in land is burdened with restrictive conditions the more we

weaken its productive power. Let land be redeemed for twenty years' purchase, or at any other fair valuation which the Government after inquiry may prefer; let every landlord who redeems his estates receive a clear and incontestable title of proprietorship. The rules promulgated by the Government of the late Lord Canning are perfectly feasible and the conditions generally are so far equitable that a Committee of the different Local Councils may revise them if such a step be calculated to inspire the public with greater confidence in the measure. We have attempted to explain only the leading principles of the reform which is to render our system of land-government as perfect as circumstances admit of, and if there be any difficulties in the details, they are neither so great in number nor so formidable in character as to afford any cause for apprehension.

Of estates paying a jumma of a thousand rupees per annum or under, we might allow the immediate redemption; the rest might be redeemed by fifths or tenths as may be deemed necessary. But in all matters relating to the details of the redemption bill, the committees of the Provincial or the Presidency Council ought to

be the best judges.

Every landlord who redeems his land gives a new pledge of loyalty to the government of the country; he stakes his all with the government which has given him the power to redeem, while he adds materially to the existing taxable resources of the country which have hitherto had so little aid from indirect taxation. On both these points the author of the 'Land Revenue' offers remarks which deserve a passing notice. On the subject of loyalty, he is of opinion that those who bought land could not be more loyal than those who bought Company's paper-money. But as regards wealth, number and importance there are no common grounds of comparison between landlords and 'paper-money' holders. Furthermore, an imperial guarantee would replace 'paper-money,' but could it compel a foreign power to give up lands belonging to private individuals in India? The writer also observes that any further increase of indirect taxation would fail in India; but it may be just as well to remind one whose attention is completely absorbed by a hobby, that the India of 1860 is not the India of 1850, nor is the policy of Her Majesty's government identical with the 'tradition' which studied to complicate land tenures by the introduction of injudicious rights, and to simplify public taxation by confining the demand chiefly to land. 'Because,' also remarks the writer with

evident regret, 'when a man nas redeemed his land his ability to 'spend would nowise be increased, so that indirect taxation would 'not be stimulated by the drain of capital'. To this piece of wisdom we would observe in reply that, few men would venture to lay out their last farthing on the redemption of land and, that even if men were rash enough to do so, the savings of ten short years would make up for a drain which cannot recur. But we should like to ask the writer of the 'Land Revenue' question, if the contingency to which he alludes with pain if not alarm, is at all consistent with his prophecy that the redemption of land revenue would not be popular with the natives?

The general principles, on which we support a Perpetual Settlement apply with ten-fold force to the redemption of revenue, and in connexion with this subject we beg to make a few obser-

vations on the sale of the Fee-simple of Waste Land.

A Secretary of State may be privileged to dream according to his fancies, but neither the dream nor the fancies can alter or improve the following stubborn facts which have been placed at our disposal; that not one-fifth of the cultivable land of India is cultivated; that Madras abounds in wastes on 'first principles;' that Bombay and the North West Provinces fare but slightly better; that the Punjab can offer to enterprise unreclaimed land of unrivalled fertility, and that millions of acres of the richest soil in the world which would enrich British Burmah are still neglected. These are facts which cannot be contradicted despite all the ominous auguries of men in power.

The rules published by the Government of Lord Canning on the subject of Waste Land have been accepted generally as favorable to enterprise, and to them may be added this provision, that the valuation of land be left to the local Government of each Presidency.\* We agree with the late Lord Canning that the fewer the restrictions we impose on the sale of land and the more we increase the facilities for land seekers to purchase Government wastes the greater the extent to which the measure will operate beneficially. We shall only recommend here that the

<sup>\*</sup> We have since read and approve of the reply of the Government to the Calcutta Land Association that 'It certainly was not the policy of the resolution absolutely to confer the ownership of the most desirable waste lands, 'at a price very much below what the public are willing to pay for them, on 'those who from their personal acquaintance or connection with the locality 'may have the best opportunity of obtaining information regarding them, 'and thus of being first in the field with their applications.'

proper valuation of land be carefully attended to, otherwise speculation will restrict the effects of a reform which is intended to benefit the agricultural interest of a large empire. should also be on our guard against injudicious interference with the rights of individuals: we should not restrain by any condition the purchaser's action or guide his judgment in dealing with his property. The owner of waste land is to be treated like the owner of cultivated fields; he must consult his own interest both as regards the extent or the means of cultivation; if it may seem to his advantage that the land should continue an unreclaimed waste it is not for Government to induce him to abandon his resolve; whether for good or for evil his property in land should be as unconditionally his as any other form of property; and if it be his choice to be content to allow his capital to waste or stagnate while progress is working miracles of prosperity around him, his choice concerns none but himself.

The writer of the 'Land Revenue' regards with dread the unconditional sale of waste land, because even when penalty is attached to neglecting cultivation the land is allowed to lie fallow; in short it seems to us that the writer would rather that the land was locked up, as it has been for more than a century, and wait for the good times when the 'community system' and the right of pre-emption shall have come to its rescue. 'Speculators,' he adds, 'would invest in land, till the most favorable 'frontage, and then wait patiently till the price rose so high as 'to tempt them to sell.' Considering the extent of waste land which is available, the foolish 'speculator,' must wait 'patiently'

for a very long time to profit by his speculation.\*

It is not enough, however, that waste land should be sold and cultivated land be redeemed, but we must also provide for the most profitable disposal of the income which the State may derive from these two sources. Public journals have long declared their views on the subject, and we have resolved after some reflection, to support the scheme which public opinion has so unhesitatingly recommended. The proceeds of the sale and redemption of Government land can only be honestly employed in

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Charles Wood in his despatch on the subject overlooks facts and draws inferences which are necessarily false. It is painful to enlighten the Secretary of State for India on matters so well known, and on which it is so important that Government should arrive at some definite conclusion. That there are waste lands in India of which Government is the sole proprietor, and that European capitalists are not the scourge of the country are facts which we would not attempt to prove, even if it were to edify a Right Honorable Secretary of State.

extinguishing Government debts and in constructing works of public utility. The details of the scheme must be left to imperial legislature, but we may be permitted to offer a few words in

defence of its general principles.

The capital represented by the land at twenty years' purchase amounts to about four hundred million pounds sterling, while the Government debts and the Railway guarantees do not amount to one hundred and fifty millions. The savings of the interest on the public debts would not be a greater blessing to society than the indirect influence of land-redemption in alluring capital to the labor market; yet the amount of interest saved by the extinction of the public debts would go some way towards reducing the chances of a new loan, and even if the necessity for one did arise a solvent exchequer would afford no ordinary facilities for future

loan operations.

To allege that the temporary clearing off of the Government debts is not likely to confer any lasting benefit on the public is simply the affectation of wisdom. But even if such were the truth, to put off a certain good for a remote contingent evil bespeaks an amount of sensitiveness which cannot be productive of good to the public. The advocates of the old school have even gone so far as to assert, that not only does a temporary liquidation of debt do no good, but that freedom from debt cannot but be ephemeral; it is impossible, they say, so to reduce the amount of public debts as that they shall not assume their original bulk before long; it would have been more satisfactory if the advocates of public indebtedness could prove that the increase of public debt was the unavoidable consequence of its decrease, and that its decrease is only the first step towards the evil we hope to avoid.

But the lovers of paradox avoid the test of facts and rest contented with declaring magisterially what they consider a political aphorism. We do not mean to deny that public debts have increased after a temporary clearance, but neither can our antagonists deny that public debts have increased without having experienced any previous relief; we are not unconscious of the dangers of the position where public receipts decline and public disbursements increase; but a decrease of income by the extinction of liability is no decrease at all, while it is an undeniable position that whatever honestly facilitates the contraction of new debts places at our disposal a power by which we may meet the wants of any ordinary exigency without danger, if not

with ease.

If a portion of the national debt can be wiped off by the sale of a portion of the public land, by attempting to retain both land and debt we only incur the liabilities of public trust. Again, if the public are willing to raise a decreasing debt to what they may regard as the standard amount, they are welcome to exercise their judgment in the matter and choose the situation best adapted to their taste and ability. When you pay off your debts, we are told, you are unconsciously getting through your capital; to this judgment we cannot give assent, the resources of a Government are the resources of its people; if it be true that in getting rid of public debts the Government is unconsciously going through its capital, is it less true that the periodical payment of interest on these debts is also a slow process of getting through an increase which would otherwise add to the national capital?

That a full exchequer leads to war, is another aphorism replete with 'traditionary' wisdom. We do not, however, propose to sell land merely to fill the public coffers, or when we have filled them to empty them by running headlong into war; on the contrary, we propose that the imperial government should immediately appropriate the extraordinary income to the use of the State. Indeed, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that any Government, inspired with British good sense, can be so wantonly prodigal as to indulge in war merely because it has the means to prosecute it. Let us suppose, on the other hand, that we were driven to a war against both will and conviction when we had not the means to withstand the drain consequent on it, would it not entail on us the necessity of new loans? and if so, is it at all times an easy matter to borrow with an empty exchequer and from an impoverished people.

It has been proposed that the proceeds of the sale of waste land should be exclusively applied to the construction of public works. To assert that we thereby exchange permanent sources of revenue for works of utility is nothing less than a fact, and in a qualified form would not be wanting in wisdom. Waste lands are at present not a source of income, and may therefore be regarded in the light of so much unemployed capital. That public works would increase the welfare of the people before they would add to public revenue is by no means an objection to the construction of public works; to some extent the savings or income of every individual subject may be reckoned as public property, and for all practical purposes under a constitutional

Government the identity is perfect. To regard with unbecoming jealousy the construction of public works for no reason more cogent than that they have a tendency to raise private income, and yet to acknowledge the paramount necessity of such works is keep to the public mind in an undesirable state of indecision. It would seem under the circumstances that Government do not object to the construction of public works provided their costs are not charged against the imperial revenue, and provided also Government be entitled to their full share in the increased rent

which such public works are likely to create.

That the Government of this country is peculiarly situated as regards public works, and that this peculiarity is solely due to its assumption of the duties of universal landlord, are facts. But the admission only proves that the injudicious competition of Government with private enterprise, has driven the latter out of the field at a loss to the public and the Government with whom it would be a hopeless struggle to compete; let us, however, in justice to ourselves refrain from charging the unofficial public with apathy and indifference, when what we require of them is a fruitless sacrifice. If the construction of public works is entrusted to the Government as universal landlord, then they cannot renounce the duty without also renouncing the privileges of the position. If the relation of Government to public works be anomalous, it is only the result of an anomaly which was perpetrated when Government assumed the duties of universal landlord.

Before however we concede the right of redemption of revenue and extend the Perpetual Settlement to the 'Provinces,' unless we are anxious to revive the errors of the past, let us complete an accurate registration of tenures and a correct survey of each man's holding.\* Lasting tranquillity in Bengal can only be secured by reducing all matters relating to land to a condition of certainty which would leave no room for useless discussion. Indeed, if the rent struggles are not to be perpetuated, if the friendly relation between landlord and tenant is not to be disturbed, and if litigation for land is to cease to be a matter of pure chance, we must have a record of right and a survey of each estate.

When the multitude who connect their destiny so intimately with land, shall have been fully impressed with the salutary

<sup>\*</sup> What Mr. Cust calls 'a Domes-day book in which every right is more or less correctly recorded.'

conviction that their relation to one another and their relation to the soil have been so clearly determined that it is no longer safe to indulge in law suits with hopes of harassing the judge and the defendants, the law courts will afford relief without becoming partisans of either one party or the other. We must no longer grant judicial decrees for the possession of fictitious property and of property which it is almost impossible to identify. If Bengal has been saved from the rough manipulation of the revenue collectors, it has been ridden over rough shod by the civil judges who have laboured so assiduously to confound rights and prolong litigation. Some of these evils to which the judicial officers have been led in their mistaken zeal for redressing fancied evil have passed all remedy, but interests still unimpaired may be protected by the adoption of the means which we have cursorily suggested.

We should not be so short-sighted as to withhold the means for restoring peace to one of the richest provinces of the empire under the conviction that our connexion with the land has been severed by the Permanent Settlement, and that by the redemption of public revenue it would still further be estranged. Such a policy, if it ever was earnestly conceived, betrays a want of power to distinguish between the duties of a government, and the duties inseparable from the exploded system of universal landlordism. We do not for a moment doubt that land will gradually pass out of the immediate control of Government; but are the people to have no part in governing themselves, in preserving the public peace, or in providing for public safety? If not, then let us abandon the attempt to amalgamate two distinct duties in the vain hope of destroying the evil which is com-Whether as governors of the country or both. universal landlord, public peace is our first and most important charge and public disorder the danger of both the government and the public.

Thus, we advocate the redemption of land revenue wherever the Perpetual Settlement has obtained, and the Permanent whenever the periodical settlement has worked with success; we would further propose that Government should not permit any land to be held immediately by any tenure less certain than a tenancy of fifteen years, and with the aid of a light assessment it will not be necessary to repeat the experiment before the country is prepared for the only system of land government which has worked with success.

Having discussed thus far the subject of land tenures we shall now turn our attention to the tenants themselves. For all practical purposes it will not be necessary for us to take cognisance of any other description of tenants beside the two which differ from each other on points of material importance. We shall treat of tenants with rights of property and of tenants without the rights of property: of land proprietors on one hand and land cultivators on the other: of Zemindars, Talookdars and other great proprietors who are said to lord it over every thing and the 'injured

innocents,' the ryots who are being lorded over.

Whatever may be the origin of our dread of capital, the fact is pretty clear that we do not regard with any favor the landed proprietors who are almost identical with the capitalists of this country. It seems to us that having once treated them with undue favor, we are anxious to atone for past errors by an undue distrust of their present motives and conduct. Having created them lords of the soil it were a matter of political conscience not to revive any discussion on the equity of their proprietory claim. It would have been consistent with justice to have recognised their importance in the social economychiefly in their relation to land—and watched the results of the system we had so hastily inaugurated. The course adopted by us was very different indeed; overcome by the clamour of those who had been unjustly sacrificed to hasty legislation, we proceeded to remedy the evil by declaring a crusade against both the ryot who had been injured and the landlord who had reaped the advantages of the injury; and we must confess that the war was prosecuted with a vigor which threatened to end with success. We were of a sudden troubled with a consciousness of the rights of the subordinate tenants, and were resolved therefore to destroy the superior rights which had become so distasteful to the injured cultivators. For the last fifty years we have generously exerted ourselves in redressing imaginary evils by the sacrifice of substantial good. We have uprooted the gentry of the soil and hoped thereby to avenge the cause of the distressed cultivators; we have persecuted the landlord to avenge the calamities we had heaped on the peasantry. In fact our policy has been that dangerous worship of expediency which in a slightly qualified form would favor the cause of every needy plunderer. We have even gone so far as to object to the very wealth of the landed proprietors; that their profits were large, was in itself considered a grievance; and as if Government had discharged all its public duties to perfection, we reproached the

landlord with not fulfilling the just expectations of the State. It would have been fair if we had extended our enquiry beyond the creatures of the Perpetual Settlement to those of the land systems of the other provinces, and endeavoured to ascertain the extent to which they had fulfilled public ex-

pectations.

If Socialism is in reality to be the basis of our domestic policy. let property be interdicted without any exception or condition at all; for, do what we may, it is impossible to effect a compromise between large property and no-property, and to elect in favor of small property as the golden mean. The policy of compromise has failed hopelessly; we have ruined the owners of useful property, without raising the serf, who had nothing but his labor to depend upon, to the status of a landed proprietor. The private wealth which we melted down with so much care has not reappeared, as our statesmen flattered themselves it would; but who can deny that its destruction has neither improved the social condition of the oppressed ryot, nor increased the revenue of Government? We have destroyed that class of men in whose enterprise was our best guarantee for the progress of society, and to fill up their places we have raised a large body of avaricious speculators with but a temporary interest in the land of the country, and we have also constructed that cumbrous official machinery, which seems to us to have been specially contrived for the absorption of Government revenue.

Madras, whence nobles and capitalists have alike disappeared, presents a spectacle for which even the most devoted advocate of socialism was not prepared. Lord Harris admits all that can be said against the Ryotwary system when he declares, that innumerable small holdings must necessitate poverty and social degrada-Even in his zeal for a favourite theory his lordship was struck with the fact that 'active measures of improvement on an 'extensive scale, did not exist in Madras'. It would have been too much for his lordship to confess that in the Madras Presideney we had realised the very ideal of our land policy, but that such was the case may be safely inferred from the fact that the Ryotwary cultivators have not the means to incur, with any chance of success, the risks and liabilities of an ordinarily long lease. With all the influence of a powerful Government arrayed against him, with social prejudices to combat, and with the suspicious attention of the judiciary fixed upon him the capitalist abided his time and successfully asserted his right against an opposition which was directed not more against

him, than against the laws of supply and demand. As it was impossible for him to endure the burden of 'first principles' he left Madras to its fate, but into the 'community system' of the North West Provinces, where property of a kind does exist, he has made his way despite legislative restrictions, and the terrors of socialism. The influence of capital endures longer than the influence of labor, and, even in a mutually destructive struggle, capital has to some extent the advantage over its antagonist. The capitalist can no more confound his functions with those of the laborer, than the laborer dispense with the aid of the capitalist; and when property in land gravitate's towards capital, whatever ignorance may say to the contrary, it is only the natural process by which capital acquires that control over labour which will result in the welfare of both. To view a course of progressive action with alarm is certain proof of the want of capacity to distinguish between a revolution which leads to reform and that which ends in disorganization. A surgical opera-

tion may be painful without being necessarily fatal.

In certain parts of India the absence of capital has led to consequences, which only demonstrate the folly of excluding it from a society purely agricultural; while its necessity has never been so clearly or strongly demonstrated by any other fact, as that the destruction of men of property, who possessed the confidence and respect of the people, has brought into existence men who started in life as speculators and have achieved wealth and a so-called position without influence or popularity. In Ireland even agrarian atrocities have not disturbed in their possession of land capitalists who are, even now, the abomination of the most careless peasantry in the world. Capitalists have no doubt tried to make the most of their opportunities, and if only the ryots had not been too helpless to propose terms, the remuneration of capital would have been less unreasonable, while labor would have had more than merely the leavings of capital to content itself with; as matters now stand, capital has had every thing much in its own way, but it is impossible to believe that it will long domineer as it has and treat the claim of labor with lordly disdain. Under any circumstances, let us be fair in our treatment of important interests, and let us not carry our opposition to capital too far in our zeal to restore the lost equilibrium. If in India landlords have mistaken their interest, they have followed the unfortunate example of the Government of the country with perhaps this immaterial difference, that while the Government finds complete justification of its conduct in its laws

and regulations, the landlords extort all they can without

acknowledging the necessity of any justification at all.\*

It certainly cannot be considered dealing fairly with the interests of the landlord to treasure up in our minds his oppression of his tenants, and to neglect the importance of his wealth to the country. We all admit that even the speculators themselves have done all they could to keep up cultivation. The deficiency of farming capital has arrested the prosperity of the 'Provinces,' while the repulsion of capital from land in Madras has reduced that Presidency to hopeless beggary. Advances are preferred to that natural support which capital would freely afford to labor, but for the meddling spirit which keeps them asunder. So strongly has the necessity of this union declared itself that some of our best fiscal officers have proposed to lease the land of lazy communities to capitalists who may possess the means of improving it. If capital is to allure wealth out of the ground; if capital is to increase the demand for labor, and if the country is to look to capital for its most effective means of advancing material prosperity, let us treat with some consideration men who are armed with this power, who, while endeavouring to further their own interests, also benefit the interests of society.

Though the principles which we now advocate have been accepted in Europe as the best guide to substantial and permanent prosperity in India, we have struggled to inflict on society some of the choice theories borrowed from the school of socialism, and have persisted in our attempts to reduce to one dead level the wealthy classes of the country.† But the signs of

† The 'Flaneur' who gives us his impressions of 'Ten Years of Imperialism in France,' adds to our conviction that the French have not as yet been able to account for their prosperity under Napoleon the Third: 'The principle,' says the Flaneur, 'that it is the duty of the State to interfere in the relations between capital and labour in favor of the latter as the weaker of the two, was not only avowed by the Government of 1848, but acted upon, although, as every one knows, with little success.' This is just what the

Republic did avow and the Empire has justly disclaimed.

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Ruskin would undoubtedly observe here that the landlord ought to 'die' rather than oppress the ryot, because 'rats, or any other animals support 'themselves by laws of demand and supply and the distinction of humanity 'is to live by those of Right.' If Mr. Ruskin could only convince the landlord that it was for his advantage that he should prefer death to oppression, we doubt not the landlord would gladly abide by Mr. Ruskin's 'Laws of Right'. But in the meanwhile selfish interests interfere and disturb the righteous state of mind to which Mr. Ruskin's philosophy might otherwise bring the landlord.

health are not less visible than the signs of disease. Labor is by degrees relinquishing its weak hold of property; it can only improve when it ceases to own it; labor is gradually yielding to capital and intelligence what is their due; the miserably small farms are falling in; large farms are coming into existence, and the price of land increases the value of labor. Land is being placed under circumstances eminently propitious to the growth of capital.—Prosperity will thus spread over the land, and the 'Revolution' to quote the words of the late Colonel Baird Smith, 'will advance just as surely, as in the struggle of life industry, 'thrift, intelligence and wealth must displace indolence, extra-

'vagance, intellectual stagnation and poverty.'

It is time, however, that we should repudiate socialism and regard the landed proprietors as an element of strength in our It is time that we should recognise their position even if we cannot forget our joint misrule of the subordinate tenants. The landed gentry are the only aristocracy of India; the lower classes look up to them, and by securing their allegiance we secure the allegiance of their natural constituents. It is the landed proprietor who best can aid government in times of trouble, directly by capital, indirectly by local influence; the 'people' so called, have ever been the advocates of revolution, while conservatism is the chief cause of the prosperity of the moneyed classes; the landed capitalists raise the demand for labor and consequently the remuneration of labor\*; to their leisure we look forward for the mental improvement of the natives and to their social influence for security in times of innovation; speculation, involving preparatory outlay, depends on their assistance and their efficiency as a public body depends on the efficiency of the law courts, and the efficiency of the law courts is the best guarantee of their safety. The destruction of the landed gentry in India is virtually the destruction of capital, intelligence and social prosperity.

And yet such was the class of men that received a rude and rough treatment at the hands of Government, a treatment which Government attempted to justify by its belief in the practical efficacy of the social philosophy. Instead of inspiring

<sup>\*</sup> Mr Neate in his 'Lectures on Taxation' has adopted some of Mr. Ruskin's visionary principles of practical economy, and instead of attributing the rise and fall in the rates of wages to the increase or decrease of capital compared with the demand for labor, states that the minimum rate of wages depends on the interest, humanity and fears of the employer.

them with confidence in the rulers of the country as their benefactors and protectors, and the cultivators with confidence in their landlords as their best friends, we have condemned the landlord as a heartless tyrant, and we have taught the ryots to cry down his character and to resist his authority. An Irish landlord in addressing the present Sir Robert Peel teaches us a lesson which we might have with advantage learnt long before: 'drive them,' says he, speaking of landlords and tenants, 'to look for their security alone in mutually beneficial 'covenants for fostering the improvement of the land.' But to our policy nothing appeared so repugnant as to create harmony where we were resolved that discord should prevail.

As if the indirect influences for evil were not numerous enough, by a recent Act (X of 1859) we have armed the ryot with the most successful means of worrying his landlord, and the facts that have recently come to light seem to prove that the ryots have not been backward in using the weapons with which we have so philanthropically entrusted them. Those who in utter ignorance of the subject passed a land bill, which has virtually guaranteed impunity to intriguing tenants, have much to answer for. As a rule a landlord has now much to fear from his cultivators, and the less inclined he is to use fraud and force the more helpless he finds himself in the hands of his antagonists. Those who have watched the working of the Rent Act have been filled with alarm as to its ultimate consequences; while one of their number has prophetically remarked that it will 'develop 'all the worst features of the Bengalee character.'

The sections XVIII and XIX of this prodigy of legislative blundering are evidently intended to create in Bengal the constitutional slavery which is rampant in Madras. If ever an act of the Indian Government was calculated to inflict serious injury on the proprietors of land, this masterpiece of misguided philanthropy is likely to accomplish that result. If our apprehensions are not justified by facts we shall gladly award to the ryot the credit for an amount of disinterestedness and a love for fair play, to which, we have not hitherto thought him entitled, and which the Rent law is not likely to foster in

him.

The Act in question is not even a negative good: it facilitates the growth of contentious rights and thereby raises points of dispute between landlords and tenants which must end in harassing litigation; but those who consider it necessary that the landlord should not exercise any authority without the aid of the law courts, must idolize the Rent Act as a piece of perfect legislation. We could almost fancy that to create dissension was the very object of the Rent Law; but those who have been so thoroughly deceived as to call this Disruption Act the Ryot's Magna Charta may some day learn to distinguish between licence and that liberty on which well organised society is built. What strikes us as a most wonderful piece of ill luck in our land-legislation in India is the fact that the experience of the past does not seem to light our way into the future, and that each epoch of our century of Government seems to be in-

dependent of the rest.

The principles which the Rent Act embodies were in force sixty years ago, and the fruits they bore might have warned us against their hasty adoption a second time. So far back as 1799, we discovered the danger of alienating the landlord from his tenants, and, acting under a wholesome experience of past mischief, we inaugurated a regime, which, as it worked for the benefit of the two classes, who had hitherto been arrayed against each other, was productive, as far as our law courts permitted, of prosperity and good-will between them. We had to a great extent recovered from the rude shocks of class-hostility, when the Rent Act came into operation and once more revived the contest between the owner of land and the owner of labor; once more the landlord was to treat the ryot as a traitor in the camp, and once more the ryot was to arm himself against the landlord as a determined tyrant whom it was a matter of conscience to baffle. We have for a second time in the history of our rule in India treated the interests of Government after one code of justice and equity and the interests of the landlord after another.

We have it admitted on all hands that the poverty of India must be cured by British capital and British intelligence. It is also alleged that British settlers will increase the price of labor, and one of the most enlightened of our Indian statesmen regards 'their presence in the country as beneficial' and, politically speaking, of 'the highest importance.' But is it reasonable to expect that British energy and capital could flourish in a country where they must hopelessly war with men whose co-operation is the sine qual non of mercantile success? Is it possible for British settlers to hold their own against a clique powerful in numbers and supported by the undisguised sympathy of our

legislature? Landed proprietors do not beg for any encouragement beyond a spirit of fairness in the public measures of our Government. The ryots will not co-operate with them as long as we hold out to the ryots the mischievous hopes of equality with their landlords; and yet the necessity for such co-operation is daily increasing, and before long we shall have to decide whether capital is to forsake labor, and labor to suffer by the loss of capital, or whether we shall permit the landlords to exercise their

natural authority over their tenants?

Let the ryot look for help and protection to his landlord, and to his Revenue Collector for redress against the oppressions of the landlord. But the landlord must be armed with the power to distrain, though that of compelling the rent-defaulter's presence before him must be taken away from among the privileges of his position. The right of distraint belongs to the landlord who is expected to live in harmony with his dependants; but in India, where the creation of so many useless and mischievous rights in the soil has rendered the power of distraint of such importance to the landlord, government has withheld it from him, and yet it has retained for itself this authority in its capacity of the universal landlord. Such anomalies must cease, and the dangerous tendency of the Disruption Act resisted, before it has done its worst. Let us protect the ryot against extortion, and this by an improved judicial machinery it is not impossible to effect; but let us not be so far overcome by our zeal for the ryot as to sacrifice the importance of the landlord.

Those who would deprive the landlord of his most cherished rights and then drive him to litigation for the recovery of his just dues, cannot expect to improve the agricultural resources of a country whose prosperity, connected as it is so intimately with land, is entrusted to the landlord. The evils of the Indigo system have not been remedied by a judicial disarming of the landlord; and we cannot too severely condemn the policy which teaches the ryot to hope for the amelioration of his condition by successfully resisting the authority of his landlord. The Rent Act is however only in keeping with that series of hasty enactments which has jeopardised the value of property in land.

Intimately connected with this subject is the consideration of the subject of penalty for fraudulent breach of contract. If land must be occupied with advantage to the public, if advances must be made to incite native industry, the landlord

must have the power to distrain, and the capitalist must have a contract law to protect his advances. Those who make so much of the distinction between 'crime' and 'no crime' forget that the positive law which they so vauntingly parade is not altogether on the side of hair-splitters. In fact, between private wrong and public injury there is no essential difference. Again, considering that the contract law could only apply to fraudulent breaches, the opposition it has received from the leaders of native opinion must be regarded as a premium on dishonesty. The law only aimed, as was well put by Sir Robert Napier, to 'punish a dishonest contractor refusing to fufill his 'engagement.' All that has been said against it seems, to be obviously dictated by a desire to support cunning against authority, and by the traditionary distrust of public officers. alleged against the Contract law that it tends to 'create serfage,' but its promoters may well remark that in its absence a favoured class of the natives is permitted unrestricted licence; nor is it clear to us, considering that the law would only apply to contracts entered into within the year, how it would revive old evils and swamp the law courts with trumped up charges.

Security is the very life-blood of capital. Where security does not exist, capital will not flow, and if advances must be made, security must be offered. Men who are not naturally honest must have a law which would punish dishonesty; but if honesty neither comes by nature nor is enforced by law, capital must stand still and commerce suffer during its stagnation. The insecurity engendered by a prospect of prolonged litigation is not less dangerous to the operations of capital than the troubles which attend war and public commotions. Let us, by all possible and just means, protect the ryot's liberty against oppressive landlords, but let us offer protection, to those who live by the employment of their capital. We are not advocates of a one-sided contract law, we desire that it should equally protect the laborer and the capitalist—the one against oppression, the other against fraud. We must offer the protection of law to capital; in its absence the operations of capital will be confined within such limits as are considered safe. us authoritatively determine the mutual liabilities of him who pledges his labor as well as of him who risks his capital, and we shall entail the necessity of circumspection on both contracting parties and ensure to them a position of mutual safety.

With summary power of distraint to protect his land and

the contract law to protect his capital, the capitalist-landlord has only to demand an undivided interest in land to improve and extend cultivation. Simplicity ranks only next to security and certainty in land tenures. Land must be placed under the care and control of single proprietorship, before it can attain that power of production which renders it so valuable in Europe and even in the newly settled colonies of the Southern World. Conflicting and involved rights of property in land check the free action of capital, while energy is hampered when it cannot operate with advantage either to the individual or the public. The charm of single and undivided property has turned barren wastes into smiling gardens, and has improved the productive powers of the soil beyond even the highest expecta-We must therefore enfranchise subordinate tenures and make the landholder the de facto lord of his acre. Even if the rights and property of some few must suffer under the change of owners, it is of the highest importance that the welfare of the large majority be not sacrificed to any sectional interest howsoever favoured or compassionated by the powers that be.

We must take leave of unavailing sentimentalism and endeavour to treat a dangerous malady with a firm and unflinching hand. In every social reform a small minority has always to make some sacrifice to promote the welfare of the community; a change which involves the freedom of land and labor can hardly be expected but at the cost of some private wrong. In investing the landlord with the absolute proprietorship of his land, and reducing the cultivator to his natural position of a tenant, even when the revolution is watched with care and solicitude, a small amount of pecuniary loss must be suffered by those who by the surrender of certain equivocal rights will secure harmony and mutual co-operation. The writer of the 'Land Revenue' views with evident satisfaction 'the land where rights of half a dozen 'kinds have existed for centuries,' and he might have added 'at 'the cost of the social and commercial prosperity of the country.'

We should therefore recommend the enfranchisement of all nominal rights of property, and compel all hereditary tenants, and tenants who pay at fixed rates to buy out the right of the proprietor or to sell their right of occupancy to the proprietor of the land. We should allow twelve months for the parties to arrive at some definite understanding; and, if they agree to preserve the conditions of existing tenure, their wishes should not be interfered with, but if they are not able to come to terms

the Collector of Revenue should authoritatively enforce the most reasonable offer, whether it be of the vendor or of the purchaser of the surrendered rights. It should also be optional with the tenant to give up a portion of his holding to enable him to enfranchise the remainder.

The ryot who buys out the Zemindar's right is entitled to the absolute proprietorship of his holdings, while he who sells his subordinate right is converted into a tenant at will. The success of the Putneedar tenures, the avidity with which the Zemindars buy out 'copyholds' in Bengal, and the results of the enfranchisement of clogging sub-tenures in other parts of the world fill us with hopes as to the advantages which the country would derive from a land system based on simpler principles than those called 'first principles'. Landlords who are absolute proprietors of their lands will never be so short-sighted as to deny their tenants the benefit of a long lease; neither will they be jealous of investing such tenants with useful rights, when they can no longer pretend to aspire to a dangerous position of rivalry. We should also render the subordinate proprietors in every respect independent of the superior landlords; no obligation or engagement entered into by the superior landlord should impose a co-ordinate liability on inferior proprietors, unless the latter are willing parties to the contract.

As we propose to save land from conflicting rights, no good can result from any measure which, while it emancipates subordinate proprietors, fails to conserve the rights and privileges of the superior. If it was a mistaken policy to distrust the landlord as an ally, it was a serious error to drive him to the ranks of the enemies of order and to keep him in a state of chronic hostility to the domestic policy of Government. Having acknowledged the landlord as our foe it was natural to regard the ryots as persecuted innocents; but with all our meddling zeal in their behalf we have only succeeded in inspiring them with an ambition which may conquer by brute force, but will not emulate the victories of intelligence.

It cannot be denied that we were guilty of a wholesale destruction of subordinate rights when we permanently settled the richest province of our Indian Empire, but yet it was hardly necessary to avenge the cause of the injured by persecuting those who had only reaped the advantages of the injuries without themselves causing them. It would have become a powerful government, to have watched the consequences of its conduct without betraying any

unnecessary alarm. The course we followed was different: we succeeded in forgetting our own share in the evils which the Bengal system had produced, and, forgetting also the good it had done to the country, we persisted in meddling now with the duties of the landlord and then with the duties of the tenant, and in blissful ignorance we fancied that we had redeemed the credit of philanthropy which our solitary act of

financial statesmanship had for ever imperilled.

It has been remarked with some truth that the dumb millions who conduce to the prosperity of the rich landowners are treated with lordly scorn, and that thousands of small proprietors are absorbed in the creation of one large estate. But if we cannot defend the conduct of those who are for ever keeping the ryot in his degraded position, we cannot, on the other hand, view the absorption of the miserable cottiers in the light of an evil. There cannot be two opinions as to the folly of creating a false position for the mere cultivator; in trying to raise him to a status for which he was not prepared, we have armed him with a power with which he may ruin, but cannot build up his fortune. It was said with a sneer but not without truth, that the ryots of India are indebted to us only for protection against Mahratta invasions. The rest of our policy towards them, has served to reduce them to poverty and invidious dependence. The bondage of the ryot may not be physically quite so severe, or politically quite so degrading, but morally it is not less ignominious than the bondage of the contemned negro. A freeman in the sight of the law he is the degraded child of poverty, and of moral dependance and the exercise of his rights as a freeman is absolutely an act of danger. Between landlords who mistake their interest and public officials who neglect their duty, between a corrupt police and hampered law courts the ryot seems to have had a destiny without hopes. A change for the better may not be distant; the spirit of reform, which is now reviving the withered limbs of the body politic, cannot but, sooner or later, reach the ryot himself; but it is not safe that he should any longer be permitted to continue in his present demoralised condition in hopes of an uncertain reform; we must put our shoulders to the wheel and aid education; European settlers will do their duty, and the growth of a kindly feeling among the landed proprietors towards their humble ally, are the means with which we must work out the regeneration of the Indian ryot. In times of trouble the importance of the labouring classes cannot be thoroughly appreciated, nor is it necessary in the midst of the contest for dominion to conciliate the good-will of those who would implicitly follow the dictum of the conqueror; but peace and commerce stand in need of their labor, and for that labor to be valuable the laborers must be intelligent beings. Indeed, the ryot must be taught to look forward to a destiny far above the drudgery which supplies him with his daily pittance; he must be taught to look beyond the bliss of low rents and the glory of successful fraud.

At one time it was the fashion to compare the Indian ryots with the cottiers of Europe, though perhaps the only analogous point was the painful certainty with which they were both sinking under the pressure of altered times. In every other respect the ryot is not less removed from a cottier peasant than he is

from the civilization of Western Europe.

The rise in price and the increasing demand for his labor cannot but improve the social prospects of the ryot, but it would be as well to admit that the work of regeneration is only just beginning. That to some extent he is conscious of the presence of evil which has so long influenced his destiny, is not deniable, though it is the fault of Government that the indications of such a consciousness should be exhibited in agrarian troubles andsocial commotion. Lord Harris attributes the degraded position of the ryot to moral causes, and yet but a little reflection would have convinced him that moral causes had in this instance been far less influential than political ones, and that whatever improves his political condition cannot but influence his moral and social condition for good. Such truisms it is painful to repeat, but in India they are still vexed problems of which our statesmen appear still to ask a solution.

It is only right for us to deal kindly with those whom we have injured, even if it were in ignorance; but care should be taken that what we call kindness be not, in fact, a dangerous encouragement to ignorant men who are already elated with hopes of unrighteous success. Let us take it for granted, and the position does not admit of controversy, that to befriend the ryot in a spirit of rivalry with the landlord is a serious mistake, and that we must give up the policy of setting the tenant against those whose best interest it is to help him, and to act in harmony with him. With the landlord for his enemy, the aid of government howsoever vauntingly offered, cannot avail the ryot. In Bengal the courts of law unconsciously, perhaps, allied themselves with the landlord, and the legislature in its wisdom

thought it necessary to arm the ryot with mischievous enacments. 'Interests,' observes one who ranks as an authority on the subject, 'so inseparably connected will always find in their 'relative advantage the most desirable security.' Yet the historian of India observed that the ryots were vested with 'the power to 'distress the Zemindar;' and what was still worse, having rendered the ryot obnoxious to the landlord, we virtually placed our law courts at the service of the Zemindar, to avenge himself on his enemy. Is it possible to conceive of a predicament more fraught with danger? We boast of having armed the ryot with a freedom of action which he did not enjoy before, but we forget that whatever the intrinsic value of this freedom may be, the ryot has not the good sense to exercise it with advantage to himself.

The miserably small patches of ground, which the ryot cultivates at a comparative loss of labour, hardly admit of a remunerative employment of capital. The little that he owns he cultivates badly, but he is so strongly attached to the soil that he prefers to eke out a life of misery on his wretched holding to seeking a just remuneration for his labor elsewhere. He lives in that state of happy uncertainty which leaves him

nothing to hope and nothing to fear.

The multiplicity of small holdings leads to neglected and ill-cultivated farms; the landlord oppresses on one side and the tenants resist on the other. Small holdings not only waste the productive powers of land but cannot even remunerate outlays of capital, though they reduce the rent of the landlord as well as the wages and profits of the cultivators. Skill finds no opportunity, and capital cannot cure the inherent defects of patchholdings, and the impoverished multitude who hang on them add still greater obstacles to the success of improvement schemes. When the average holdings of millions of cultivators do not exceed an acre of land, agriculture must decline, rent become nominal, capital almost unnecessary, and cultivable lands actually scarce.

The aggregation of multitudes on the soil, without the means to improve it, leads to that mischievous competition for land which ends in agrarian crimes, and low wages. Nor does the landlord escape the evil influence of an unnatural spirit of rivalry; he is less confiding and more exacting, and whatever be the prospect of his rent-roll in figures, he seldom realises his expectations. The ryot has to submit to a rack-rent which renders it impossible for him to take up new land; he cannot

improve what he already cultivates, and agricultural progress which is identical with territorial increase of cultivation is permanently arrested. Before we can hope to carry cultivation over an extent of land which would weaken the chances of suffering from partial drought, before we can increase the quantity and improve the quality of the raw produce of the country; before we can profit by the action of capital and the reduction of rent, we must emancipate the ryot from the slavery to which he is so fondly attached. We must give him his freedom even if it were against his will; we must free land from the curse of indigent cultivation, and the ryot must turn his labor to the wants of commerce and

to professional industry.

The ryot must have a future; live he must, but he must live to his own advantage and that of the public. He may choose to cling to the land which has hitherto wasted his means, such as they were; but we owe a duty to the landlord, we owe a duty to the public as well as to the cultivator, and they all point to practical results through the emancipation of the land and the emancipation of the ryot: the former from the burden of a thriftless beggar, and the latter from the grasp of an exacting mistress. We have elsewhere proposed the means by which this emancipation is to be attained, and a few years of experience would establish that spirit of co-operation between capital and labor which we all desire. The emancipated ryot would profitably employ himself on manufactures and the public works of the country, and the emancipated land would thrive under the healthy influence of

capital, energy, and intelligence.

The laborer would not be permitted to stand or fall by his wretched holding; his labor is of greater value to him when he abandons the land he cannot improve: Nagpore wants his labor and wants it in vain; in the most densely populated parts of the country there is a growing demand for it; railways suffer in its absence; Assam and British Burmah bid high for it, and yet we have allowed half a million of workmen to emigrate and millions besides to lay themselves out in bondage on land. We do not advocate a systematic mortgage of labor so as to convert it into a mere servile drudgery; but at the same time we can no longer suffer land to deteriorate under myriads of ill provided cottiers. It was the policy of the late Company to confine the ryot to the land, and the ryot has in turn confined cultivation within his limited means. He must now be compelled to leave his doomed patrimony to others, and to earn the fair

wages of his labor instead of wasting it in a hopeless struggle

against poverty and debt.

We must also destroy that mischievous 'right of bare occupancy;' it was no doubt a cunning device by which ignorance attempted to compromise involved claims. If it be put to a man that theright of occupancy at fixed rates is analogous to the authority which one man may possess to use another man's property, the folly of tolerating such an anomaly would be to some extent apparent. The Rent Act of 1859 protects pauper tenants by investing them with the right of occupancy and thus reviving the dangers which we hoped we had outlived. A power, which is only effective for purposes of annoyance and too weak to produce any good, ought to be condemned, if it were only to save those in whom it is said to be vested. The miserable Khood Khast of Bengal who passes away with his land does not possess, in law, the right to share in the alluvion which the proprietor of the land may claim and occupy. And yet the Khood Khast can only be ousted by the merciful action of Ganges, as the law provides no other means for the extinction of this mischievous class of tenants.

The hereditary cultivators of the North West and the Punjab have been well entitled by one of our ablest fiscal officers as our greatest mistake.'\* The regulations do not treat them as proprietors of the land they cultivate, and yet the proprietor himself derives no profit either from the land of which he is the reputed owner or the tenants of whom he is the reputed superior. Hereditary cultivators are neither tenants at will, nor proprietors; but it is their dangerous privilege to keep nor session of fertile lands and waste them at will or keep down their value by simply retaining possession of them.† Why not declare them proprietors at once? Why not legally invest them with the right of property when they can and do exercise that right indirectly, unfairly and injudiciously? The right of occupancy without the right of property has given the death-blow to many an enterprising speculator, without doing the tenants the least

\* 'A tenant who can never be called upon to pay rent, is an inconsistency; converted into a sub-proprietor, he is the owner of an intelligible property.' Cust to the Secretary of the Punjab Government.

<sup>† &#</sup>x27;The more favored hereditary cultivator pays the revenue on equal terms with the proprietors, so that the latter derives no profit whatever from their lands'—Revenue Report for the Punjab. Mr McLeod further remarks that the creation of these tenants 'is prejudicial in many ways, militates against the improvement of the land and is altogether anomalous.'

amount of good. Subordinate or small proprietors have risen to wealth and have progressed in utility, but the hereditary tenants and the perpetual occupants without right of property, who seem to occupy a sort of unnatural position between a tenant and a proprietor, have neither profited the landlords nor profited themselves. Property in land should hereafter be purchasable like property in moveable goods; it may also be otherwise alienated, but length of occupancy should never again be permitted, unless it be adverse possession beyond the statute of limi-

tation, to confer right of property.

Hereditary tenants cannot sell or mortgage their right; where the right was saleable it proved a more decided curse. In Ireland when the privilege of occupancy had a marketable value the landlords wasted their incomes in foreign countries, gave up all interest in the land, and to use the words of the Devon Commission 'this apparent property or security was the means by 'which the tenants were enabled to incur future incumbrances in 'order to avoid present inconvenience.' Land was locked up and property in the soil was not valuable enough to create a desire for improvement. What with the 'apparent right' of occupancy, the eternal right of pre-emption—a right which is only tolerable within well defined limits—about two-fifths of the cultivable land of India have been successfully protected against the encroachments of the ploughshare.

We must clear land of all nominal titles which have so long weighed down its resources. Let the landlord buy out his hereditary tenants and his khood khast, or let them purchase the right of property from the landlord. Subordinate independent proprietors are an invaluable acquisition in an agricultural country, they relieve the superior landlord of personal labor; they possess both his intelligence and his love of improving property; they bring themselves more intimately into contact with the land and tenants; they possess the means and the will to undertake small speculations, and they have not seldom protected the tenants against the oppression of the superior landlord. They are infinitely better managers of property than the speculating Esaradars, and do more good to the soil than the rich absentee who can waste his revenue with impunity.\*

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;The existence of intermediate tenures, which are heritable, and transferable and not terminable, is admitted by the highest authority; moreover, they do exist; they must increase &c.'—Cust to the Secretary of the Punjab Government.

When the hereditary tenant has sold his right of occupancy he may with advantage resume possession of his land on a written lease. A long lease under reasonable terms is a double blessing; the landlord would allow the tenants under lease to sink capital in the land when they cannot evade the conditions of the lease. If on the expiry of the term of the lease the land bears marks of improvements,—unless these improvements were effected at the expense of the landlord—the tenants are entitled to compensation. If it be possible, let all extraordinary expenses be incurred by the landlord, and let him raise the rent in proportion to the outlays incurred by him, or else let all improvements incorporated with the land be compensated under express contract. But tenant improvements,—the result of skill or money—which can be removed without losing their identity may

be appropriated by the tenant.

However, should the landlord be averse to a long lease the cultivator must occupy the land as a tenant at will or seek occupation out of it. In a country where labor is scarce and the price of labor is steadily rising, in a country where there are only one hundred and thirty-six men to a square mile, the tenant who leaves his land and is willing to labor cannot die for want of work. If he continues a tenant at will be must submit to the rule of his landlord; a submission which does not in one case out of a hundred interfere with the just rights of the tenant.\* As a tenant at will the cultivator cannot profit by any subtle or dishonest evasion of the terms of his 'pottah' and will therefore not have recourse to them. He will be guided by his landlord as he needs to be, and it will not rest with him whether he chooses to improve the land or to allow it to lie fallow. In an old country tenants at will are the pioneers who facilitate the advance of cultivation. Let every ryot have a pottah with the legally prescribed particulars endorsed on it, and even if his tenure be only temporary, let it at all events be secured for the time. Tenants at will will form the advanced guard of agricultural progress under the directing intelligence of European capitalists; their labor must eventually ensure to them complete success; the land on which even speculators would not venture is reserved for the industry of the tenants at will, and in the great social economy they have an office peculiar to themselves.

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;My idea is that a 'tenant at will' is what a literal interpretation of the words used show him to be. \* \* There is no law that can keep him in possession \* \* but it will be long ere in the Punjab the landlord will ill-use his tenant.'-Cust to the Secretary to the Punjab Government.

ART. VI.—The Punjab and Dehli in 1857, being a narrative of the measures by which the Punjab was saved and Dehli recovered during the Indian mutiny, by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne M. A., Asst. Chaplain Bengal Presidency, Chaplain of the Punjab movable column in 1857—2 vols. 12mo. London: W. Blackwood and Sons.

THE number of books to which the Indian mutiny has given birth is very large. We have personal narratives, and journals, and histories of campaigns innumerable, written by Special Correspondents, Officers in the Army, Civilians and their wives; and although some attempts have been made to produce a comprehensive work on this interesting subject, no reliable and satisfactory history of the Indian Rebellion has yet been offered to the world. Our proximity to this dire calamity may operate to hinder the formation of enlarged and philosophical views of it; but with some exceptions, to which we shall presently advert, our knowledge of the main facts and incidents is complete.

Viewing the subject geographically, we have Mr. Cooper's and Mr. Cave-Browne's works on the Punjab and Dehli. Siege of Dehli has been treated of by Col: Norman, Rev. J. E. W. Rotton, Captain J. G. Medley, Dr. Ireland and some others. Col: Norman's Report is very dry and very authentic, while Dr. Ireland's Narrative is pronounced to be the best by an excellent authority, the Friend of India. The other two are not worthy of criticism. Col: Bourchier describes the pursuit of the rebels after their flight from Dehli, and the battle fought at Agra with the Gwalior contingent. The incidents of the siege of Lucknow and the mutiny in Oude are furnished by Mr. Rees and Mr. Gubbins. The story of Cawnpoor to the time of the embarcation of the English has been written by Capt. Thompson. But of the fate of the captives of the Nana Saheb, subsequent to Capt. Thomson's escape we do not know any thing satisfactory. That officer's assertion that after the siege our women were reduced to so disgusting a condition that no sepoy would have condescended to violate them is a gratuitous assumption, and is opposed to facts which have occasionally since oozed out, notwithstanding the anxiety of the few unfortunates who escaped alive and their friends to bury in oblivion the insults they had endured. Indeed the treatment of their European captives

by the mutineers at Meerut and Dehli is likewise enveloped in mystery, from a desire on the part of the historians to leave no record of our shame. Such delicacy we consider to be wrong. We trust that the author of the Indian Rebellion, whenever he enters on his task, will not be influenced by any such false ideas where the interests of truth are concerned.

The outbreak in Rohilcund, and the massacres perpetrated at Bareilly, Shahjehanpoor, Moradabad and Bijnore have never been described, except in short notices in the newspapers of the day. Of his experiences at Budaon Mr. Edwardes gives but a scanty account. The fate of the fugitives from Futtygurh remains to be cleared up. It is only known that they were all murdered by order of the Nana as they were passing Bitoor in boats. Large families have become extinct; but we should like to learn how. The difficulty in getting at the truth is mainly to be imputed to the fact that very nearly all the Europeans, nay all the Christians, who did not flee before the storm (and those who did could not have witnessed it) were exterminated, and the few survivors are unable or unwilling to make startling revelations.

The reconquest of the Gangetic Dooab, Oude and Rohileund forms the subject of Marshman's Life of Havelock and Russell's

Diary in India.

Towards Central India, the outbreaks and their suppression are described in Pritchard's Mutinies in Rajpootana and Lowe's Central India during the Rebellion of 1857-1858. Of Mrs. Coopland's work on Gwalior, it is snfficient to say that like Pliny's Natural History, it is an omnium gatherum, embracing the Zoology, Meteorology and Ethnology of the place. She has made a spasmodic effort to expand into a volume events which would barely have sufficed for a chapter.

The narratives of Mr. Edwardes during his concealment with Mr. and Mrs. Probyn in Oude; of Mr. Dunlop's skirmishes with the rebels in the neighbourhood of Meerut; and of Mr. Robertson's duties in the district of Saharunpoor, are episodes of the

mutiny replete with interesting facts.

The only general history we have yet seen is that published by Messrs. W. and R. Chambers in 1859, written by G. D.—Who this writer is, whether possessed of any knowledge of India, or a mere compiler, we have no means of knowing. As the book was really finished in 1858, it is necessarily imperfect, for we have hardly yet obtained complete data for a comprehensive

history of the Indian Rebellion. In Dr. Nolan's History of India, scarcely a hundred pages are devoted to this topic.

But it is time we should turn our attenion to the work

of the Rev. Mr. Cave-Browne.

Although we are, as usual, indebted for Mr. Cave-Browne's book to 'the solicitation of friends whose opinions he valued,' (p. viii) it is certain that it is written on the sound commercial principle of quid pro quo; the Punjab officials having supplied him with facts, he repays them with praise. In the absence of specific acknowledgments it is impossible to estimate the extent of his obligations to them: 'his many kind friends, 'who have more or less helped with information'-and 'in-'formation came in from all quarters and in all shapes' (p. ix) -are named once for all in the preface; but there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that the return he has made is most liberal, 'very considerable indeed.' He is lost in 'feelings of admir-'ation for the wisdom, the devotion and the heroism by which 'humanly, our preservation, was achieved' (page vii); and at page xi we have the commencement of a beadroll of nineteen officers, Civil and Military, of the Punjab, who are extravagantly eulogized, many of them deservedly, but none of them, we are assured, in such terms as they would sanction. Dehli would have fallen although a John Nicholson had not been there, for there were hundreds of thoughtful heads, and thousands of brave hearts and willing hands; and although we consider Sir Stuart Corbett entitled to great praise for his proposal to disarm the Native Troops at Mean Meer, we cannot think he performed 'an act which made men wonder—and hope.' This propensity to indiscriminate adulation which pervades both the volumes, and which must be nauseating to most readers possessed of ordinarily healthy stomachs, does not however satisfy the tender conscience of our author 'who cannot but fear that notwith-'standing all his endeavours, he may have done, or seemed to 'have done, less justice to some of the brave men to whom England 'owes so much. Again, he feels that the narration of their gal-'lantry and prowess may lack that glowing interest with which ' the mind of the reader, vaguely familiar with the glorious results, 'has already encircled them' (p. x). We sincerely hope that the thirty-three Officers and 'many others' (p. xviii) who supplied information will compensate the Reverend Gentleman for his excess of praise by ordering large numbers of copies of his work for presentation to their friends.

We beg respectfully to intimate to the author our conviction that his suspicion is quite correct, that 'he has allowed his sympathies with the Punjab to carry him beyond bounds, and that 'in the praises he has bestowed on the administration of that 'province, he has wronged'—not so much 'others' (p. xiv) as

those he has made the subject of his fulsome eulogiums.

We consider the hypothesis that the rebellion was essentially of Mahomedan origin, and that the Hindoos were the dupes of Mahomedans, to be unsupported by facts. It is true that the nominal head of the mutiny at Dehli was Bahadoor Shah, the ex-king; but at Cawnpore Nana Sahib, a Brahmin, was the actual leader. We believe that our rule is hated by Mahomedans and Hindoos alike. Any distinction between them is

purely imaginary.

What has led Mr. Cave-Browne to say that the Khalsa, or the Sikh soldiery, held the Poorbeahs in supreme 'contempt' (p. yv) we are at a loss to imagine. We should be glad to learn on what authority this assertion is based. Any one acquainted with the organization of the Sikh army must know that Dhowkul Sing, a Poorbeah, and perhaps a deserter from our army was for many years the Commander-in-Chief of Runjeet Sing's army. Jamadar Khoosal Sing, a most influential person in Runjeet Sing's court, was a Poorbeah, and his nephew, Raja Teja Sing, the greatest native at Lahore, was a Poorbeah by descent, and most of his dependants are Poorbeahs. In truth we should not be far wrong in stating that one fourth of the Khalsa army consisted of Poorbeahs, who were to be found in all ranks. There is a quarter in the town of Lahore long known as Mohulla Poorbeah. Then again, the famous sacred cities and rivers of the Sikhs, who are really Hindoos, are all in the Poorub; and to this day vast crowds of Sikh pilgrims resort to Kashee or Benares and Prag or Allahabad. Indeed Sikhs are frequently met with who have performed their devotions at the shrines of Gyah and Jugurnath. The Ganges at Hurdwar is visited annually by thousands of pious Sikhs. All who can afford it, send the bones of their dead to the holy stream of the Ganges. Can we then credit the statement that the Sikhs despise the inhabitants of countries which they believe to have been the scenes of the exploits of their gods, and intercourse with which they feel to be necessary to the salvation of their souls?

The term Poorbeah was not 'revived' with the mutiny as

Mr. Cave-Browne supposes, but began then to be generally used in the English language, we believe from necessity, as it had always been employed in the vernacular in all parts of India. His idea of its revival widening 'the breach between the Pun-'jabee and the Hindoostanee' is purely imaginary. We have shown that there was no breach, but perfect amity between the two peoples. But our author is not singular in cherishing such Sir R. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, was evidently influenced by it when (in 1857) he issued orders for the dismissal from their situations of all Hindoostanee employes, and for their deportation to Hindoostan. He may have wished also to guard against their active sympathy with their brethren who were fighting against us at Dehli and elsewhere, but the main design was to conciliate the Punjabees and foster in them a spirit of hostility to the Hindoostanees. consider this policy to have been erroneous. It exasperated the men who were subjected to undeserved punishment, it increased the number of the disaffected in the cities and villages of the North West Provinces, and it had really no effect on the Punjabees, who looked with indifference on a measure that subserved no ill-will on their part.

While orders were issued for the expulsion of Hindoostanee servants from the Punjab, the Judicial Commissioner recorded a paper in favor of native Christians who were to be admitted into the service of the State on the same terms as the Punjabees, if found to be equally qualified. We believe both these orders have now become a dead letter. An official report just published shows that one third of the native establishment consists of the natives of Hindoostan, except in the distant frontier districts which offer little temptation to adventurers, while the

proportion of native Christians is—nil!

In attempting to trace the causes of the mutiny we think the author has overlooked some important facts. The universal feelings of mankind ought to have led to the conclusion that the rule of foreigners, alien in religion, habits of thought and civilization, however benevolent and enlightened, could never have been heartily acceptable to the natives. Some statesmen, possessed of more than ordinary foresight certainly did advert to a time when an effort would be made to cast off our yoke; but these were looked on as visionaries by the generality of our countrymen, whose confidence in the loyalty of the Asiatics to their salt went to such extravagant lengths, that during the

Persian campaign of 1856 it was gravely proposed to conquer that country by raising an army of Persians on the spot. It is true that the natives of India, soldiers as well as civilians, had generally so well disguised their deep aversion to us up to 1857 that they obtained credit for an utter absence of patriotism. Indeed it was said they had no word in their language expressive of the idea.

This well concealed, but ever present feeling of hatred to a foreign domination was enlivened with hope by our disasters in Afghanistan. The sepoys and camp followers then for the first time saw that we were not absolutely invincible; and that our prestige was there seriously impaired in their estimation is proved by what subsequently took place at Patna and led to the

enactment of Act XIV of 1849.

The cartridge blunder contributed to blow into a flame the embers of bitter hatred which had smouldered for a century, for it offered a grievance in which both Mahomedans and Hindoos could cordially unite. Caste is a thing in which they all pride themselves. However inferior they may be in wealth and power to Christians, in caste they are their superiors, and any attempt to take away that, if successful, would in their opinion debase them to the condition of brutes. This led all parties to combine in measures of resistance to the Government. The distribution of Chupatees was only a mode of giving intimation to the dwellers at a distance of the designs of the rebels. Mr. Cave-Browne justly remarks 'that therein was 'really hidden an eastern symbol of portentous meaning.'

We however doubt his authority for stating that 'the great' body of the Hindoo sepoys, mere tools in the hands of the Pundits who had been first won over, were caught in the 'trap laid for them by the wily Mahomedan.' (p. 6). Our conviction is that we are equally obnoxious to both, and that the Hindoos never needed the influence of any trick to join the Mahomedans willingly in treasonable plans. Who tampered with and won over the Pundits? Who are the Pundits that were tampered with? The sepoys and the rabble of the towns and villages, who without distinction of caste or creed, thirsted alike for European blood, could not possibly have been under the

same spiritual guidance.

How contentedly the Hindoos obeyed a Mahomedan king in Oude we have ourselves seen. The occasional collisions between a few fanatics of the differing creeds in the month of Mohurum had nothing to do with their loyalty to their sovereign. At Bareilly and other Mahomedan towns in our older provinces such disturbances sometimes occur and lives are lost, but as they have really no political designs, so no one thinks of giving to either party any credit for affection to their rulers. It is singular how far a love of theory will carry even an honest historian. For our part we should be delighted to believe, if Mr. Cave-Browne will only afford us reasonable ground, that we are liked by the Hindoos, who would not have murdered our women and children if they had not been entrapped by the Mahomedans; but we have no hope of being led to think so well of them.

The prominence which our author gives to the designs of Persia and to the Persian Proclamation ('which possibly received 'its inspiration still further north' (p. 4)—Russia?) we conceive to be quite mistaken. There doubtless was some coquetting with Persia on the part of the ex-king of Dehli, but we cannot allot to Persia any share in producing the Indian rebellion.

The annexation of Oude was undoubtedly particularly distasteful to the sepoys. That, too, was a political blunder. The Government of that country had been bad always, and afforded no good plea in 1856 above all other years for its destruction. It was a breach of public faith to annex the country, and the Poorbeah sepoys had their dependance on our truth terribly shaken by that measure. We know the effects in our own country of the falsehoods of Charles the First.

We are inclined to place in the following order the causes which brought on the mutiny.

1st. Hatred of foreign rule.

2d. The disasters in Afghanistan which revived the hope of casting it off.

3d. The annexation of Oude.

4th. The greased cartridges which offered a common grievance to sepoys of both creeds.

5th. The machinations of the ex-king of Dehli, who volun-

teered to head the rebellion.

The question whether the earliest display of disaffection, if met by condign punishment, would not have nipped the rebellion in the bud opens a wide field of speculation; but want of space forbids us to do more than briefly to give our own views on the subject. That the measures taken to repress the earliest overt acts of mutiny were distinguished by a singular want of judgment we fancy no one will now dispute.

'Up comes Mr. Commissioner Pordage with his diplomatic coat on.'

'Captain Carton,' says he, 'Sir, what is this?'

'This, Mr. Commissioner, is an expedition against the Pirates.

'It is a secret expedition, so please keep it a secret.'

'Sir,' says Mr. Commissioner Pordage, 'I trust there is going 'to be no unnecessary cruelty committed.'

'Sir,' returns the officer, 'I trust not.'

'That is not enough Sir,' cries Mr. Commissioner Pordage, getting wroth. Captain Carton I give you notice. Government requires you to treat the enemy with great delicacy, consideration, clemency and forbearance.'\*

We trust to show how religiously Mr. Commissioner Pordage's

injunctions were obeyed in this country.

At Berhampore 'were quartered the 19th. Native Infantry, 'the 11th Irregular Cavalry and two guns of a native Battery. 'The rumour of the obnoxious bullock's fat was not long in 'travelling so far, and there were apparently in the 19th. N. I. men 'prepared to make good use of it for their traitorous ends. In 'the middle of February the Regiment avowed its determina-'tion not to touch the suspected cartridge. In vain did the 'Officer Commanding (Colonel Mitchell) offer the assembled 'Native Officers the most solemn assurances that no new car-'tridges had been sent there; that those in daily use had been 'left by the 7th N. I. whom they had relieved; and that nothing 'was further from the wishes of Government than to coerce 'their religion. When he found them still determined'—what did he do? Did he suspend further solicitations and apply to Government for a European Regiment or for Rattray's Sikhs to coerce his men to obedience? Or did he take steps to assure himself of the loyalty of the 11th Irregulars and the Native Artillerymen as likely to act agaidst the 19th N. I.? The latter measure most men would have deemed superfluous; for the sepoys would never have proceeded to the lengths they did without the concurrence of the horsemen and gunners. However, the Colonel did nothing of the kind, but—'warned them that on the following morning the usual cartridges would be served out, and any man refusing to take them would be tried by court martial and 'punished!' We presume Colonel Mitchell put on his 'diplomatie coat' when he announced this order. Besides the magic

<sup>\*</sup> Household Words, Vol. 16.

influence of that article of dress there was nothing to insure obedience. To proceed with our quotation.—'This occurred in 'the afternoon of February 26th. In the dead of night the 'men rose, rushed to the bells of arms and carried off their 'muskets and ammunition to their lines. Colonel Mitchell at 'once ordered out the 11th Irregulars and the guns,'—with what object is not stated. 'The presence of this force, instead 'of overawing only exasperated the sepoys; they rushed out of 'their lines in a menacing attitude and many of them began to 'load. They were ordered to lay down their arms, but they de-'manded the withdrawal of the Cavalry and guns as the only 'terms on which they would do so. Their demand was complied 'with, and after some delay they sullenly piled arms and retired 'to their lines.'

What can account for such fatuous conduct but a firm determination ' to treat the enemy with great delicacy, consideration, 'clemency and forbearance?' The Colonel had evidently made up his mind that no lives should be sacrificed in the attempt to secure such trifling objects as the maintenance of military discipline and public tranquillity. We do not mean to imply that the Cavalry and Artillery would have attacked the mutineers; indeed we are persuaded that any order to charge or fire would have been at once disobeyed and the entire force would have fraternised on the spot. But the careful abstinence from any effort to coerce, and the weak compliance (to use no term more appropriate) with the extorted demands of the mutineers were enough to spread far and wide the dangerous impression that the Government could not resist the sepoy army. Our author's pleas in defence of Colonel Mitchell's conduct will not bear the test of examination—'he had no European troops to fall back upon; there 'was no Colonel Gillespie with his English Dragoons within 'reach; even Rattray's Sikhs were too distant to be available.' Why did not Colonel Mitchell, when he found his men determined to disobey orders, report the fact to Government and wait till a European Regiment could be sent to Berhampore? There was apparently no danger in a state of quiescent mutiny, a state in which the 19th N. I. had continued from the middle of February to the 26th of that month. In a month from that date a force sufficient to subdue the mutineers, we believe, could have been assembled from stations extending to Dinapoor on one side and Calcutta on the other. As to the presumed fidelity of the 11th Irregulars and Artillery, the Colonel evidently had no faith

in them from his abstaining, at the critical moment, to order them to act against the mutineers. If he trusted them, and still would not order them to act, his conduct is still less excusable.

The Governor General, unfortunately for India, seems to have been actuated by convictions in perfect harmony with those of Colonel Mitchell; for after the 19th N. I. had been ordered to Barrackpore, it was punished for defiant mutiny by simple disbandment, a decision at which Lord Canning arrived at the end of March, or some five weeks after the outbreak at Berhampoor. The mutineers were dismissed with all honour; they were paid up to the last day; received a present of their uniforms; had the expenses of their march defrayed; and medical officers with medicines were sent with them as far as Chinsurah!

All this truckling to the sepoys of the 19th N. I. took place on the 31st March, two days after the 34th N. I., also stationed at Barrackpoor, had encouraged Mungal Panday to cut down their Adjutant Lieut. Baugh and the Sergeant Major. The whole regiment had turned out and stood looking on, hooting and yelling, and some of them were heard crying out kill the Feringees' (page 20). The 34th N. I. that is, the seven companies \* at Barrackpoor were also disbanded on the

6th May!

Our author justly observes that 'the seeds of sedition were

' thrown broad cast over the land.'

The question has been raised whether mild and conciliatory measures, such as Lord Canning adopted, were not better calculated to dispel suspicion and alarm in respect to such a vital subject as caste than the infliction of the punishment usually awarded for mutiny. Now that the storm has blown over us and passed, it may be said that it requires no penetration to tell what would have been the wisest plan to meet it. But the experience of all ages all over the world, and of India in particular, points to death as the sole appropriate penalty of open and defiant mutiny, and the only means of stopping it. In acting contrary to the practice of all time, Lord Canning evinced no statesmanship. He put his crude judgment into the scale against the wisdom of mankind, and the consequences of his error were fatal; mutiny and rebellion all over India, the destruction of myriads of lives, and the loss of millions of revenue. These, we fear,

<sup>\*</sup> Three companies were on detachment duty at Chittagong, and allowed to retain their arms which at a later period they used with murderous effect.'

are not all. That incubus, the Income tax, is still harassing us. All observant men see that an extraordinary change has come over the native mind, owing, we conceive, to the weak policy pursued by the Governor General. The respectful and friendly demeanour of natives towards Europeans, which prevailed before the mutiny, has been exchanged for a frowning aversion, and when an officer in authority cannot be boldly stared at, he is certainly saluted with a salaam as he passes, but the saluter incontinently gets a simulated fit of coughing, and his hatred is expressed by spitting \* as soon as the officer has passed on. We have heard of an instance when an officer, riding at dusk through the town of Labore at the end of May 1857, was greeted occasionally by most extraordinary sounds made by the shop keepers. Those who understand native character and habits know what these signs and sounds signify. We would ask what worse effects would have followed had Lord Canning proceeded in the manner prescribed by the vulgar experience of mankind? The probability certainly is that as at Vellore in 1806 and at Barrackpoor in 1825, so in 1857 mutiny would have been effectually suppressed either at Berhampoor or at Barrack poor.

Unfortunately the example of imbecility set by Colonel Mitchell and followed by Lord Canning was faithfully copied by the Commander in Chief, General Anson. Drigpal Sing, a Soobadar or commissioned officer of the 36th N. I. who at Umballa taunted two non-commissioned officers of his corps, temporarily attached to the Depôt of Musketry, with having become Christians, and had them put out of caste because they had used greased cartridges, was mildly told that his conduct was 'unbecoming and unsoldierlike,' while the victims of his villany were to be 'severely censured,' and one of them had his promotion stopped. Lieut Martineau the Instructor at the Musketry

<sup>\*</sup> At Rampoor a town belonging to an independent Nawab in Rohilcund, bravoes come to deadly encounters merely by spitting at each other on the ground without uttering a word. 'Sir T. Metcalfe had also retired from the 'Calcutta gate when he saw the serious turn that matters had taken and 'rode off to the Kotwallee (the native police court) in the Chandnee Chouk 'and ordered out the Police to guard the other gates of the city. But 'treason had been busy here too. That name which had with little intermission been associated with the city for above 50 years had now lost its 'power; the nephew of Sir Charles Metcalfe was no longer recognized in 'Dehli. The Kotwal received the order and spat upon the ground; the police 'heard it and smiled."—Page 62.

Depôt in vain represented that 'the greased cartridges alleged 'to be smeared with cow's and pig's fat were more the medium 'than the original cause of this wide spread feeling of distrust 'that is spreading dissatisfaction to our rule,' and in vain did he suggest that a European Court of Enquiry should be held at Umballa, where every night public and private houses were being destroyed by fire. All that General Anson did was to order at first the suspension of the use of the greased cartridges, and afterwards (on 17th April) to make the whole Brigade use them, 'and that night some thirty thousand rupees worth of 'government property was destroyed by fire.'

Major General Hewett at Meerut followed suit; for on the 10th of May he allowed the 3d. Light Cavalry and the 11th and 20th Rgiments of N. I. to force open the central jail, to murder all Europeans who came in their way, to burn and plunder the station and to march off quietly to Dehli; although he had then and there about 2000 Europeans of all arms ready and anxious to fight the 2000 natives. Not a man was sent to mark the road the Mutineers had taken and to warn the authorities ahead. Mutiny and cruel massacres at Dehli on

the 11th May were the consequences.

Had the Mutineers been vigorously attacked when they broke out on the 10th, it can hardly be doubted that those of them who escaped would have dispersed quietly to their homes. Had the Major General even prosecuted the pursuit to Dehli next morning, the results would have been very different; for that arch traitor Bahadur Shah, the nominal king, refused to give open countenance to the besiegers of the Dehli Magazine till his messengers, dispatched on fleet camels towards Meerut, returned in the middle of the day and reported that no avenging force was approaching from that station. The gallant Willoughby defended the magazine till resistence to the swarms of besiegers appeared to his little band to be hopeless, and then 'he rushed to the small bastion on the river face—one more look— 'a long anxious look-towards Meerut, but not a sign of coming 'succour.' He lost heart, blew up the magazine, and effected his escape with his few surviving subordinates, leaving immense stores of warlike material in the hands of the rebels. To what deeds of heroism would not a sight of the 6th Dragoons or 60th Rifles coming from Meerut have urged this brave little band!

It was at Lahore that the mutiny first received a blow which

staggered it. Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow was unable to offer any check owing to the paucity of the Europeans at his disposal. He did all that a wise and courageous leader could do; he provided for the safety of his small garrison, but that was all. But no sooner had the electric wire flashed from Dehli the startling intelligence, 'the sepoys have come in from Meerut and are burning every thing'-than Sir Robert Montgomery, then Judicial Commissioner, in a council of heads of departments, declared his conviction that, nothing 'but a prompt, vigorous course could save the city and prevent an 'emeute among the Mean Meer sepoys.' The plan at first formed of depriving the native troops of their gunpowder and gun caps was soon perceived to be insufficient.—When the possession of arms was illegal and subjected the offender to fine and imprisonment no difficulty was experienced in producing them when occasion required, it is not to be supposed that merely emptying the pouches of the sepoys would make their muskets useless to them. Brigadier Corbett, later in the day, resolved, at the suggestion of Colonel Macpherson, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to disarm the native troops altogether. Mr. Cave-Browne gives the credit of the disarmament entirely to the Brigadier, and the responsibility of the measure undoubtedly rested with the latter, but Colonel Macpherson should not be deprived of the merit of the suggestion. Sir R. Montgomery too passes over the circumstance in his 'Mutiny Report' 'I 'suggested,' says he, 'that they (the sepoys) should at any rate 'be deprived of their ammunition and percussion caps. 'this Brigadier Corbett readily agreed, and subsequently, with ' most praiseworthy boldness, determined to disarm them entirely. ' He executed this measure the next morning, the 13th May, ' in my presence in a most masterly way.'

Our author is incorrect in stating that the 16th N. I. (Grenadiers,) hesitated till Colonel Renny's order 'Eighty-first load, 'and the ominous ring of each ramrod, as it drove home its ball 'cartridge, carried conviction to the heart of the waverers—they 'sullenly piled arms.' (p. 99) H. M's 81st Regiment went to the parade with loaded rifles. It would have evinced bad general-ship to have postponed the loading to the last moment when the loss of a few seconds may have involved the failure of the

attempt.

It was fortunate for India that Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, was at that time at Rawul Pindee, and that telegraphic communication had been temporarily stopped; for when this *coup d'etat* was reported to him he disapproved of it, and said that had he been consulted, he would not have sanctioned it!

The Telegraph Department may be said to have been, under Providence, the salvation of India, both by its usefulness and its defects: for while it brought to Lahore the news of the mutiny at Dehli, it failed to convey them to Rawul Pindee; and subsequently to its complete stoppage between Calcutta and Lahore we may ascribe the success of the siege operations before Dehli, which were assisted by the vigour of Sir John Lawrence, unfettered by

instructions from Lord Canning.

We shall not enter on the consideration of our author's narrative of the siege of Dehli, or of the outbreaks as they occurred at several stations in the Punjab. With the exception of a strong Punjabee bias, which Mr. Cave-Browne does not disavow, we have no fault to find with his work. The errors that exist are unimportant, while the style and matter are so attractive that they carry the reader most agreeably through the two duodecimo

volumes.

## THE

## CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert &c. from 1852 to 1860. By William Charles Baldwin, F. R. G. S. London: Richard Bentley.

IN calling attention to Mr. Baldwin's very pleasant book, we purpose taking the opportunity of saying a few words about the rising and interesting young colony which formed the base of his travelling operations, during the eight years he devoted

to sport in Africa.

Our first duty is a very agreeable one, being that of introducing a modest, truthful, and entertaining author; and if we fail to do so in due form, we trust it will not prevent our readers from seeking a far more extended acquaintance with Mr. Baldwin than can possibly be obtained within the limits of a few pages in a Review. As the best mode of accomplishing this object, we have selected a few passages from his work for a place in the present article; but the book so teems with adventures and exploits of no ordinary kind that it demands a reading, the only disagreeable sensation attending which will be a regret that so long a time must elapse ere another visit to Natal, which is more than hinted at, can furnish matter for a second volume. The book is a credit to all who have been engaged in its compilation, and Messrs. Wolf and Zwecker have done their part in adding interest to its pages by the admirable illustrations they have furnished.

Mr. Baldwin proves himself as successful with the pen as the rifle, and if the book had been written with a view to a financial success, we should have to congratulate its author; but happily

for Mr. Baldwin, he can claim our respect for a diligence not forced on him by circumstances but adopted, as he tells us, 'at 'the earnest solicitation of friends and almost promises made to

many I left behind me in Natal.'

Our personal knowledge can attest to the disappointment which many of his fellow colonists (for he has long ceased to be considered as a traveller only) would have felt, and in all probability, would have expressed, had Mr. Baldwin returned from England without having redeemed his so called 'almost' promises. If our memory does not much mislead us, the promises were based upon the possibility of any one being found who could translate a Journal which, as our author says, was written sometimes in ink but often in pencil, gunpowder, tea, &c.

Mr. Baldwin is very candid with us, and we cannot do better than give his antecedents in his own words. He tells us:—

The love of sport, dogs and horses was innate in him, and says 'from the age of six I had my two days a week on my 'pony with the neighbouring harriers;' but these amusements soon had to give place to the school boy's life, which being ended, the embryo Nimrod was transferred to the counting house of a Liverpool Merchant, the gradations through which were suspended somewhat abruptly by a 'comparison of notes with the 'junior partner arriving at the conclusion that quill-driving was 'not my particular vocation, nor a three-legged stool the exact 'amount of range to which I was willing to restrict myself 'through the sunniest part of life.'

This matter being arranged, our friend betook himself to learning farming in Forfarshire, but whether from antipathy to master or locality we have no means of learning, but we find him soon transferring his residence to a West Highland farm of some thirteen miles extent. To all except enthusiastic hunters this space might have been deemed sufficient to afford ample occupation for gun or dogs, with something for the salmon rod to boot, but its limits were too circumscribed for our hero, and though admitting he was very happy there, he longed for

a larger field, and reasoned as follows :-

'Having no earthly prospect of the command of anything like a moor or a stud in the old country, I cast about me for some land of greater liberty (at least of foot), and had engaged a fine young Scotchman to go with me; but while debating whether Canada or the Western Prairies of America was to be my destination, two intimate friends, the sons of a neighbouring gentleman, who were going to Natal, advised that colony.' He followed the advice, and there he arrived with friends, dogs and rifles in December 1851.

Between Dr. Colenso, Mr. Baldwin, and the Great Exhibition. Natal has probably become better known within the past twelve months than during the fifteen years that have elapsed since it first became a British Colony. Between the years 1847 and 1850, considerable attention in England was turned to Natal as a new and promising settlement, but all thought of it speedily died out in face of the excitement produced by the gold dis-coveries of California. With news of rivers, the beds of which were of gold, reaching him, the roving Englishman was not likely to be fascinated by accounts of cotton growing, and it is not surprising if the Hand-book of Natal had to give place to the Guide to California. Men were not likely to care much about the means of reaching D'Urban and the Umgeni when their thoughts were absorbed with San Francisco and the Sacramento. But, notwithstanding the gold mania, there was in England a class of intending emigrants sanguine in the belief that the new Colony in South Africa did really offer advantages as a cotton producing country superior to any other British settlement, and second only to those of the Southern States of America. As the desire of visiting this favored land became more general, its accomplishment was fostered by a specious scheme of immigration brought out in England, which was successful in tempting some fifteen hundred or two thousand small capitalists to try an experiment promising the most splendid results.

Like so many similar enterprises, this was destined to prove a complete and unmitigated failure, serving as its only purpose to dissipate the idea that the Natal of that day was in any way a suitable field for the production of cotton. The scarcity of available labor was so clearly shown that the newly arrived immigrant of 1849 and 1850 would see miles along the banks of the beautiful river Umgeni white with unpicked cotton, and misery and disappointment depicted on every face. So thorough was the blight of hopes that agricultural implements, from the plough to the cotton gin, might be had almost for the cost of Men arriving with the most approved mechanical aids removal. found them not worth conveying the two miles from the The usual result for which Colonies in beach to the Town. success or non-success are so famous followed, the canteens alone prospered, while the little all of the newly arrived and intending settler was dissipated in his search for something to which he could turn his hand. It was while the unhappy colonists were mourning over these misfortunes, and searching for some means of extrication from the miseries engendered by them, that the news of the discovery of the gold fields of Australia spread through

Natal, and resulted in a strain of every nerve to reach the Eldorado on the other side of the Pacific. It is not too much to say that every colonist who could leave his new home did so. The gold fields offered peculiar temptations to those who, having had a few years initiation into the hardships of life in a new colony, considered themselves prepared for life in its roughest form. The proximity of Australia, so far as length of voyage was concerned, had also its temptations; -all these supposed advantages in favor of the Natal colonist in the race for gold, led to a general exodus from the juvenile colony. It was during this time of disappointment and uncertainty that Mr. Baldwin visited Natal, but he did not stay to see much of it, for he at once joined one of the trading parties, (then almost the sole resource of the hard working man with a little money,) bound for the Zulu country, the adjoining coast territory to the North. At that time the Zulu country was under the independent chieftainship of one Panda, but now under that of his son Ketchwayo, and separated from the British territory only by the River Tugela.

The Indian reader may well be pardoned if he fail to realise the whereabouts of such localities, much more if he does not comprehend the extent of territory embraced in Mr. Baldwin's travels, which extended over the immense area described by Lake Ngami on the borders of the Damara Land in Western Africa, and to the North West of Natal by some 500 miles, while in a Northerly direction they reached the Victoria falls of the Zambesi in about 18° of South latitude. Ten years prior to Mr. Baldwin's arrival in South Africa, many an educated English gentleman could not have named the locality of Natal itself, while the word 'Zulu' might without blame have been taken as describing any thing animate or inanimate.

Even at the present time, were it incumbent on the uninformed reader to cite a precedent for his Geographical ignorance of the localities, referred to in the title page of the book before us, we could furnish him with one, and take for our purpose no less an authority than the heads of the War Department. It is a stupid anecdote but perhaps worth a passing mention. Not very long ago amongst military accounts sent home from the head quarters in Natal was one for farriery work performed at Pieter Maritzburg. The sight of this item exasperated one of the officials at home, who lost not a moment in dealing a reprimand, which left no more doubt of his zeal as a financial reformer than of his ignorance of South African geography. He wished it to be understood, it would be the last such account that would be passed, so long as the Government had arrangements for similar work existing in Graham's Town, whither for

the future horses must be taken. This educated official little knew that the two cities are in different Colonies, and are some 500 miles apart, divided by a race, a portion of which has never

vet been subdued by British arms.

Seeing that even our great authorities at home are thus ignorant regarding South African localities, Mr. Baldwin has done well in attaching to his book a map depicting the routes adopted in his several journeys. A reference to this shows us his first trip. It was as we have mentioned into the Zulu country under an able leader, one 'Elephant' White. Mr. Baldwin was desirous of meeting with this renowned sportsman, and was therefore fortunate in arriving while Mr. White was in D'Urban, and at the time preparing for a trading expedition amongst the Zulus,—an expedition for which Mr. Baldwin eagerly enlisted. In about three weeks the expedition started including nine hunters, but it turned out a most calamitous affair, for 'out 'of nine hunters who went out full of vigour and hope in all the 'ardour of enterprise, Gibson and myself alone returned, enervated and prostrate after months of insensibility in Kaffir Kraals.'

Thus in his first trip Mr. Baldwin lost nearly all his earlier companions of the gun,—though not his leader—Elephant White (the cognomen Elephant was universally applied to him as being at once necessary and expressive) was considered second to none as an experienced hunter and colonist; it is therefore to be wondered at, that he should have been willing to lead a party to a district so famous as St. Lucia Bay has been to every Africander for the last hundred years as a nursery of fever, and during the hot season fatal to almost every European who dares to face it. whole of the coast districts north of Natal present the same dangers to Europeans during the summer season; they abound in swamps and lagoons, and the fever produced partakes much of the character of the jungle fever of India. The whole of the description of this first trip is well written and interesting, and the journals must have been more carefully kept than in the later years, perhaps the novelty induced him to take memoranda of incidents which in after years were considered unworthy of mention-for instance, he says, 'my occupation was to shoot bucks, 'ducks, peaus (wild turkies) or any thing we could get for the ' party, and I soon got into White's good graces by my success ' and perseverance, and the older hands were very glad to be saved ' the trouble.'

In health and spirits the party set out from D'Urban. If the nine hunters differed as much as the raw recruit did from his leader, they must have presented a strange appearance. Mr. Baldwin says Elephant White stood 6 feet 4 inches, but we

doubt if our author would measure 5 feet 3 inches, although the excellent portrait attached to his book makes him appear of a

medium height.

Each man had to shoulder his gun and carry his allowance of powder until clear over the Border, to reach which entailed a seventy miles walk, a formidable undertaking for a new colonist in the hottest part of the year and when the rivers were swollen by recent rains-quite enough to make a seasoned colonist growl at the regulations which rendered it advisable to apportion the ammunition. In those days the regulations as to the transport of guns &c. were very strict, and even at the present time an official would require proof as to the bond fide intentions of a party ere he would allow a waggon found to contain guns or ammunition to cross the Tugela. Mr. Baldwin referring to the weather the party had to contend against, alludes to 'cold soaking rain at nights'; if these were general, the season of 1851 must have been an exceptional one, for although the summer is the wet season throughout Eastern Africa, it is rarely attended in Natal with twenty-four hours consecutive rain, but almost every afternoon closes in with a terrific thunderstorm. It is the evaporation after these during the hot nights common at this time of the year, which renders exposure so dangerous in all parts of Natal, but especially near the coast where the bush is dense.

However, the party improvised arrangements to meet their difficulties with what success the reader may gather from the

following:-

'We tried to make ourselves more comfortable by fencing on 'the weather side and cutting a deep trench round between the 'wheels, as the water came in more from underneath than 'above; but on wet nights, do what we would, we generally 'found ourselves in a pool of water in the morning—a lot of 'Kaffirs at our feet curled up like dormice in their blankets, and 'generally sleeping through everything, and a host of wet and 'dirty, shivering, dreaming dogs on the top of us. The grass which grew to a tremendous height was so saturated that one 'might just as well walk through a river, so there was no use in putting on dry clothes in the morning. Three were snugly housed in the waggens, and six of us had this fun to endure. 'Occasionally some of us tried the boat waggon, but we found it like a cage I have heard of, made by one skilled in the re-'finement of cruelty, in which there was no possibility of either 'standing, sitting or lying, and eventually, I believe, we all gave that up as being though dry infinitely worse for a contin-'uance than any amount of rain.'

The party seems to have fared better by day than by night, for we read of no complaints of scarcity on this trip, indeed the variety provided equals the novelty, and we are almost led to believe that every thing which came within gun shot range was found suitable for human food. We suspect the truth was, no pampered appetite rendered unwelcome the breakfast or the supper, though it might be of seacow or elephant. It required no Soyer to render such dishes either palatable or digestible, and we are told that 'a young Hippopotamus is 'very good food, tasting something like veal,' and in another place we read that 'Elephant's heart is very tender and good, while the foot is when baked very glutinous and not unlike brawn.' After such discoveries we may be allowed to question how far birds' nests or sea slugs are, as the Chinese main-

tain, the greatest delicacies in the world.

We will now follow the trail of our sportsman to St. Lucia Bay, whither only five of the party went for sea-cow ivory. On the road Mr. Baldwin tells us he was initiated into the art of trading with the natives, that he bought an ox for four picks or hoes valued at about 6s. in those days, but not now to be obtained, as Mr. Baldwin fancies, by the Kaffir at 1s. 9d. each; as recently this kind of agricultural implement has been one of the articles of Kaffir use that has been selected for high taxation and now pays a duty of 1s. 0d. each. This duty bearing on the native population entirely was one of those adopted to raise a fund to meet the expenses of introducing the first few batches of Indian Coolies, to employ whom the planters were driven, owing to the determined hostility of the Home authorities to the institution of any plan which should directly or indirectly compel the Kaffir to labor for the European. While a tax of this nature adds materially to the Revenue, it does not sensibly press upon the native, for a Kaffir pick will last a considerable length of time, it is merely an oval piece of well beaten iron decreasing in thickness from the centre to the edges, and even with its present duty is available at a much lower price than that at which the Kaffir could produce it.

Mr. Baldwin's trading must have been of rather an amateur kind when he tells us he could not buy any meal to make porridge for himself and two friends until he tore up his silk pocket handkerchief into lengths for Kaffir head ornaments

having forgotten to bring any beads or brass wire.'\*

<sup>\*</sup> Two favorite articles for Kaffir use as ornaments; indeed the nation may be said to possess a mania for beads of every color and shape, and are very fastidious as to the ruling fashion in their investments.

It is this sort of candour which makes the book so readable, indeed one of its greatest charms is the air of simplicity that runs through it. The following is one of numberless

instances in which we notice this feature.

'The Kaffirs all left us, and I fell asleep to be suddenly 'awaked by Gibson in a great state of alarm bolting up the 'hill and calling loudly to me to follow. As soen as my eyes were open, I saw a huge buffalo bull charging right down 'the hill towards me pursued by all the Kaffirs. He came 'at a headlong pace within twenty yards before seeing me, 'when he hesitated an instant, dashed into the reeds, and 'came broadside past me within twenty-five yards, at a brisk 'trot, knee-deep in water, making it fly all over him in a shower of crystal. I fired, and luckily for it was a bad shot, broke 'his spine, and down he fell bellowing like a bull-calf; the 'Kaffirs rushed in pell-mell and drove twenty asseguis into him 'and finished him, complimenting me I suppose much on my prowess, though little credit was due to me, as I must confess to having felt very much alarmed at the suddenness of the 'whole thing, not having known in the least, what I was placed 'there for.'

Probably there is no nation or class on the face of the globe that appreciates more highly a 'good shot' than the Kaffir, trained as he is from his boyhood to the correct use of the assegai. The Kaffirs are foremost in admiration of any sportsman who proves himself a correct judge of distances, and this is admittedly Mr. Baldwin's forte and must have many a time saved his life in South Africa. We know of but one gentleman there, an officer in the Engineers, who proved his superior in this, but he was not aided as Mr. Baldwin is, by that greatest of all requisites excessive coolness when taking aim, to this chiefly may be due Mr. Baldwin's success in the 'veldt'. And that he is aware of it we notice for-when speaking of Dr. Livingstone's estimate of the Falls of the Zambesi (almost the spot where he first met Livingstone) and pointing out how that traveller had underrated their magnitude which the learned Doctor admits to be likely—Mr. Baldwin says 'I have been for years constantly judging and step-' ping off distances-for instance, from one ant heap to another, ' and have hardly ever shot any game on the flat that I have not ' previously in my own mind judged the distance, sighted accord-'ingly, and if successful afterwards stepped it off so that I can 'now form a very good idea. It is astonishing what wide shots others make, who have not been in the habit of so doing; objects ' look very much nearer than they really are owing to the clear-'ness of the atmosphere.' Our hero does not tell us how many

bets he has won through his superior judgment, but we know it

was with him a challengeable subject.

The book is so brimful of adventure that it is puzzling what to select. What with sea-cows, buffaloes, elephants, and crocodiles, each providing a distinct class of dangers and exploits, every page contains life enough for a separate volume. It is generally considered that the buffalo is of all sport in South Africa the most dangerous, and Mr. Baldwin seems to agree in the opinion. We know it to be the one the Kaffir most fears, and this is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the natives go in parties and the buffalo when irritated charges indiscriminately.

This St. Lucia Bay trip was undertaken for sea-cow hunting, and therefore the first few chapters have chiefly reference to this peculiar sport. Mr. Baldwin's party adopted the only really successful mode, by taking with them a boat to shoot from; it being admitted that all attempts to shoot the animal from the shore fail to provide sufficient ivory to remunerate a party.

One adventure is recounted where a sea-cow attacked and nearly swamped their boat. It is not unusual for the animal thus to rid himself of his enemy. We have ourselves seen a sea-cow, when wounded, take a boat between its teeth by the gunwale, and fling it into the air, thus dispersing in a most effectual manner those who were causing him such annoyance.

Sea-cow hunting will always prove attractive sport; besides it is profitable, the ivory, which is used extensively for quadrants or other mathematical instruments requiring ivory by nature in the form of a perfect arc, being worth from 12s. to 18s. per 1b.

Sea-cow hunting though good sport is attended by really hard labor when followed as a business; much is requisite before the ivory is obtainable. Mr. Baldwin tells us the towing to shore the carcases of the cows shot, each morning before breakfast required his being 'three fourths of almost every day all depths in the water' and exposed to scorching suns, and this sort of life soon introduced him to that fever which ere long terminated the lives of seven of his companions.

'It was no wonder then, that I was taken ill on the 10th (February) with racking pains in my head and giddiness and faintness, and was left behind at a Kaffir Kraal with a small bag of rice, and my Kaffir, Inyati (Buffalo) a big six foot fellow to attend to me. He was very young, and a magnificent specimen of a savage; he looked after me like a child and nothing could exceed his kindness and attention to all my wants, and he risked his life more than once in my service. Monies told the captain of the Kraal to give me milk when I

'required it, in return for which he would give him a blanket. 'The captain promised to do so but never brought me a drop, and Inyati used to go into the cattle-kraal in the middle of the night and bring me my tin cup full holding about a pint, and see that I drank every drop, lest they should find him out, in which case his punishment for stealing would most probably have been death, the only punishment they know of. 'He would pass the day in scouring the country for wild fruits.'

Mr. Baldwin was fortunate in his servant on this occasion; and as a general rule every white man will be, who properly treats a Kaffir, but as we find our author expressing various opinions regarding the race in different parts of his book; we shall take a separate opportunity of referring to the question and giving the reasons why we hold favorable opinions regarding the qualities of these singular people, who, as Mr. Baldwin admits, have obtained a bad reputation from the accounts given by travellers, who were unable to understand their peculiarities. On recovering from this illness our hunter again betook himself to his favorite companion, and the gun so handled maintained its former reputation, but ere long it had to be laid aside for the arm that had so often raised it for unerring execution was unfit to wield it longer. Under these circumstances, a return to Natal was decided upon, but we learn little of what occurred on the 'trek' for illness and fatigue prevented a continuation of the journal. A twelvemonth had to be devoted to the means of gaining convalescence, aided by the admirable nursing of a Mrs. Collins, the wife of a gentleman who may be remembered by some in Calcutta as being here in 1860, when sent on a mission from Natal, to carry out the wishes of that Go-vernment regarding the Natal Coolie Act, and who we know returned to the Colony imbued with the highest regard for many he had met in this city and ever ready to bestow on it the title of the City of Palaces, and never failing to bear witness to the courtesy he experienced from all those with whom his official duties brought him into contact.

Though never a 'heavy weight' some idea of the effect of the swamp fever may be gained by reading that when Mr. Baldwin was able to rise from his bed of sickness he weighed

but 5 stone 11th.

After this we find him spending two years cattle dealing on a high range of table land near the coast, and known by the Kaffir name of Inanda, where his usual stock was 600 head varying in value from 10s. to 40s. each. And getting tired of what he calls a horrid, weary, solitary, monotonous life, though

sometimes selling as many as 40 oxen per day; shut up the

establishment and again went into the Zulu country.

Having followed Mr. Baldwin in his first trip, it is not our intention to restrict ourselves to the order of his book, as we are desirous of alluding to a few of the many interesting subjects to which the volume directs our thoughts. Besides personal adventures and matter interesting to the sportsman, there is much in Mr. Baldwin's book that will be welcome to the naturalist, the geographer and the ethnologist; while the general reader will be amused and instructed by what he reads of Kaffir life, and of tribes even more extraordinary than the Kaffir, for instance, the Batokas, whose taste is unique certainly and described as follows:—

'They are horrid frights; it is their custom to knock out their four front teeth, and to file a small space between each of the under ones, and a more hideous lot of grinning wretches I never saw. I heard as a reason for their thus disfiguring themselves that they were anxious to resemble an ox as much as possible, that being in their estimation, the noblest of animals. All the natives are immensely fond of cattle, but this is carrying their veneration rather far. I have also heard that they have a horror of looking like a guagga or Zebra. Remarking on one of my fellows, they said he would be good looking only for his front teeth. The teeth of a Kaffir are splendid, snow white, sound and even and set off the rest of his face to great advantage."

And as another specimen of the different races he gives the

following description of old Ia, one of his servants:

'She is one of Pharoah's lean kine, unusually tall, straight as 'a kitchen poker; long, lean, scraggy neck; the smallest little 'pig eves in the world; no nose, but two huge nostrils; high 'cheek bones, sunken cheeks, wide mouth, very thick lips, just 'the colour of the mulberry juice, low fore-head, and small ' head. I believe she has about the eighth of an inch long of ' wool on the latter, but as it is always swathed in a handker-'chief, I am not certain. She is, I believe, somewhere between 'fifty and sixty, and you seldom see her without a short black ' pipe in her mouth. She wears ear-rings, necklace, and armlets, 'and the gaudiest-coloured shawl and handkerchief. She is of 'a yellowish copper colour; her breast as flat as a deal board and 'altogether about as plain, not to say downright ugly, as 'nature could possibly make her; but with all these perfections 'she has in common with all her race, the most perfect, delicate-'ly-formed and smallest hands and feet in the world. This description is not one whit over-drawn; in fact I have not

'done half justice to her eyes. I believe she can see as far as 'any one thought. I will defy any one to tell me what she sees 'with, as her eyes are only just discernible, not a sign of a 'brow or lash near them—slightly bloodshot and watery from

'exposure to the fierce sun.'

The every day portion of African life will always be worth the describing, and to those who all their lives have remained at home, worth reading. The book before us contains many a pleasant passage relating to the outspan and the customs of waggon life, which after all has its strong fascinations, and to many, a fascination sufficiently great to render a month in even a colonial town tiresome. The charm attendant upon a life

purely untrammelled must be felt to be understood.

Mr. Baldwin is a great admirer of Natal, he says: 'I have 'travelled far and wide in every direction into the old Colony 'through the Free State and the Transvaal Republic, but Natal 'is the garden of South Africa.' We consider this indisputable. There are few more beautiful parts of this garden than those the traveller would have to pass through in going from the Inanda to the Zulu country—the whole district is a gigantic park of excessive beauty, and sufficiently diversified to prevent any feeling of sameness or monotony. After leaving the Inanda, you encounter no very high lands but traverse a series of gentle undulations; the land is grateful to the traveller as ministering to his chief wants, being covered with long grass interspersed with trees and fruits of various kinds, amongst the former of which abounds the beautiful and fragrant Mimosa.

The district is in common with all the coast lands of Natal admirably watered, while the kloofs or ravines are the nurseries of buck of such variety that a list would prove tiresome. Some of these kloofs are very grand. They are also excessively useful, and but for their number the game in Natal would soon be exterminated. They form the only safe refuge for an animal when pursued by the relentless Kaffir hunter, whose well aimed assegai is eminently successful in wounding but not in killing suddenly. He trusts to his dogs, well trained and of great fleetness, to complete the work, and although the buck will sometimes run bleeding a long distance, the dogs are generally certain of their prey if no kloof be accessible. There are many parts in the neighbourhood of the Umhloti which would compare advantageously with the choicest parks that form the object of pride at home when surrounding some lordly mansion, and on which perhaps vast sums have been expended to effect by art what nature has left capable of improvement. On the Umhloti there is a village which though presenting no attraction

in itself is most beautifully placed, and does credit to the taste of a small body of settlers who came out in the earliest days of the Colony under the charge of some Wesleyan Missionaries; and from the convenience of its position it has now become the centre of considerable enterprise. Within ten miles of Verulam are some of the finest sugar estates in Natal, and some who have travelled in other sugar producing countries maintain that to the eye, cane inferior to none in the world is to be seen there.

Verulam is generally made the first halting place on the trip from D'Urban to the Zulu country. The village is built on an eminence overlooking the river, at the point where is now the main drift, and on the direct high road. It is at the present day provided with a small but neat hotel, which has become a general meeting place for traders coming in or going out of the Zulu country. At the time when Mr. Baldwin made his second trip no such convenience existed as this accommodation house affords. We doubt whether the strict inhabitants would in those days have tolerated the institution. We know some of the good people of the village would have been horrified at the bare mention of such an establishment, for at that time the loose system of conducting the few road side houses that existed had gained for them an unenviable notoriety. Indeed strange and improbable as it will appear to any who have not known a small colony in its primitive days, we may mention that it was by no means uncommon some years ago for the traveller to enter a roadside house and finding only a kaffir in charge receive in reply to the question 'Oopie boss' (where's your master) a piece of paper requesting the visitor to supply himself with the desired refreshment from a certain cupboard and to give the Kaffir the payment. Of course all such customs have long since been changed, but those were days when every European was so well known even to the Kaffirs that his nickname, or more properly descriptive name applied to him by the natives, would inform the returning landlord who had called in his absence. The Kaffirs are very happy in their selection of names, always seizing upon the most distinctive characteristic in a person's appearance or manner as the basis. For instance, two friends of the writers would be known by the Kaffirs in all directions, the one very tall and thin, but particularly upright, obtaining a title which as the Zulu words might be translated is 'as the smoke goes out of the hut when there is no wind;' the other whose combined shortness and corpulence rendered his appearance almost grotesque, passed under the name of 'Pumpkin'. Mr. Baldwin did not stop in Verulam, but tells us he proceeded to a friend's on the cotton lands a few miles further.

These cotton lands comprise many miles, and were originally so called under the plans of the district as included in the scheme we have before referred to. European emigration to Natal in the first instance was greatly stimulated by the scheme known as Byrne's, and remembered only from the amount of misery brought upon those it entrapped. An adventurer by the name of Byrne, having obtained immense grants of land in Natal as soon as it came under British rule, returned to England and sounded the praises of the colony as a cotton producing country. The cry being successful, he brought out a scheme suited to the wants of the emigrant possessing some little money. undertook the shipment and conveyance of the emigrant to the colony, and the protection of him until he could locate himself permanently; for the cash paid in London the man was to have a selection of a certain sized piece of land from whatever portion of Byrne's grants remained un-allotted; and these were described as suitable for various agricultural productions, but to the growth of cotton the major part was supposed peculiarly applicable. Mr. Byrne in extension of his charitable and philanthropic object undertook to supply another want; there being in Natal at that time no banks, the emigrant would have been obliged to take with him his little all. Mr. Byrne saw the evils likely to accrue on the voyage, and immediately on landing from the existence of too much ready cash amongst the passengers and to lessen the danger, he established a private bank in communication with his agents in the colony. He received the amounts in London and his agents were to pay the same in Natal. less we remember the class who emigrate as small agriculturists, it will seem strange that such a mark of confidence should be accorded as that Mr. Byrne enjoyed, and which unfortunately for the emigrants was entirely misplaced. On the emigrant's arrival he found that no arrangements had been made in the colony at all, he was in many cases unable to gain possession of his land for months, and when he received the allotment, not a vestige of any thing was there to hand-sweet potatoes or mealie meal had to take the place of those comforts of life which only civilisation calls into existence, and even necessaries were unobtainable for love or money; and to crown all his troubles, the agents of Mr. Byrne had such differences with the great benefactor at home, that they refused to recognise any of the orders for repayment of those funds which he had taken charge of in London. These disagreements soon ended in the failure of Mr. Byrne and the misery of the hundreds he had so misled.

After leaving these 'Cotton' lands and resuming the journey, the next few days were diversified with sport, hair-breadth escapes

and accidents, amongst others, Mr. Baldwin had the wheel of a waggon containing 3000 pounds weight of picks pass over his thigh, and he seems to have escaped a broken bone most wonderfully. When he had pretty well recovered, the party crossed the Tugela, which forms the northern boundary of our possessions. It must have been a motley group, what with Kaffirs, Hottentots, men, women and children of all sorts, colors, and sizes, who having got possession of a case of gin spent the most noisy, quarrelsome, abusive night I ever witnessed. Some weeks of this indescribable life of a half trading, half amateur trip in the Zulu country brought the party to within sight of Panda's hill, where they had some good sport with buffaloes, prior to paying a visit to the fat old chief of one of the most important of the Kaffir races.

It is customary to the present day for traders or hunters to pay a visit to the head kraal. Panda in former times exacted it as a right. Probably he did so not merely as an acknowledgment of respect due to his rank, but as a means of enriching himself, and this being thoroughly understood, it was usual for traders to supply themselves with a few articles suitable for presents for the old monarch. The most gorgeous blankets (rugs as we should call them,) having a vast preponderance of the regal color, scarlet, were often selected as an introduction likely to ingratiate the giver in His Majesty's favor. We saw some of those rugs, which had the honor of a special mark of preference by royal selection of no niggardly kind, an honor expensive and not over pleasing to the trader. They certainly reflected credit 'on the knowingness' of the person who had them manufactured from designs of the boldest character, such as representations in the most staring colors of those animals which are best known to and feared by the Kaffirs, of course depicted in the most extraordinary if not impossible attitudes. Such little marks of attention are never lost on the Kaffir chiefs, and are valuable if only to obtain for the traveller a security for his greater protection. Scarlet being the regal color, woe be to the Kaffir who wears it in the Zulu country unless he belong to the royal family.

The promised visit to this chief ended in an unsatisfactory

manner and is thus described :-

'We all saddled up early to pay a visit to Panda. His 'Majesty however was asleep, and his attendants did not dare 'disturb him. After remaining some time, we were ordered to go 'to the gate and wait there, so we took huff and rode away 'without seeing him, broke up our camp, made a great bonfire 'of all the huts the Kaffirs had erected, and once more proceed-'ed on our journey. We had not gone more than two miles 'when one of Panda's captains came up in a great fury

'swearing awfully by the bones of Dingaan and Chaka, the ' much dreaded and cruel, and of other renowned warriors of the 'nation, that if we did not immediately turn back, an impi '(regiment 500 strong) would be down upon us and kill us 'instanter. He was in a great state of excitement, would not 'hear of our outspanning or delaying our return a moment, 'said the signal for attack was crossing that water course (point-'ing to a running stream not twenty yards ahead); and as 'we were entirely in their power, we thought discretion the better part of valour and did as we were ordered, looking very 'foolish in both our own and our followers' eyes. Panda had 'always opposed our wish to go that way, and it was bearding 'the lion in his den, and most foolish and misjudged on the part of White to go in direct opposition to his orders. On passing 'his kraal gates we went through two lines at least 200 yards 'long of magnificent men armed with assegais, shields, knob-'kerries and knives in close file waiting only the slightest 'intimation from his majesty to annihilate us instantly. It was 'a nervous moment; I did not half admire it, and all our Kaffirs were in the utmost alarm; a dead silence was maintained by 'every one, and poor White was awfully annoyed and vexed 'about it. To do him justice, I believe if any of us would have 'stood by him, he would have infinitely preferred shooting half 'a dozen and being spitted himself to the disgrace to white 'men of having to obey a Kaffir, but it was all brought on by 'his own obstinacy. Likwasi the prime minister, came down 'to us-a fat, good tempered, jovial fellow-made the peace, and 'eventually all was settled amicably; but our long meditated 'route was peremptorily forbidden, and we were obliged to rest 'satisfied with the shooting Panda thought fit to give us in the 'Slatakula bush, where, the old fellow knew well there were 'rarely any elephants worth shooting. He is a wily old savage. 'On Clifton wishing to see him out of curiosity, though he 'sent many presents to him, the only answer he sent was, "I "have nothing to say to him; does he think me a wild beast "that he is so anxious to see me? I wont see him;" nor did he 'see any of the party but White and the interpreter.'

The country is now so frequently entered that European sportsmen do not always pay a visit to the sovereign but traders think it to their advantage to keep in favor with the reigning chief principally because they have to send down herds of cattle, taken in barter, and a stranger's cattle are sometimes detained if the king or any of his numerous dependent chieftains consider the owner has exhibited a too great disregard for His Majesty's

authority.

The Kaffir blanket is an useful article, it appears to serve not only for barter but as a means of compensating a native for injuries inflicted. Thus we read—'One Kaffir got a bullet through his foot, and as Edmonstone got the credit of it, he was obliged to give a cotton blanket, worth 3s by way of compensation.' In other places we read of blanket compensation being accepted

as an inducement for going into danger.

Mr. Baldwin has left us in the dark as to his real opinion of the Kaffirs, not from his avoiding the subject but from the multiplicity and variety of the opinions he expresses. In one place he represents the Kaffir as the most trustworthy of servants, in another he pronounces him an incorrigible scoundrel. A lengthened residence amongst the Kaffirs, both Amapondas and Zulus, has given us a good impression of the people, and we believe that it is only from the want of suitable legislation that the Kaffirs of Natal are not an useful, trustworthy and an industrious We go further and say we are convinced that few would be as good subjects as they are even now, if placed as they are under a Government which holds out a premium for idleness. Idleness has especial charms for a race that has never been trained to any form of industry. The policy pursued towards the Kaffirs under British rule in Natal is most extraordinary, and has done more to retard the advancement of the Colony than anything else, but it is not within the limits of this article that our views could be fully expounded, nor is it likely the subject would possess sufficient interest to the Indian reader to justify our doing so. But that the government of the Kaffirs of Natal is radically wrong is shown by this fact, that Indian coolies are brought there to do the planter's service, when tens of thousands of idle Kaffirs are to be found in the immediate vicinity of the same plantations, and the native labor would be infinitely more serviceable than the imported. A great premium to their idleness is the existence of what are known as the Kaffir locations, four or five immense districts containing some of the choicest land in the colony. When first Natal was occupied by the British these allotments were made, and although yearly the opinion gains strength that they are a source of evil and not of good, the Government fears to deal with the question. On these lands any Kaffir may squat, he may grow any quantity of mealies (Indian corn), he may rear any number of cattle, the only payment he has to make is the same as if he lived on other lands viz., the hut tax of 7s. per year irrespective of the number of its occupants; thus he is only nominally taxed, he can sell the mealies or other produce, reared not by his own industry but by that of his wives, his time is spent in hunting and in bartering or

selling any produce he becomes possessed of. His only labor being that of grinding his tobacco, for of snuff he takes an inordinate quantity made more pungent by the addition of a herb. A Kaffir rarely goes one hour even when at work without taking his snuff. And never leaves off until his eyes stream with He adopts a most cleanly mode in taking it—he makes out of bone a long handled spoon with very small bowl, and in this he conveys the snuff to his nose avoiding the use of his fingers in the European fashion. His daily supply is sometimes carried in a most extraordinary manner, having a large hole in each ear he carries his box (usually a common English made needle case) on the one side and this spoon in the other, the handle of the latter doing duty in another service as a comb, being finely tapered into a kind of three pronged fork of miniature dimensions; with it he has his hair dressed, for the Kaffir never dresses his own hair, the operation is performed by a reci-

procity of service.

While on the subject of Kaffir habits, we should especially lay stress on the great difficulty presented by the fact that nothing will induce the race to work continuously whether the occupation be light or heavy. Your best servant will decline to stay with you, let the temptation be ever so great that you may offer him, if he has made up his mind to return to his kraal. That you have been the best of masters is no reason with him why he should save you the inconvenience arising from his departure and which he perhaps well knows to be excessive. The same complete ingratitude manifests itself in every way, and it may be doubted whether the Kaffir ever really cares for an European unless it be as a child-for Kaffir nurses do evince an extraordinary love for infants. Many persons have placed Kaffirs in the Missionary and other schools, have dressed them in European modes, to see them attend for a limited time, and then return to their kraal, and divest themselves of every habit or article of dress adopted in the school. The government has had ample proof of this at the termination of the Frontier war. Mosh sh was induced to send his two sons to be educated in the Cape Town College; while there they dressed and associated with all classes of society as Europeans, but immediately on returning to their country, and that after many years residence in Cape Town, they adopted the primitive habits of their countrymen.

A more absolutely lazy man does not in all probability exist in the world. The Kaffir's incentive to industry is only one—the obtaining sufficient money to buy the requisite number of cows required by the father of the girl upon

whom he has set his mind ere she can become his wife. Generally ten cows when worth about £3 each is considered a fair The first wife secured, it may be with or without her consent-it is not material-for he has full power over her, in exercising which the father is bound to support his sonin-law, the husband is on the road towards the possession of a second wife by a similar process, and in this he has far less difficulties to contend with, for he has a wife slaving for him, and though it may not be absolutely derogatory for him to add to his wealth by some exertion on his part, yet the temptation is strong to rely only upon his wife's industry to enable him to obtain a second, when by the joint labours of the two wives he will have but little difficulty in raising the means of acquiring a third and so on ad libitum. It is no uncommon thing to see a gray haired Kaffir buying a wife of the same age as the daughter of sixteen he sold yesterday. Perhaps no slavery in the world is so complete as that in which the Kaffir holds his wives, the native law is so strong that he entertains no fear either of disobedience or unfaithfulness in This system of polygamy is that which Dr. Colenso has through good repute and through evil repute always upheld. Many worthy men who understand the question equally well with the unhappy Doctor, and possess a little more of Christian charity in their hearts think it a disgrace to British rule that such a thing should be tolerated under British rule, and they would to-morrow strike a blow at its existence within our borders by taxing in increased ratio each wife after the first. It must be remembered that Natal has not been taken by the British from the Kaffirs in the same way as British Kaffraria; nor is there any thing in common between the present inhabitants of these two portions of our South African possessions. These latter are as warlike, as given to theft of cattle, and as cunning as the Zulus and Amapondas are, docile, honest and open. The experience of Kaffir wars in the Cape Colony has shown the frontier tribes to be no mean enemies, and in all probability, had Sir Harry Smith's policy been continued to this day, wars would still be a source of misery in the Eastern province. There is nothing in common amongst these tribes of Kaffirs or the country they inhabit; language, appearance, mode of life, tastes all differ as much as the fastnesses, from which our troops could never drive the Cape enemy, differ from the open lands of Natal. great misunderstanding prevails on this point even amongst those who might be expected to be better informed; however, we trust it will be distinctly understood, that in using the word Kaffir in the present article, it is intended to apply

solely to those of Natal, for we see Mr. Baldwin (we suppose to render himself more intelligible to the general reader) has used the one term Kaffir for all the natives he has come in contact with, even including some which do not belong to any section of the race. In one sense he is right for Kaffir simply means unbeliever, a man who adopts no form of worship whatever.

When the British first took possession of Natal it was thinly populated—its few chiefs were unimportant while one tribe owned a white man as its leader. Situated as the colony is between the Zulus and Amapondas these two rival and hostile people made Natal a common battle field, while the petty chiefs there with but few followers were powerless against either race; the poverty of these people offered no temptation to their neighbours in raids for cattle, but the few Dutch boers originally in the colony, but now almost entirely dispersed over the Free State and Transvaal republic, were never long free from annoyance from the powerful Kaffir chiefs on the North or South of them. Thus our taking Natal, while injuring none for the locations have provided against this, has preserved peace. When the British Government allotted the immense locations to which we have alluded, there was not even the hut tax, and these locations were looked upon as a kind of compensation to the people whose country was taken. Thus one tribe whose lands bounded the beautiful bay of Natal were allowed their selection when the Government made crown lands of those bordering on the sea, in many cases the exchange was beneficial to the tribes so located, but in this one it led to its dispersion, for singularly enough fish formed the staple article of food with this particular tribe, and being driven inland entirely changed the habits of the people. We say singularly, because it is the only tribe of Natal that does not entertain the greatest abhorrence of fish, so much so that a Kaffir servant dislikes even to cook it for his master.

After a few years of English rule it has been shown that the Kaffirs so value the benefits derivable from British occupation, that yearly large numbers escape from their chiefs both Zulu and Amaponda to take shelter in Natal. Here they can dwell in safety, with opportunities of improving their condition; whereas amongst their own tribe they are merely slaves to their king to fight his battles or do his bidding, of course through a gradation of chiefs and thus rendering more oppressive a rule bad enough even for those attached to the highest tribes. Besides, to this day no Zulu's life is safe on any occasion of mourning or rejoicing amongst the Royal family, for a certain number of men are always executed on such occasions, and the

selection depends merely on the will of the sovereign.\* From the advantages afforded by British occupation the population which was differently estimated in 1847, but generally at from twelve to fifteen thousand is now supposed to be upwards of two hundred thousand. The Tugela war, fought on the extreme northern boundary between two rival chiefs, sons of Panda, added immensely to the number of refugees in Natal. horrors of that war are almost past belief, but so many Englishmen have borne witness to what they saw that the facts mentioned by Mr. Baldwin may be taken as in no wise exceeding those perpetrated on that occasion. The victorious army was commanded by an Englishman a Mr. Dunn, who is even now friendly with, if not a kind of adviser of Ketchwayo. This gentleman has lived in the Zulu country for many years and is greatly respected by the people. Ketchwayo's enemy was his eldest brother—his other brothers being then too young to be feared, but it is now his greatest desire to obtain possession of these two boys. They are, however, under the protection of our Government, being placed in the Bishop's College in Pieter Maritzburg, and to each demand which Ketchwayo makes for them, the authorities reply they are at liberty to leave whenever they choose, but having been informed as to the request, they desire to remain where they are. Nothing but a fear of British strength prevents his coming down to seize them, a step which his followers are believed frequently to urge on him. The custody of these boys has given a deal of trouble to the Government, but on each occasion the Secretary for Native Affairs has endeavoured to show Ketchwayo the fruitlessness of any step having for its end a forcible recovery of his brothers. When in 1861 through friendly chiefs it came to the knowledge of the Natal government that a large so called hunting party was being concentrated on the banks of the Tugela, the Governor lost no time in applying to Sir George Grey at the Cape for further Military assistance, the demand was met with a promptitude such as has always been shown by that able Governor. Sir George's experience in the Cape and New Zealand wars has taught him the value of quickly concerted and summary measures when dealing with barbarian enemies. In this instance the speedy possession of an additional six hundred Queen's troops enabled the authorities to remove the regiment located in Natal further towards the frontiers, a

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Fynn who dwelt amongst them for more than thirty years, during which fourteen were spent as a British Magistrate, says that at least 7000 perished in the general massacre ordered to mark the death of Choka's mother.

step which we have a right to believe had its effect, as before long the wily chief was fertile in explanations as to the hunting party on the British frontier. It is sincerely to be hoped these younger sons of Panda will be long ere they cross the Zulu border, as their existence is openly spoken of as the present king's only danger. Panda abdicated out of fear of Ketchwayo, and now being very old and entirely bereft of all state, the Zulus have lost both fear and interest in the man whose friendly disposition towards Europeans has enabled us to know much of these extraordinary people which we could never have learnt from the refugees.

Mr. Baldwin alludes to the fearful sacrifice of life in this war,

and we select one or two passages on the subject. Thus he writes:-'The Kaffirs who were on the victorious side told me that the 'Tugela was red with blood and that the Invoni, another river ' about eight miles nearer was so fætid with the number of dead bodies that no man could drink the water, and that I should ' walk over dead bodies all the way between the Matakoola and the Tugela a distance of fifteen long miles. I found ' from Mr. Aftebro that the country was nearly depopulated, ' thousands and thousands of men, women and children being 'stabled or drowned in attempting to cross the Tugela. ' calculated that fully one fourth of the whole Zulu nation must ' have been destroyed, and told me that 8,000 head of cattle had ' passed his station alone. The victors lost a great number of people also. It is most extraordinary to hear them talk about ' the fight; they appear to think no more of taking human life ' than an Englishman would of killing a rabbit. One man said 'he had killed six, another nine, five or three; and one great ' warrior had killed twenty, and then he would count on his ' fingers, so many young men, so many wives, and so many un-' married girls, Zintombis, and laugh and chuckle over it im-' mensely. Panda who was alive and well, while his two sons were fighting which should succeed him had himself killed ' seven of his brothers'.

'The whole country was entirely depopulated, and the air tainted with dead bodies for the last twelve miles, they were lying in every possible attitude along the road, men, women and children of all possible sizes and ages; the warriors untouched with their war-dresses on; but all in a state of dreadful decomposition. For a long time the Kaffirs endeavoured to avoid treading on or coming very near the dead being very superstitious; but as we neared the Tugela the bodies lay so thick in the road and on each side that it was impossible to avoid them any longer. The Kaffirs walked very quickly and never answered once any remark I made appearing frightened as well as

intensely disgusted, and no bribe that could be offered would 'induce a Kaffir to touch one. I saw many instances of mothers with babies on their backs with assegais through both, and chil-'dren of all ages assegaied between the shoulder blades.' A very large number of the young and middle aged now in Natal bear the marks left by wounds received at the fight of the They are very proud if an European notices these, and it only requires an allusion or question regarding how they were obtained to set them off on a full and graphic description of that day. A Kaffir, who will admit he belonged to the defeated army, will enter with the greatest gusto into a narration of what But enough of a horrible story. Mr. Baldwin he saw and did. says he shortly afterwards came up with the victors teaching Ketchwayo as they said to be king. After such an acquaintance with Kaffir life it is strange to find Mr. Baldwin saying—

'I should say a Kaffir Chief comes nearer to it than any other 'mortal; his slightest wish is law, he knows no contradiction, 'has the power of life and death in his hands at any moment, 'can take any quantity of wives and put them away at any 'moment, he is waited upon like an infant, and every wish,

' whim and caprice is indulged to the fullest extent.'

But contradictions abound wherever Kaffir character is touched upon in these travels, it may be owing to the variety of tribes our author has had to do with. We cannot wind up our remarks alluding to Kaffirs and Mr. Baldwin's opinion of them better than by quoting a paragraph as a context to many to be found in his book. In the one below he does only justice to a people possessing many admirable qualities, foremost amongst which are honesty, truth and patience, against these must be set ingratitude and laziness—of the latter many are already comparatively cured, but the former bad quality they will never lose; they do not understand the meaning of gratitude, but they may be taught to understand the value of industry. Many persons deny their honesty, such a denial is a libel on the nation; a few years real experience enables any man to cite dozens of cases of the most interesting character to prove its extraordinary prevalence, although we agree with Mr. Baldwin it has been implanted through fear, for by their law theft is punished by death. Some mistakes have arisen with casual visitors through a want of discri-Unfortunately too many cases of petty larceny have mination. occurred amongst the youths from the Missionary schools, and the writer is convinced it arises from impressing upon the native children the necessity for doing as Europeans do regarding dress, &c. without sufficiently inculcating that nakedness is less

discreditable than wearing clothes obtained by theft. The testimony we refer to is as follows, and if 'money' be inserted for

'bullets' it will be equally correct:-

'I got a note from John some nine days ago, saying he had lost all his bullets on the path, and wishing me to send him more. This morning the bullets were brought here by a Kaffir who had picked them up two days from here. Their high sense of honesty is wonderful; for there is nothing, perhaps, that they more desire than powder and lead, and this find was a godsend; yet the Kaffir brought them back. There are some excellent traits in their character; but, as they are perfect heathens, it is as much through fear as any better feeling.'

The best proof, if proof be needed, of the Kaffir's honesty, is to be found in the fact the oldest Colonists employ them on errands of trust. The Kaffir servant as fully understands the value of money as his master does, yet the master employs him every day to carry money long distances and through localities in which if he were missing, it would be impossible to trace his whereabouts. Strangers accustomed to that caution which a residence in most countries renders necessary, never fail to express surprise at the trust reposed in the Natal Kaffirs. Often have we known Pieter Maritzburg Merchants and even the Banks send to D'Urban by servants hundreds of pounds counted out in their presence, to satisfy them as to the exact number of "shumi" (tens) they had to deliver to the D'Urban "Molonghi" (white man). And although the payment for this work will be but some 12s or 14s between the two (for they prefer to travel in company), we never

yet heard of a breach of the trust reposed in them.

Attached to the volume is a small map of South Africa, upon which are traced the various routes adopted in each of Mr. Baldwin's trips, adding materially to an easy comprehension of the extent and variety of the country comprised in his journeyings. It is only when we thus see them clearly described, that we recognise how greatly enchanced must be the difficulties the traveller has to contend against, when treking in Bechuana land or the Mosilikatse country as compared with Natal and the Zulu country, to say nothing of the Transvaal and the Free State. These latter parts of South Africa are blessed beyond all comparison with any other districts by that inestimable prize an ample supply of irrigation, its high lands and mountain ranges send forth their rivulets in all directions towards the Eastern coast, but seem to cherish a conservative dread of supplying any land South of Natal or North of Delagoa Bay. In Natal one never thinks of enquiring as to the certainty of finding water, whereas to a traveller visiting some

of the districts alluded to by Mr. Baldwin it is the first consideration. More misery has been engendered by rashly undertaken trips into arid lands than by all other causes put together, and it is only the practised traveller who thoroughly understands the necessity of gaining sound information on the subject ere he ventures where there is danger of a scarcity of water. In Natal every few miles the traveller meets with a river large or small; his chief difficulty resting in detention from this cause in the rainy season, owing to the absence of bridge accommodation, but generally speaking, during three fourths of the year, no rivers are too deep to be safely crossed by the ordinary South African With this countless variety of streams, which flow through the Zulu country as well as Natal, it is a lamentable fact, but so it is, not one is navigable for commerce, and even if the beds of the most favorable could be kept clear, there still exists one great hindrance. As they all flow towards the Mozambique Channel, all are blocked at the mouth except at certain tides; the same drawback exists in the shape of a bar at the mouth of the bay of Natal. No anchorage could be safer, and none presents greater conveniences naturally, while few could show half the beauty presented to the eye when once inside the With all these advantages it has one of the most serious drawbacks which any port can be subjected to,—the depth of water so suddenly fluctuates, in accordance with the prevalence of certain winds, that we have known vessels drawing eleven or twelve feet only detained outside six and seven weeks at a time. come this difficulty, very extensive harbour works have lately been commenced at Port Natal, it being believed that the colony will eventually be benefitted by the removal of the bar, to an extent which justifies the present vast outlay. The bar that silts up the mouths of all the Natal rivers frequently becomes of such a height as when aided by the dry sands, driven by the easterly winds, to form a ridge of land making the river near its mouth into a lagoon for a time, and it is in these lagoon that the sea-cow delights to revel. But this silting up greatly depends on the nature of the season and especially on the prevalence of certain winds which at all times blow more or less strongly on the East coast of Africa during the summer season.

Turning over the pages of this book, we are reminded by frequent reference to the weather that some allusion to the climate should be made, as being one of the chief advantages of which Natal can boast. The climate is superb;—we have never yet heard its beauty called in question. Visitors, contented or discontented, will admit that the splendid climate with which Natal is blessed goes far to make up for its

many shortcomings. The Colony may challenge the world to show one superior, we might almost say equal to hers. possessing the highest qualities of the temperate and torrid zones admirably blended. On the coast, and for some fifteen or twenty miles inland, an almost tropical heat prevails during the whole summer, but rendered healthful and agreeable by the prevalence of strong sea breezes which blow almost without intermission during the season from North East or South East: while the higher lands of the interior possess an European climate aided by a strongly rarified air; indeed the clearness of the atmosphere in all parts of Natal is remarkable, and Mr. Baldwin points it out as being the great cause of sportsmen from other parts so continually misjudging distances when taking aim. The summer season in all parts of the upper districts resembles that of the most favored parts of Europe, while the winters are less severe than in the northern hemisphere. It is on this account that Natal is now being strongly recommended as a favorable spot to which to transfer a patient suffering from any description of pulmonic complaint. When the Colony is so selected, we suspect the invalid should take up his residence between Pieter Maritzburg and the Drakensburg, as we can hardly believe that the coast lands with their tropical bush can

prove otherwise than injurious to the sufferer.

The wide difference between the climate on the coast and that inland is shown by the character of the Natal products embracing, as we have said, almost every known plant; those of the tropics are rendered especially fine owing to the hot season being the time of year when the heavy rains descend, coming in the form of thunder storms of two or three hours duration nearly every afternoon. The increased altitude of land towards the interior is most strongly marked on the coast, but in four distinct steps the height of the Drakensberg mountain range is attained. Pine Town hill some ten or eleven miles from the port, and on the road to Pieter Maritzburg forty miles away, is in elevation but little inferior to that city. In the neighbourhood of this city, the capital and seat of government, all European fruits, flowers and vegetables grow in perfection, while twenty miles towards the Drakensberg wheat forms the only exception to a satisfactory production of the cereals of the world, and many colonists are still sanguine that a wheat crop will yet be added to the number, but from the attempts already made by practical men we fear further experiments will prove equally disappointing. The neighbourhood of the Drakensberg is healthy and beautiful, forming the sanatarium for invalids injured by other climates, or by the reckless colonial living which

is the bane of the Natal of even the present day, proving it no

exception to the majority of young colonies.

It may seem strange to the casual reader if we express the opinion that despite its splendid climate, and though blessed as we admit it to be with a most fertile soil, we can see no chance of Natal ever becoming a thriving colony. We have before stated that the colony will produce almost every thing belonging to the vegetable kingdom, but to each one of those products which can ever enrich a people, some serious and, we fear, fatal impediment exists against a favourable competition being maintained by Natal in the markets of the world. So long as the colony has to depend on imported labor it will stand at a disadvantage in a comparison with many parts of the globe. Let us take, for instance, the article of sugar, the only exportable article produced in a quantity worthy of notice,—the little wool exported being the produce of the Free State though shipped from D'Urban. This article dates from about 1855 or 1856, and was looked upon as the crop which was to do what cotton failed to do in making the fortunes of the colonists. It is proved that sugar can only be grown in Natal by imported labor, in which case it has to compete with Brazil and Cuba (slave countries) and our own West India Islands, to say nothing of Mauritius and Reunion; and as though this competition was not sufficient to deter capitalists from investing their money, experience has shown that during some winters the frost is too severe for the cane even on the rising ground; in the valleys it has proved a total failure.

Take again coffee. Some beautiful specimens have been produced. There are now several estates in the neighbourhood of D'Urban, but unfortunately the berry does not ripen simultaneously, on the same tree will be found the green berry, the advanced and the ripe, thus requiring the gathering to continue all the year round entailing vast labor where labor is very dear, and very dear because no legislation has yet been permitted, having for its object the making the refugee Kaffir an useful member of society. Without some great advantage to compensate for the difficulties which must always present themselves in growing tropical produce in a semi-tropical country, any such enterprise must eventually fail. But to the sportsman or the man travelling for pleasure Natal has ample attrac-The novelty of a rough South African Colonial life will have its charms for both, while the former will probably be as well satisfied with the opportunities of distinguishing himself as the latter with the varied amusement and information derivable from a visit to a beautiful country inhabited by such

an extraordinary people as the Kaffirs. Probably there is no country in the world that contains at once such a variety of Every tree, nature, animal or vegetable as South Africa. shrub, plant, fruit or flower is to be found there, while the animal world has been more than abundant in its grants to the eastern portion of the continent. The buck, for which the country has gained so celebrated a name with all hunters, is equally prolific in the Free State as in Namaqualand. When the dry season drives the herds to the lower districts for pasturage you will see Gordon Cumming's statements fully verified—one looks out and the first sight astonishes, but a continuation of the same moving mass leaves one uncertain as to the correctness of the visual organs, it seems incredible that the flock the sportsman saw galloping along at sunrise this morning can be connected with that at which he takes aim this afternoon, but so it is, and after a while he loses any thought of the credible or the incredible, and believes any thing the native tells him, whether likely or unlikely, whether it refers to the gorilla or the unicorn. The difficulty is when to doubt, and doing so sometimes proves one absurdly incredulous, but there still remains the danger of an exhibition of credulity which the Kaffir will turn to advantage, and where to draw the line will always be the difficulty of the Natal traveller. His credulity may prove tolerable, but the Kaffir has little respect for the over suspicious European.

In the present instance, the list of the game bagged is so enormous that we should be inclined to call in question our author's veracity, did we not know Mr. Baldwin. His statement only affords to us another proof—if such were wanting—of his quality as an unerring marksman and is to us as satisfactory as the production of the skins of the animals reported to have fallen to his rifle. In one expedition alone, that to the Zambesi he bagged many individuals of the following list of animals, elephant, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, white, black, blue, and two horned; giraffes, elands, buffaloes, hartebeests, wildebeests, of all sorts and colors; quaggas and some thirty different species of buck, to say nothing of lions, leopards, panthers, hyenas, wolves, dogs, cats, anteaters, boars, crocodiles, armadillos and a thousand other animals, while the birds comprise every winged thing from the ostrich to the sacred Ibis, or the

large crested bustard to the common snipe.

Remembering to have met Mr. Baldwin on his last return journey reminds us that few of our Indian readers are likely to be able to form any correct idea of a traveller's waggon life in the parts Mr. Baldwin selected for his hunting field.

Few lives are more extraordinary than the waggoner's, whether he follows the treck for pleasure or for profit. We see now and then the gun had to be dropped by our author in favor of the whip, and we are not surprised to see he complains of the hard work entailed by the perpetual use of that sixteen feet bamboo handle with twelve feet of hide attached. Many a larger and stronger man than Mr. Baldwin has found waggon driving no easy occupation, but he in common with others admits its charms.

The reader is much mistaken if he supposes that a twelve months trek in a South African waggon is monotonous—to say nothing of sundry breaks down, or now and then some necessary repairs to be effected, there is the continual attention to one's oxen, the outspan every three hours with the simultaneous temporary encampment, and the wood fire to boil the coffee, almost the universal drink when treking in South Africa, then there is the perpetual unpacking and repacking the watching the span while grazing, as oxen accustomed to roam over such distances as Zulu cattle are will, if allowed, wander a long way in search of grass should they find that in the neighbourhood of the outspan distasteful, and this often has to be select-

ed from its proximity to water.

Then there is the change of time for treking, and the suspension of it when wet weather sets in, owing to its proving very injurious, while it is cruel to trek in rain since the yoke when wet galls the necks of the oxen most unmercifully. Of course the most pleasant time is when the moon allows one to trek by night, and both men and beasts are thankful for those parts of the month. The turn out of a waggon is one of the most remarkable exhibitions in the world, it is unique, and while not likely to have a charm for Lord Dundreary, whom it would sorely puzzle to discover the uses to which some articles are put, it does its share in adding to the novelty and pleasure of South African veldt life. The waggon has to serve the traveller's every purpose-it is as much his hotel as his storehouse, and a pretty medley of both it generally is. Mr. Baldwin describes himself as surrounded by a chaos composed of 'heads and horns of all descriptions, lion's and wolf's skulls, ostrich eggs, jackal 'and wild cat skins, koodoo, tressebe, wildebeeste, springbock, 'rhinoceros horns and ears, great lumps of salt, dry flesh hanging up, neck straps and yoke keys; guinea fowls, ducks 'and geese, pheasant and partridge feathers in all direc-'tions, rabbit skins without number, pots, pans, ostrich 'feathers, buffalo and eland hide.' We do not mean to say every waggon will show so great a variety, but there may

always be found an incongruous mixture of articles of trade. food, wearing apparel, waggon necessaries, tools and curiosi-Some idea of an African hunter's life may be gathered from a few casual remarks which are found here and there in the book before us. 'It is miserable enough at times. but altogether it is a roving, careless, wandering life that has 'charms for me. We do just as we like and wear what is most 'convenient. When on foot a blue and white shirt and a stout ' pair of gaiters, with the addition of a cap and shoes, are all that 'I burden my body with'. \* \* \* 'Missing my way I was obliged ' to sleep in a Kaffir kraal.' Any person possessed with olfactory nerves at all sensitive will pity him. 'I slept out that night ' after a heavy feed on the eland, (just shot) of which the Kaffirs ' reserved for my special benefit the tongue and a marrow-bone.' As a contrast we read 'on our return we found Proudfoot and 'Maxwell arrived. We had a jolly afternoon with a little target ' practice and athletic feats and finished up the evening with 'singing'. At a meeting such as this even European politics are discussed, we find. Of course all local information is sought with avidity. It serves another purpose in the form of providing a circulating library, by which the book read half a dozen times in one waggon takes it place to do duty in exchange for one equally well digested in another. Objections on the ground of its promoting a desultory style of reading may be raised, but only let the objector be in a like state of destitution, and he will learn to value anything in the shape of a book. It is true this kind of library may not be quite as perfect as Mr. Mudie's, from whence we are told books are supplied to every part of the world, but perhaps even that enterprising purveyor of literature might experience some difficulties in keeping up a regular supply of new books to a subscriber of the roaming character of those who belong to the Baldwin school. In another place we read of a vegetable diet as novel in its way as elephant heart. 'I breakfasted yesterday about 2 P. M on a raw talo, a ' root somewhat resembling a huge potatoe, but soft, sweet and 'moist;' and amongst other horrors of the desert he describes a drinking vessel out of which he says he had a most refreshing drink, it being the paunch of a Quagga, 'the very best thing one can carry water in, as evaporation takes place; and though the sun is burning hot the water is remarkably cool and good.' While extracting these items from various parts of the book referring to Veldt, bush or desert life, we must not omit to afford our readers an insight into the views upon European waste which our author and Kaffirs equally protest against by their daily life. When speaking of a dinner of roasted giraffe, we are told

the daintiest part is the intestines, and we are assured that if we will only consent to drop our prejudices, we English shall find we systematically neglect the best parts of all the animals of which we partake. Every man is of course at liberty to follow his taste, but we are not yet prepared to take as a fair specimen of an epicure, a hungry hunter or to pin our faith on an authority evidently so far from that of a fastidious gourmand as we believe Mr. Baldwin to be. We know he is right in saying that 'the 'Kaffirs know well the best parts of every animal and laugh at 'our throwing them away'; but tastes differ, and the Kaffir when he can get animal food selects the parts that possess the strongest flavor irrespective of delicacy-besides which, their digestion is generally of an almost perfect kind-while the manner in which they dispose of lung-sick cattle renders it certain they are blessed with stomachs very different from those usually given to Europeans.

Perhaps it was the society in which some of his meals were taken that rendered our sportsman disposed to look with a fa-

vorable eye upon Kaffir cooking.

'We dined in the open air, and were attended by the prettiest 'girls in the kraal who knelt before us and held the dishes from 'which we ate. They wear no clothing but a skin round their 'loins; their legs, arms, necks and waists are ornamented with beads of every variety, and ivory, brass and copper bracelets. 'Finer made girls than some of the well fed Kaffirs I suppose 'are not to be found. They have small hands and feet, beauti-'fully-rounded arms, delicate wrists and ankles; their eyes and 'teeth are unsurpassable, and they are lithe and supple as a 'willow wand.' Here is another episode in waggon life which, if usual, would we suspect cause most of our Indian hunters to lose a taste for sport were they compelled to imitate it. 'I have made 'pair of shoes, mended others and done my best to kill time and have received four books in exchange for mine, but am very 'chary of them reading only a little at a time, to spin them out 'to the uttermost.'

Mr. Baldwin in various places gives good, useful practical hints, and as Natal hunting is widely different, owing to the kind of game, to sport in many countries, an intending visitor will do well to read the volume. To the numerous sportsmen in India, to whom a change to the beautiful colony of Natal might prove agreeable, we unhesitatingly recommend this book. Of course many of the jottings down in its pages will seem commonplace observations to the experienced hunter of large game any where, but upon the tyro they will not be wasted but may prove serviceable in his early essays. He writes: 'the bagging of

'large shy game on foot is a complete science and requires 'no small skill. You must take your bearings, study the wind 'to a point, and if seen by the animals, go in an exactly opposite 'direction, marking well the place, and gradually work round 'never stopping to look dead at them unless well concealed. It 'is impossible to use too much caution. I have heard an old 'hunter say that if he got one good chance in a day he was 'perfectly satisfied. The first dawn of day is the best time 'to commence, and a good telescope an immense assistance.'

When Mr. Baldwin thus instructs others he must not be taken for a boastful instructor. We cannot do better than quote an incident which goes far to prove that he is by no means a sportsman of the braggadocio class-he misses and he blunders, and with his usual truthfulness is not ashamed to let us know he does so. Thus we read- Reached ' the St. Lucy, across a hilly, rough, stony, broken country. After being roasted in the sun till I thought I must have had brain-'fever waiting for a cow koodoo (the sentinel of the troop) to 'disappear over the ridge, I came so suddenly at last upon the 'troop that though usually most shy, wary, and difficult of 'approach, they seemed now quite stupified, and I got right and 'left at two magnificent old bulls, hearing the bullets tell loudly 'like the drawing of corks both within twenty-five yards; 'but being too anxious to get both, I got neither. It was 'very mortifying, and I felt very small in my own eyes. I 'had left my hat far back and suffered terribly in consequence. 'To crown all, I lost the finest horned rhinoceros I ever beheld. 'I found him, while endeavouring to trace the blood-spoor of one of the wounded koodoos, standing half up to his middle in 'a mud-hole with his tail towards me. I endeavoured to di-'rect his attention to me in various ways. I was within fifteen 'yards and had been for many minutes and could have picked my place to fire twenty times, but after the last discomfiture 'I thought I would make dead sure, when without warning of any kind he suddenly made right off, and I had only a stern 'shot left me which was of no manner of use.'

After all the sport we arrive at that portion of Mr. Baldwin's narrative which affords some interesting information regarding the realisation of his hopes and endeavours through the last trip he undertook. He reaches the Zambesi overland. For some time past we have seen him giving way to despair, so much so that we have been almost fearful he would abandon his intention; the difficulties were so great and apparently insurmountable that most men would have turned back long before deterred by uch hindrances as want of guides, want of water, indisposition

of the attendants to go on, unfriendliness and ignorance of the natives, duplicity of the chiefs, loss of oxen, all thus conspiring to form sufficient reasons for abandoning the daring enterprise. After some days spent in trying to get help from the Batokas by bribery and all other possible modes, he says: 'I can get no 'intelligence at all from the natives as to the when and where 'I am likely to reach the great falls of the Zambesi, and I now believe firmly that none of them know themselves anything 'about it.' In another place he says-' My hopes of reaching the 'Zambesi even on foot are fled. I am all alone and will chance 'a pair of horses through the fly in the night.' It may be unnecessary, but we may remark that Mr. Baldwin alludes to the tsetse fly-one of the greatest of all the troubles and dangers the African traveller has to contend against. This fly somewhat larger than the common house-fly abounds in some districts of South Africa, and fortunate indeed is that traveller who can get through with the loss of only one or two of his span of oxen,—for the bite of this insect (and it attacks horses as well as oxen) is generally fatal. The work of destruction by the tsetse fly is frightfully sudden. Sometimes carrying off the whole of a waggoner's span in twenty-four hours, and leaving him destitute of all means of communication but by his own feet. Too great care cannot be taken as to the whereabouts of these districts, for the inexperienced traveller will not discover the existence of this plague until his oxen are dying around him apparently without reason.

Not many days after reading the expressions of despair, we find his hopes are realised. On the 4th August he finds the Zambesi Falls, for four days he walked day and night until his ears were greeted with their roar; although rather long for extract, his description of the Falls will not, we are sure, be unin-

teresting, and therefore we transfer it to our pages.

'I struck the river first about two miles above the Falls and 'there it is not less than two miles wide, covered with islands 'of all sizes, one at least ten or twelve miles round wooded to 'the water's edge—mowana trees, palmyra, and palms and plenty 'of wild dates, some of the former measuring twenty yards 'round the bole. The river is the finest and most beautiful I 'ever saw. It is rocky and rather shallow and just above the 'Falls about one mile wide. And now for the Falls. I heard the 'roar full ten miles off, and you can see the immense volumes 'of spray, ascending like a great white cloud, over which shines 'an eternal rainbow. The whole volume of water pours over 'a huge rock into an enormous chasm below, of immense 'depth.'

'I counted from sixteen to eighteen, while a heavy stone of about twenty pounds weight was falling. I could not see it to the bottom, but only saw the splash in the water. I stood opposite to the falls at nearly the same elevation, and could almost throw a stone across. The gorge cannot be more than a hundred yards wide and at the bottom, the river rolls turbulently boiling. You cannot see the largest falls for more than a few yards down, on account of the spray, and you are drenched with rain for a hundred yards round from the falling mist. It is one perpendicular fall of many hundred feet; and I should think these were no less than 2,000 yards long, and the outlet is not certainly more than forty yards wide.'

'This outlet is not at the end of the gorge, though how far off I cannot say; the streams meet, form a wild mad whirlpool 'and then rush helter skelter through the pass. Looking up 'the gorge from that point is the most magnificent sight I ever beheld. It is as if streams of brimstone fires were ascending 'high into the clouds. There was a never ceasing rain for fifty, 'and in some places a hundred yards on the high land opposite, and the rocks are very slippery, and the ground where there are 'no rocks is a regular swamp, where the hippopotamus, buffalo and elephant come to graze on the green grass. There is one grand fall at the head of the gorge which you can see to the bottom about eighty yards wide, but not so deep, as the river forms a rapid, before it shoots perpendicularly over the rock. Below the Falls the river winds about in a deep, narrow in-'accessible gorge-a strong swift rocky stream. I followed its windings for some distance, and after all was not more 'than two miles as the crow flies from the Falls. It is one succession of kloofs, valleys, mountains, and the worst walking I ever encountered. The river through this fearful gorge seems not wider than a swollen Highland torrent. The greatest drawback to the otherwise magnificent scene is that the dense clouds rising from below render the main Falls invisible, and it is only the smaller cascades you can see to the bottom. There are some thirty or forty of these, spreading over a space of at least 1500 yards. The Makalolo are very jealous and very much alarmed at my having found my way hither, and cannot account for it. show them the compass and say that it is my guide and they are sorely perplexed. \* \* I saw the Falls from the opposite side yesterday and also from above. No words can express their grandeur. The view from above is to my mind the most mag-' nificent; the water looks like a shower of crystal, and it is one perpendicular fall of immense height. There is only one outlet, and it is marvellous how such an immense body of water

' squeezes itself through so small an opening.'

In this neighbourhood Mr. Baldwin of course came across Sekeletu, the man who is now giving the Zambesi Missionaries so much trouble, indeed such a complete antagonism has lately been manifested towards the Europeans there that the wisdom of withdrawing the Oxford and Cambridge Mission sent out the year before last has been seriously discussed at home. So far as we have heard from those who have had to do with Sekeletu, we are disposed to believe he will never forgive the British, and if we are to carry on Missionary labours in his country, it must be at the point of the sword. After his reception of Mr. and Mrs. Price, upon whom he revenged himself for what he considers a breach of faith on Dr. Livingstone's part in some transactions in ivory, for some time at any rate our people should keep clear of this determined and powerful savage. In that case he believed, or pretended to believe, that Mr. Price's Missionary party had come to get more of his ivory, and therefore under a semblance of hospitality he poisoned the whole. Mr. Price fortunately recovered owing to the weakness of his stomach consequent upon a long illness; this caused it to refuse to retain the poison; but Mrs. Price and a gentleman whose name we forget died almost immediately. These wretches, in addition robbing Mr. Price of every part of his three years' equipment. To a barbarous people irritated as Sekeletu's is, we have no business to send our Missionaries, it is inviting bloodshed, and this must continue so long as we persist in thrusting ourselves on them. \* They consider us interlopers and treat us as such. We see by the English papers that a bishop has gone out to fill the vacancy caused by Bishop Mackenzie's death, and we hope he will on arriving in South Africa see the necessity of choosing some other neighbourhood than the one selected at first, entailing as it has a long series of calamities and misfortunes. Mr. Price is not now, we believe, amongst them, unfortunately for him he knows them only too well. We have heard him relate how after the interment of those of the party who died from the effects of the poisoned beer, he saw a few days afterwards one of the chiefs

<sup>\*</sup> Entertaining these views, we are glad to see that the British Government has just determined on the abandonment of the Livingstone Enterprise—although the recal of the members is based upon the expensive character of the expedition and not upon the recent disturbances. Any way we are glad to read that an end will now be put to the danger attending a handful of Europeans, and presume the promoters and supporters of the O. and C. Mission will consider the withdrawal of Livingstone's party as a further ground for deciding upon a transfer of the Missionary laborers to one of those districts in South Africa where the chiefs are friendly to European subjects.

with a necklace made of a European's teeth, and which the savage boasted were Mrs. Price's—only too correctly as all the bodies were found to have been dug up and mutilated. If such a man as Mr. Price known and respected by many of the Kaffir tribes, and therefore understanding how to treat the barbarian inhabitants of Africa meets with such a reception as this, the position of a Missionary party avowedly come to settle in the neighbourhood must be hazardous in the extreme. Mr. Baldwin is no mean judge, having had considerable experience with chiefs of the Mosilikatse class he found the less he had to do with Sekeletu's people the better. They are thorough followers of their chief. Thus we read: 'Massipootana, one of Sekeletu's captains, was 'exceedingly savage I had seen the falls without any assistance ' from him or his people, and sent several messengers to say that 'I must pay him handsomely. On the third day I went to see 'him and made him a small present, but he was quite on the ' high horse and said, that now I had come across he would take ' care that I did not go back again; I must stay there till I ' had paid him for the water I drank and washed in; the wood ' that I burned, the grass that my horses ate, and it was a great offence that I had taken a plunge into the river on coming out of one of his punts; if I had been drowned or devoured by a crocodile or sea-cow Sekeletu would have blamed him, 'and had I lost my footing and fallen down the Falls, my 'nation would have said that the Makololos had killed me.'

That the Makololos are at present very angry with Dr. Livingstone and the Missionaries they take good care to show on every possible occasion; they never were known as a friendly tribe, but it has been only of late that the directly hostile feeling towards the English has been plainly manifested. Baldwin explains it thus and says he gained the information from his own interpreter. When speaking of his disappointment in finding that the Makololos would not trade any tusks with him he says-' the captain is exceedingly annoyed at a number of his men sent by his father to Dr. Livingstone remaining behind, and he blames the doctor, who he says ought to have made them come back, and he is vexed also at the non-arrival of of the cannon 'and horses which the doctor was to have brought him.' do not doubt but this is another grievance, for we have always understood that the treatment Mr. Price received was ostensibly as an example of what Sekeletus people would do with any who again took away ivory under promises of sending back presents in return. Too great care cannot be taken in promises made with the natives of South Africa they are very mindful of theirs, and expect others to be the same; if they are once defrauded,

even unintentionally, the most friendly people will become your enemies. Mr. Baldwin mentions the treatment he received from Sechele, one of the most friendly chiefs we have in Africa,

and one that pretends to be half a Christian.

Mr. Baldwin writes-' I found Sechele as I expected at the Bamangroats State, and instead of receiving thanks from him ' for the safe convoy of his daughter, he merely pointed to her ' and said that is my child whom an Englishman your country-' man has thrown away. I thought the English were my friends: 'but now I see they are just the same as the Boers and wish 'to make me dead; and as they have treated me so I will treat 'them. He told me that I must pay his man whom I had 'engaged for two heifers, I must give him two bags of powder 'and two bars of lead, and do it at once as he was going to 'inspan and trek to his state. I did so and then he ordered ' his people to drive my horse Fleuer to his horses, and he should ' take him also, and let me see the way the Bechuanans acted when 'they were wronged. I could do nothing but submit which I did with a very bad grace. My driver and his driver told me that ' the moment that Sechele was gone the Mangwatos would unload 'my waggon and take everything as I had gone through 'Machin's country without first asking his leave, and they

'begged me to inspan and go with Sechele.'

In reading these accounts of his rambles in South Africa, we have seen Mr. Baldwin as the traveller, the sportsman, and we may say the diplomatist, in all three characters remaining perfeetly unfettered and able to follow his own 'trek' in the In all these he path which offered him the greatest temptations. has proved himself no common traveller. The skill he has exhibited during his trips, extending over an eight years residence in South Africa, is only equalled by the exhibition of his indomitable pluck and never ceasing energy; indefatigable to the last degree he must have been, or we could not now chronicle his three different wanderings in the Zulu country; his journey into the Merico country; his visit to Lake Ngami his sejourn amongst the Maccalacas, to say nothing of his troubles and dangers when he went amongst the latter as well as the Makololos. That he has come safely out from among these various tribes we heartily congratulate him, and only regret that it is not within the limits of an article such as this to find room for the various sporting adventures which Mr. Baldwin so ably relates. We open the book and every page conveys some adventure more daring or more dangerous than the one we last read of. It will prove to those who read it a lively as well as entertaining book, equally enjoyable

as a fund of amusement or as work of instruction, we invite the reader to a book which we should spoil if we abridged, but from which we have already made more than a liberal selection, but in defence we must plead a temptation such as seldom falls to our lot.

We take leave of our interesting author and daring sportsman with the quotation of one more example of his prowess, and one that he has himself selected for especial notice as his last great feat. If he has by this time rejoined his old friends in Natal, we know that with gun in hand he will be certain further to distinguish himself, and we trust that health and opportunity will enable him to give the world in an equally entertaining and instructive narrative the results of his second series of wanderings in the Colony he so thoroughly loves, and where he is so universally respected and such a great favorite. The adventure with the Lion

we give in his own words. 'The masaras followed his spoor about a couple of miles, when ' he broke cover. I did not see him at first but gave chase in the ' direction in which the masaras pointed, saw him and followed ' for about 1,000 yards as he had a long start, when he stood in a 'nasty thorn thicket. I dismounted at about sixty or seventy 'yards and shot at him; I could only see his outline and that very indistinctly, and he dropt so instantaneously, that I 'thought I had shot him dead. I remounted and reloaded and ' took a short circle and stood up in my stirrups to catch a sight of him. His eyes glared so savagely and he lay crouched in 'so natural a position with his ears alone erect, the points black 'as night, that I saw in a moment I had missed him; I was then about eighty yards from him and was weighing the chances of getting a shot at him from behind an immense antheap about fifteen yards nearer. I had just put the horse in ' motion with that intention, when on he came with a tremendous roar, and Ferns whipped round like a top and away at full My horse is a fast one, and has run down the gemsbok, one of the fleetest antelopes, but the way the lion ran him in was terrific. In an instant I was in my best pace leaning forward, rowels deep into my horse's flanks looking back over my left shoulder over a hard flat excellent galloping ground. On came the lion two strides to my one, I never saw anything like 'it, and never want to do so again; to turn in the saddle and shoot darted across my mind when he was within three strides of me, but on second thoughts I gave a violent jerk, on the near rein and a savage dip at the same time with the off heel armed with a desperate rowel just in the nick of time as the old mana-'kin bounded by me grazing my right shoulder with his and

'all but unhorsing me, but I managed to right myself by clinging to the near stirrup leather. He immediately slackened his ' speed, as soon as I could pull up, which was not all at once as Ferns had his mettle up, I jumped off and made a very pretty and praiseworthy shot considering the fierce ordeal I had just passed (though I say it who ought not) breaking his hind leg at 150 yards off just at the edge of the thicket. Fearful of losing him as the masaras were still flying for bare life over the felt with their shields over their heads, and I knew nothing would prevail on them to take his spoor again, I was in the ' saddle and chasing him like mad in an instant. His broken ' leg gave me great confidence though he went hard on three legs; 'I jumped off forty yards behind him and gave him the second barrel, a good shot just above the root of the tail breaking his ' spine, when he lay under a bush roaring furiously and I gave 'him two in the chest before he cried "enough."

Fate has again shown her caprice. The Nimrod that with iron frame bids defiance to fever after fever in South Africa, runs risks and braves dangers such as do not ordinarily fall to the lot of man, rides after the hounds in Leicestershire and meets with a serious accident, but we trust ere this the results of the injury received on that occasion may have proved of a less formidable character than was at first feared, and that it may be our pleasure to have again to welcome in the Veldt the William Charles Baldwin we had the pleasure of meeting in the beautiful

colony of Natal.

- ART. II-1. A Circular of the Chief Commissioner of Nagpore, dated 4th July 1862.
- 2. Dry Leaves from Central India. Mr. G. CLINE Vol. 1st. Engineer's Journal 1858:
- 3. Friend of India, 1861-62.
- 4. Times of India, 1861-62.
- 5. Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August, 1862. by R. Temple Esq. B. C. S., Printed at the Chief Commissioner's Office Press, Nagpore.

THEN a few years ago attention was called, by Captain Bell to the Nagpore Provinces, very few people in England, or even in India, cared to read his published letters. There were few who took the trouble to enquire where Nagpore was. Whether it was inhabited or not: whether it was still governed by its old native Princes: whether it was to the found in the map near Sind, or only a few miles from Bombay: whether it was an appanage of the British Crown, or governed by the Nizam at Hyderabad: whether it was well or ill governed, were questions far less interesting than the most American questions, even less interesting than the question of the progress of the Red River settlements, or the administration of justice by the Hudson's Bay Company. Since the publication of Captain Bell's letter, however, many changes have occurred, we therefore offer no apology for entering on this subject. The transfer of the administration of the British possessions in India to the Queen, and the growing importance of India to England, have tended to secure general attention even for the interior of this vast Peninsula. And now the great cotton distress by once more concentrating attention on India will have the effect of bringing into prominence even such small sections of India as the Central Provinces which by their large cotton capabilities, and by their admirable adaptability for European colonization will prove themselves to be not devoid of interest.

The last decade witnessed great changes in India. It added British Burmah, Nagpore and Oude to our possessions. It gave birth to the rebellion of 1857; and in the extinction of the Court of Directors it saw the termination of that ancient policy which had tended to make English rule in India an anomaly. It witnessed among other things the fall of the last monarch of the line of Timur. It shewed us with startling distinctness

what our future policy in India should be; what is our great mission in India. It shewed how important to our success here is the improvement of the masses; and that great material results can only be achieved by developing the physical resources of the country we have to govern. Nor can we with these lessons before us blame the policy of Lord Dalhousie which bequeathed to us, the government of provinces like that of which

this article is intended to give a sketch.

The administration of the Central Provinces was constituted on the 2nd November 1861. The Central Provinces embrace the territories between the 18th and 24th degrees of North latitude, and the 77th and 83rd degrees of East longitude. They stretch over an area of 150,000 square miles. Their shape is that of a They comprise four Commissionerships, those of vast triangle. Jubbulpore, Saugor, Nagpore and Chuteesgurh. Their physical resources are great; but only partly developed. The great belt of the Vyndhyans stretches over their entire length. On those central elevations are many sites for sanataria, and many tracts at present waste which are admirably adapted for European settlements. There is much in the varied features of the scenery which characterize these provinces that will bear comparison with some of the best parts of India. Where the country is intersected by hill ranges, the wildness of the scenery presents some points of resemblance to the districts which border on the Sub-Himalayan and Sewalick ranges. Over a great portion will be found the diversified features that are so often to be met with in the Punjaub and in parts of Oude-extensive cultivations, large tracts overgrown with high grass, wild jungles and sandy plains. Like the Punjaub, too, it has many large towns, and some villages which are large enough to rank with towns, large tracts of uncultivated land, and strips of wastes overgrown with stunted brushwood and rank grass, where few sounds except the ring of the axe, or the cry of some wild bird, break upon the ear.

The city of Nagpore is situated about two miles from the civil station. It is not so regularly built, neither does it possess so much an air of cleanliness as the city of Jubbulpore. It is one of the largest native towns in these parts. It retains nearly all the larger houses built by the Mahratta nobility during the reigns of its Mahratta kings; and its few small regal palaces are still objects of considerable interest. A few miles distant from the city is Paldee. It is now in ruins. Thirty years ago it was the country residence of the Nagpore kings. To the north west is a court now dilapidated. Like the Caliph Vathek's the hall is of large dimensions, and very long; with small block

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windows and doors. To the west are a number of smaller courts and a temple. Not far from it is a bungalow built for the reception of European travellers or visitors, and in the neighbourhood the magazines, store rooms or old arsenals of its former sovereigns are still to be seen. At some distance, a few tumuli, and mounds of earth still visible, indicate the spots where the Nagpore kings used to review their troops. Viewed by moonlight, with its surrounding fields and jungle, Paldee has a dull sombre and deserted appearance. It stands amidst extensive fields a relic of past oriental sovereignty. Many a wild tale is still related of it, associated as it is with the last rule of the Mahratta kings—tales of bacchanalian orgies which surpassed those of Babur; of nightly revels and deep debauch which would have done credit to the court of the King of Oude.

It is to be regretted that no efforts are made to rebuild or at least repair edifices like these. In Agra and at Bejapore, in Delhi and at Lucknow some of the finest of native structures are rapidly becoming ruins. Indeed it will soon be no easy task

to repair these massive structures.

Seetabuldee Fort has been so often described that we shall here only say a few words upon the geological formation of the hill on which it is built. The hill is trappeau, and but slightly elevated. The surface of the rock is nodular trap. Below, there is a fresh water deposit, clay, and underlying the clay is to be seen the amygdaloidal trap which rests on the basaltic outflow. The hill commands a view of the city on one side, and of the station on the other. To the north-west is the small trappean table elevation which borders on the station. Towards the south and east extensive fields or occasional patches of waste land overgrown with shrubs meet the view; beyond can be seen the granite range of Ramteak, the basaltic elevations of Colarmet and Joonapanee, as well as the points of Munsur, Sonedehi and Gordpar which have been taken up as Trigonometrical stations of observation.

There are few districts more interesting geologically than that of Nagpore. It is here that those extensive effusions of trap are to be seen which form a portion of the great basaltic district of India, extending over more than two hundred thousand square miles. Equally interesting is it from the circumstance of having three distinct formations: running parallel to each other—granite, sandstone and trap. Small as this tract is, scarcely extending over 25,000 square miles, it yet contains, besides these three well marked series, insulated hills, indicating in other localities an intrusion of plutonic rocks or an upheaval of metamorphic strata.

The recent fossil discoveries of Mr. Hyslop and Mr. Hunter have thrown much light on the geological era of the strata of While up to this present, of the geology of Sinde we know nothing besides the fact of a few bones of mammalia and a few fossilized foraminifera having been discovered; while with the exception of a few silicified palms no fossils have been discovered in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories; while we know still less of the fossiliferous remains of the sandstone deposits of Bundlekhund and the country in the vicinity of Agra and Ajmere; and scarcely enough of the sub-Hymalayan ranges to enable us to decide whether they belong to the eocene of the tertiary, or cretaceous of the secondary rocks, we have in the Nagpore Territories, through much careful research, reliable data to go upon. There are many localities where distinctly marked organisms have been found in the sandstone At Taklee no fewer than ten species of Coleoptera were It is amongst the fresh water formations, between the underlying and overlying trap that perhaps the greatest number of fossils have been found.

Some interesting fossils were also found embedded in the sandstone strata near Kampti. In the collection made by Mr. Hyslop were some cycloid fish scales: these were unenamelled, but in some of the ganoidians a slight trace of the enamel might still be seen. Among the fresh water Molluscs the following species may be enumerated:—

Melania Balimus
Paludina Lymnæa
Valvata. Unio.

Sixty miles south of Nagpore, amongst the wild sandstone ranges and not far from Mangali Mr. Hyslop discovered the cranium of a reptile. It was subsequently identified by Professor Owen as belonging to the species of Brachyops Laticeps. The age of these rocks should not be older than jurassic or triassic. There is between the general physical appearance of the Nagpore district and that of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories a very remarkable difference.

There are not the same marked varieties of hills and plains, streams, rocks and valleys which lend so much picturesqueness to the Nerbudda basin. There are no wild ravines intersected by brawling and tumbling mountain torrents. No banks fringed with the knotted and gnarled branches of the Terminalia Arjuna\* like those of the Mahanuddee in Purgunnah Sonepore, the Nerbuddah in Burrella, the Pench in Seonee, or the Machna

<sup>.</sup> In the Vernacular the Kowah.

in Baitool, no forests teeming with the ever glancing and intertwisting bamboo, or glades deepened with the shade of the

funereal drapery of the Tilandsia.\*

The principal hills in the Nagpore Territories are those which form its Northern base. Extending in a direction from North to South between the parallels of 21° and 22° north latitude. they are not so much detached ranges as the termination of a series of extensive plateaux which extend from the Mahadeo hills in Chindwarra on the North West to the Langi hills on the South These hills very nearly throughout their entire length present a bold and well marked outline. Rising to more than two thousand feet above the sea level in the Mahadeo hills, they extend in a continuous line in an easterly direction through the entire length of the Nagpore Province. It is between Chindwarra and Mooltye that those wild ranges are found in the centre of which are the fortresses of Deogurh and the hill villages of Gurgoozur and Malaree. Further South in bold and well defined outline can be seen the escarpment of the Chindwarra and Seonee table land abutting on the plains near the village of Doongurtal. At the Kurai commence those ascents which lead to the pleasant station of Seonee. Further South beyond the valley of the Weingunga are the Langi hills which at the lowest calculation rise to an elevation of more than two thousand five hundred feet above the sea level. The surface rock on the scarped sides of these plateaux is often red sandstone. This is underlaid by yellowish concretionary, and argillaceous The base in many parts is formed of a thick debris of fragmentary rock broken off from the sides by the action of the weather and in others of a thick subsoil of red clay.

There are few places where the disintegrating and denuding forces of rain are better seen than among the hill districts of India. Amongst the colder regions of the temperate zones rain through it falls more frequently during the year than in India is generally less powerful in its intensity and less destructive in its effects. The Greenwich Observatory calculations shew the average fall of rain in London to be not more than 24½ inches. Among the bleak regions of Sweden and Norway the average is still less. In India, in Bengal, and the North West Provinces where a fierce warm season is followed by heavy and protracted rains, the fall in a single day has been known to exceed thirty inches. Among the Sewallick and Sub-Hymalayan Ranges,

<sup>\*</sup> The Tilandsia is known also to grow wild in America. The traveller approaches to the cemetery of Bonaventura through a mournful avenue of oaks, while on either side is a wilderness hung with the tilandsia.

over the elevations of Darjeeling and more particularly over the line of the Western Ghats in the Deccan, amongst those wild regions and rock fastnesses where the first Mahrattas built their fortresses, the annual fall of rain has sometimes been known to exceed 500 inches. In Central India, where there is scarcely any severe hot season, the fall of rain though not nearly so much, is still considerable. The effects of these rains are seen in the wild luxuriance of the vegetation which covers these hills in several localities, in other parts in their tendency to denude the rock of its associated clay, to bring down boulders and debris, to sweep down fragments of rock into the streams below, to dam hill torrents and to form natural lakes until the rock barrier has been swept away, to convert solid strata into a loose detritus, partly argillaceous and partly arenaceous, and to produce those inequalities and alterations in outline of surface and escarpment which lend so much picturesqueness to hill and river scenery in India.

The escarpments of these hills are as strongly marked as that of the Vyndhyan table land on the North of the Nerbudda. In orographical features they are alike. In general lithological characters they present the same features. In outline they shew the same bluff headlands, the same steep cliffs: the same sublying undercliffs. Where the rivers descend they sometimes as in the case of the Tons tumble over the edges of the plateaux in a succession of low falls: or else flow between parallel gorges,

and over gentle slopes.

Towards the Puchmurries these ranges become more irregular in outline, and present to the view, instead of a single continuous chain, several detached groups. Those who have visited these hills have remarked the beauty of the groves, the richness of the scenery and the park-like appearance which some of their more wooded plains present. Indeed, there is much that is picturesque about these hills. It is here that the Mahadeo hills present those irregularities of outline and contour which lend to them an appearance of wild and abrupt grandeur. It is amongst the Puchmurri groups that those steep sides, prominent peaks, abrupt falls and strongly marked contours are seen to most advantage. Situated as they are amongst the wildest parts of the Mahadeos, they attain a height of more than 4,300 feet above the sea level, and exhibit a succession of extensive plateaux admirably adapted for the site of a future station, the seat of the local Government of these Territories. Those who would look for abrupt and wild scenery among the Highlands of Central India, will find it amongst these localities. Situated amongst wild and dense jungles, there have not been many who

have visited the Puehmurries. Those who have have been charmed with the natural beauty of the place, and the park-like

appearance of its scenery.

There is a very striking resemblance between the sandstone formations South of the Nerbudda, and those which form the Mahadewas. In general lithological character they are not That peculiar formation of the Kymore and much dissimilar. Bundair groups, running parallel to each other with deep intervening strata, indeed is not to be found on the South side of the Nerbudda; but from the very small palæontological remains yet found there is much reason to believe that both were similarly deposited; and that the trappean effusion which is so marked on this side, and of which scarcely more than a trace is to be found on the other, was produced by the same volcanic forces. Unlikely as it would appear, the Vyndhyan formations have already been traced into connection with the stratified rocks of Delhi and Agra. A yet nearer connection may eventually be discovered between the Mahadewa and Kymore groups than has

vet been found to exist.

The bearings of the scarp are North East. Granite and crystalline The sandstone ranges of the Kymore rocks underlie the base. or Bundair on the north of the Nerbudda, as well as the sandstone ranges of the Mahadeo and Satpuras on the South, appear, as Mr. Medlicott writes, to have partaken in some great 'phenomenon of upheaval.' There are indeed two circumstances which would strongly favor that theory. Each viewed alone would in itself be a very strong prima facie ground for the induction of The first is, that in these sandstone groups the lower strata are found invariably to rest, often unconformably, sometimes only horizontally on hypogene, plutonic or metamorphic rocks: the other is, and it is a feature which has struck geologists before, that no denudation or sedimentary deposition could have worked out unguided or have produced the wonderfully continuous direction of the scarp. From this table land can be seen distinctly the distant ranges of hills which lie to the South, and which form the principal ranges of the plutonic rocks of this district. These from their vertical nature, and from their nearness to the trap beds indicate very strongly their igneous origin. Amongst them are to be found granite, gneiss, felspar pure and quartziferous hornblende and various schists. There are in this vicinity very few strongly marked instances of well defined foliated micaceous schists. There is abundance, however, of that character which has its type in the siliceous and felspathic rocks of the Nerbudda basin.

Mr. Hyslop who has given much of his attention to the

geology of the Nagpore Province, thus writes of the mineralo-

gical character of its quartz rocks.

'The quartz rock vields gold, but the principal ore that it 'vields is iron. This ore may be obtained in immense quantities in the district of Chanda, both on the East and West of the Weingunga. Near Dewul Gaum, only three miles from the 'East bank of the navigable stream, which communicates by 'the Godavari with the Bay of Bengal, in the midst of a level 'country covered with jungle, there is a hill named Khandeshwar consisting of strata tilted up at an angle of 60° or 70°, the 'dip being to the north. The summit of the hill is about 250 feet 'above the level of the plain, 100 feet being gradual ascent 'through jungle, and the remainder an abrupt wall of naked 'rock. The iron ore is for the most part specular, though many 'specimens possess polarity, and seem to be magnetic. It is on 'the surface of the slope that it is most valuable; but the whole 'mass, from an unknown depth under ground to the highest peak 'above it, is richly laden with metal. This single hill might 'furnish iron for the construction of all the rail roads that shall 'ever be made in India, and, with its abundance of fuel and cheap-'ness of labor and convenience of situation, it is admirably 'adapted for an export trade to every part of the country. But besides this locality, there are others in the neighbourhood which could each contribute an unlimited supply of the same 'indispensable metal. Among these may be mentioned Lohárá, 'Ogalpet, and Melápár, Bhánápúr, Mendá and Amjawahi, which 'are all on the West of the Weingunga, and at all of which 'places the ore seems to occur in quartz, and is sometimes 'granular but for the most part compact.'

At Ramteak this class of rocks is most strongly developed. The granite in this locality may be taken as typical of the granite of the country; and will be found not to be much unlike that which forms the long range of the Gurrah hills of the Jubbulpore district, on which the old building of the Muddun Mehal stands. Running parallel with this range the granite might be traced throughout all the country covered with the

schistose formations.

A line drawn from Baitool to Bundara will indicate as nearly as possible the commencement of the great trap beds of this district. The South West side is bounded by the Wardah. On the East it stretches far beyond the Weingunga. The hills are for the most part flat topped, but where the effusion has been considerable, extensive plateaux as at Mooltye and Nagpore or Taklee are to be found. No one who has once visited these plateaux or observed the minerals of these rocks could

fail to have been struck with the high igneous fusion to which

they had been subjected.

Greenstone, claystone, amygdaloid and porphyry are to be seen imbedded amongst these rocks. It is difficult to state positively whether the granite of this district is older than the trap. To us it appears, although this theory may be opposed to Mr. Hyslop's, that the trap is posterior to the granite. The granite appears to have been the first to penetrate above the surface and to heave up the sandstone and stratified rocks, throwing them up from their horizontal positions into vertical cliffs or ranges, insinuating itself among the bands of the metamorphic strata, or in volcanic masses overflowing like liquid lava. There are two traps the underlying and overflowing. Mr. Hyslop describes their relation thus.

'Before either of the volcanic rocks was poured out in our area, 'there had been deposited on the sandstone, a stratum which must 'have been at least six feet thick. Over this there was spread a 'molten mass of lava, which hardened on the surface of the stra-'tum; and itself cooled into a flat sheet of globular basalt about '20 feet thick. After a period of repose, the internal fires again 'became active, and discharged another effusion, which insinuated 'itself between the sandstone and superior deposit; and ac-'cumulating in some parts more than in others, through force of 'tension ruptured the superincumbent mass, tilting up the stra-'tum, and scattering the overlying trap, or raising both stratum 'and trap above the level of the plain, either left it a flat topped 'hill, or with boiling surge, pushed up its summits gradually or by fitful efforts. In these convulsions, the more recent trap, where it has not tilted up the deposit altogether, has generally 'encroached upon it, entangling some of its fragments, converting the greater portion of it into a crumbling vesicular rock, or producing miniature outliers of amygdaloid from materials 'susceptible of the change.'

Such are a few of the principal lithological features of the

Nagpore Province.

No Geological survey party has as yet been deputed to explore these interesting tracts. Yet to the Geologist the country would prove an interesting one. In some parts the scenery is truly delightful. It is, however, among the wilder recesses of its hills, or among its higher elevations that the traveller is most gratified. There is throughout a wonderful diversity in the scenery. Differences in geological strata will often be betrayed by differences of contour; and the nature of an escarpement will sometimes indicate the limits of a geological boundary. The escarpment of the Mahadewas is distinct from the escarpment of either

the plutonic rocks of this vicinity, or the low line of the basaltic hills which lie beyond them to the South.

By reference to a map the reader will find that the principal rivers flow from the line of the Mahadewa hills. It is from these elevations also that some of the largest rivers of Central India take The Weingunga rises from among the elevations of Seonee, and after flowing through the districts of Bundara and Chanda unites with the Wardah and empties itself into the Godavery. Further to the West the Wardah takes its rise. It is joined by the Pain Gunga, and by the Punnah. Rising in a marsh, and scarcely coming up to the dignity of a rill at its source, the Taptee supplies near its commencement, the sacred tank of Mooltve, flows parallel to the Satpoora range, passes through the wild and hilly countries of Asseergurh and Berampoor, and enters the gulph of Cambay not far from Surat. These rivers are fed by the tributary mountain torrents that flow from the Mahadewas. They are fed also by those streams which take their source in those numerous elevations which are to be found so frequently throughout Central India.

From each hill range during the rains there dash down turbid mountain torrents which overflowing their beds, assist in fertilizing the earth. Using the same channels every year, they have hollowed out for themselves passages among deep rock strata; or extending over the softer earth of the plains have spread themselves into broad rivers. The banks of such rivers are often steep and precipitous in the vicinity of the hills, but they become less abrupt in sandy plains or level fields.

Of less importance than these in the Nagpore districts, and in the wild and hilly tracts of Chuteesgurh, are the Kanhan and the Pench, the Kolar and the Mahanuddee, the Sew, the Kutsoo and the Joak. Though these streams are scarcely navigable, there is no reason why they should not be made available for artificial irrigation. It was a remark made by Col. Baird Smith, that 'while in India nature had done every thing, and 'while there was nothing whatever to conceal the practical value 'of her arrangements from our knowledge; nothing whatever 'had been done by the Government to turn these advantages to 'its own good, or the good of its subjects.' This remark is peculiarly applicable to the Nagpore Provinces. With great facilities for irrigation, no effort has yet been made to bring into practical use the numerous streams which in every direction intersect these provinces. The review of the history of the government of these provinces for the past, so far as the introduction of any works of public utility are concerned, will

present but a dreary waste, unrelieved by a single redeeming feature. Unlike Tanjore, and the deltas of the Cauvery, Kistnah, and Godavery, where ancient water works indicate the early age at which irrigation works had there been developed: unlike the provinces of Upper India, where extensive canals have been excavated; in these districts, rivers, streams and tanks have always been suffered to lie idle. No great name like that of the Rajah Veeramun in the province of Tanjore, like that of the Bheem Rajah in Saugor and Bundelkhund, like that of Runjeet Singh in the Punjaub is mentioned amongst the natives as having deserved well of posterity by giving to them works of any public utility.

Much as yet requires to be done in these districts to improve the communications by water. In the Sumbbulpore Division many years ago goods were brought up over the Mahanuddee as far as Rajoo. Supplies from Calcutta by the Sew River have been landed twenty-six miles from Raepore. It is not a year ago since the gunboat Mayflower, despatched by the Madras authorities for the opening out of the Weingunga and Wardah, made its way to within five miles from Chanda. Godavery in its upper source through the Nagpore Province offers the finest field for engineering success. Like the Nerbudda owing to rock barriers it has hitherto been almost impassable. Through its entire length three considerable rock barriers, at different distances from the sea, oppose difficulties of no inconsiderable nature. There are some rapids and a few shoals; still the difficulty may be overcome. In places where the obstructions offer the greatest difficulty to engineering skill, canals might be dug. Until that is done, steamers might ply between the barriers, and roads running parallel to the banks might be constructed at a small cost in order not to delay the transit. Already sanction has been obtained for the improvement of this river; and though perhaps one million sterling will be required, the vast results that may fairly be looked forward to, and that would assuredly be obtained, will more than repay the amount spent on it.

Last year the Nizam ceded to these Provinces the left banks of this river. With the Wardah the river way for an outlet to the large cotton supplies of Nagpore would thus extend over more than 800 miles. In August Mr. Temple went down to Chanda, when we may suppose he gave this subject the consideration which is due to it. Between the Nagpore districts, and the Upper Provinces on India, there is in one respect a very striking difference. In Nagpore as well as throughout the Central Provinces no river has as yet been made use of for purposes of navigation. The traveller does not meet with those wide streams

which fertilize for many miles the tracts of country through which they flow. No boats are ever seen carrying the produce of one district to the marts of the other. A few rude canoes, each hewn out of a single trunk, scarcely large enough to carry the solitary fisherman who alone can guide it, are the only boats ever seen on these streams. With the exception of the few larger rivers already mentioned, the rest flow through the wildest tracts covered with primeval jungle, or dash over rocks through deep and impassable channels, very picturesque, wild, and abrupt, but for all practical purposes of navigation, or irrigation quite useless.

Next to the rivers the tanks, of which there are several in the Nagpore districts, claim attention. Some of them are very pretty. Skirted by large trees on their banks, or only a still and placid piece of water reflecting naught but the clouds above, there is scarcely a tank which does not lend something towards the beauty of the scenery. Many of them as the tank at Mooltye, the one at Seonee, and the lake at Saugor, are flanked with stone steps which lead down to the water's edge. Not seldom ruins of old temples amidst embosoming trees are seen reflected on the margin of the water. Sometimes the stone steps, are overgrown with moss. This is particularly the case in Baitool and Jubbulpore, on the water edges of old ruined temples and on the surface of broken rock lying on the margin of these tanks. It is very pleasant where every thing has been embrowned by a tropical sun, to see these evergreen coverings, silently growing among craggy rocks, quietly and noiselessly enfolding amidst their tender tresses the old and crumbling ruins which but for them would long ago have mouldered away. The largest tanks are to be found in the Saugor and Jubbulpore Districts. In the Wein Gunga District also are to be found some very large lakes. The Nawagaon Bund of Pertaubgurh is nearly twenty miles in circumference; while the Seonee Bund at Sabungarhee is scarcely inferior in size to the Raneetal at Jubbulpore. There is a large artificial tank near the city of Nagpore, and also at Kallode, Mansur, Mooltye and Ramteak. In his Report on the Revenue administration of the Nagpore Province, Mr. Temple remarks 'that the people appear to be neglecting 'their tanks; and he trusts that measures will be taken to ' keep them in repair.' Depending in Central India as the crops do on rain, it is impossible adequately to estimate the advantages which must result from any system which would extend artificial irrigation. Water in the East is a power. Whether in the scorched plains of Scinde, or the rich regions of the Punjab,

whether in the Provinces of the Gangetic valley, or in the plains of the Nerbudda basin the profits resulting from irrigation works are more than fourfold the original capital invested. Wherever water flows, whether rippling in natural torrents over pebbly banks, or winding quietly in artificial channels, freshness and verdure attend it. Under the native rule its value was far more understood than it is now. The ruins of the canals and aqueducts of Shajehan and Runjeet Singh in Upper India still attest the care and labor which had been bestowed on those works. In the Nagpore District to the present day is to be seen a long line of waterworks connecting one of the largest tanks in Taklee with the city of Nagpore. Even under the native Government those works paid. Rents were levied from water grown produce, from water mills, from lands irrigated by water, from water carriage transit.

The principal crops in the Nagpore Province are wheat, rice and other cereals, opium, sugar cane and cotton. The principal staple of consumption is wheat. Rice is extensively consumed: animal food only in small quantities. The people in these Districts are not so strongly built as the men in Oude or the races in in Upper Hindostan. The Mahrattas, however, are nearly all active; they are far more athletic than the races in Bengal or the people in South India. This might to a certain extent be owing to the fact that rice is not so extensively used in Central India, as in Bengal or in South India. The rice plant is only grown in the vicinity of tanks. As a rule wherever rice is the staple food, the race becomes enervated. It is not surprising then that the people of these districts should be physically inferior to the men of Upper Hindostan, but superior to the

men of Bengal.

It would be interesting to give a slight sketch of the Mahratta races of these districts. To the present day they retain something of the old military spirit and love of lawless gain which characterized them as a race when they first sprang into existence; and which for so long a time made them the terror of the rest of India. Less barbarous in their manners and customs than the Rajput races, they have not the vanity to carry their claims of ancestry to any great length. The Hindoo of the Gangetic valley, loves to trace through the mist of past ages the origin and achievements of his race. The feeling is perhaps a weakness with all savage tribes. The people in Ceylon still point to the bridge over which the first of mankind walked; and to the apple which still bears the mark of that fatal bite which led to his fall. The Burmese still aver that in the first ages their old men lived through a period of years

which could only bear a feeble comparison with the number of rain drops which fall annually on the earth. The Mahrattas scarcely look further back than the time of the earliest of The first of the Nagpore Mahrattas came origithe Sewajees. nally from Kandeish and Berar. Under the Mahratta Kings of Nagpore they held all the principal offices of the State. At the present day some of the most influential of the proprietary classes are composed of Mahrattas. Among the agricultural classes, there are two castes, the Gharee and Mahratta Koonbees, who are the descendants of those horsemen and camp followers who attended Ragojee in his first expedition into the Nagpore district. There are several other sub-divisions of the great Mahratta family, who all claim to have originally come from Mahratta, and who in customs, manners, dress, and physical appearance bear a very strong resemblance to each other.

Next in point of interest to the Mahratta population are the There are few races more remarkable than the Gonds. They are, or may have been, the aborigines of India. In the oldest of Hindoo and Puranic legends they are mentioned as an ancient race. As the tide of conquest poured in, it is not unlikely that this race, still remarkable for primitiveness, and still distinguished from the other races in India by strong peculiarities of language, manners, habits, religious worship and bearing, had retreated from their enemies, and found a shelter, amidst the deep recesses of the hills, or in wild and thick jungles. It is not unlikely that like the Red Indians of America, this race kept itself distinct from all other races. We still find them so: whether among the slopes of the Sewalick, the wild regions of the Sonthal country, among the table lands of Central India, or the steppes of the Western Ghauts. Every where they manifest the same physical organism—the same characteristic evidences of a stunted growth-obtuse features, a dull and heavy look, dark complexion, and features which unmistakeably indicate the life of barbarism which has been theirs from the very earliest ages. They have no written language. They have never assimilated with the Hindoo, by whom they are looked upon as an inferior race. In those villages where they live together they are held in as much abhorrence as the outcast.

The Hindoo in Central India looks upon the Gond with much the same feeling as the Hindoo of Upper India looks upon the Coles, or Bheels. Wherever free labor is in requisition, there the Gond is made to do it. Whether as 'begarees' or as coolies, as the bearer of the heaviest burthen, or as the servile agent of the most degrading work, the Gond is made equally available.

The Gond religion is made up of the wildest superstition. Human sacrifices formed a part of their ritual. They sacrifice on different days, in order to propitiate the wrath of their several deities. The phenomena of nature, the crash of thunder, lightning, storms, scarcity of rain, are looked upon by them as so many indications of an enraged deity. Hogs, fowls and goats are offered up by them as sacrifices. Rude blocks of nodular basalt, small spear heads of iron, or the small rounded debris of magnetic iron ore, are often carefully preserved by them in the trunks of large forest trees, and worshipped under the name of Phursee heen. Their other deities are of a similar nature, possessing the same attributes, manifesting the same threatening or protecting powers, and conciliated by very nearly the same rude and fantastic rites. Drunkenness is their common vice, the women are as much addicted to it as the men; wild dances are often performed and obscene songs sung while thus intoxicated. A resident of Nagpore thus writes about the Gonds of the Nagpore Province. 'Among their own community, they 'class themselves under a variety of divisions and sub-divisions. 'The former are partly local, and partly referable to differences ' in dialect. According to them there is the Gurra Gond, who 'inhabits Gurra Mundla and Bhopaul; the Raj Gond of Deo-'gurh: the Mange Gond of Bustar; the Khullotee Gond of 'the Khullotee, or lowlands, East and West of the Lanjee hills; 'the Jarria Gond of Chanda; the Maree Gond of Selingana 'and Bustar; and the Koorkoo Gond of the Mahadewa hills. 'The Manjee, Maree, and Koorkoo Gonds speak dialects distinct 'from that which is common to the rest; of the two former no 'specimens have been procured, but the Koorkoo dialect is found 'to resemble that spoken by the Lurka Coles, on the frontier of 'Singhboom. The different tribes divide themselves like their 'Hindoo neighbours into twelve and a half castes; and these 'again branch out into sub-divisions, denominated according to 'their penates, or household gods. The rules of prohibited marri-'ages and eating and drinking together are apparently as 'complicated as those of the Hindoos. The Gonds without distinction eat animal flesh, and they vie with the outcast "' Hindoos, in their eagerness after carrion.'

Years before the Mahomedan Princes of Delhi, the successors of Akbar and Aurungzebe, carried their arms into the Deccan, three distinct Gond dynasties held their rule at Deogurh or Chindwarra, Mundla and Chanda.\* The ruins of crumbling walls amidst the recesses of deep jungles, still attest or indicate the localities

<sup>\*</sup> See the accounts by the Mahomedan Historian Kabbee Khan.

where those cities once stood. And even apart from the old cities of Mundla and Deogurh, the ruins of long lines of walls at Baitool, Saoligurh, Kherla, and Singorghur shew how extensive were the Gond fortifications. Of the royal Gond families of Mundla and Kherla not a single survivor is now left. But there are still state pensioners at Nagpore, who trace up through a long line of ancestors their relationship to the Gond princes of Chanda and of Deogurh. The Mahrattas succeeded the Good in the sovereignty of these parts: and they were succeeded in their turn by the Mussalmans. When the Mussalmans crossed the Nerbudda, and invaded the Deccan they found three principal Mahratta families ruling, where once the Gond dynasty had been so extensively established. The chiefship of Deogurh extended from the Nerbudda to Berar, and embraced the country lying between Kandeish and Mooltye. The Guzz-Mundla kingdom extended from the Nerbudda to the plateaux of Bundlekhund, while the kingdom of Telingana, even then, as it is now, the wildest parts of the Central Provinces, embraced Chanda, Chuteesgurh and Bustar. Never civilized the Gond is still a degraded being. In Bustar and Karonde human sacrifices accompanied by the wildest rites were offered The Maree Gond will often be seen in a complete state of nudity, or with only a slender covering of a few broad leaves clumsily stitched together. In Bustar only thirty years ago cruel sacrifices of women and children were offered up to Duntushwaree Devee. In Karonde there existed the custom of 'putting to death yearly several human victims whose reeking 'bodies were torn into a thousand fragments for the purpose of being buried in the fields, in order to obtain a good return in 'the crops.' In the hills of Chuteesgur, in the more inaccessible Zemeendarees of Sumbulpore, and in the hills of Sirgoojah where they seek for no shelter beyond that afforded by forest trees, and provide no food for themselves beyond that afforded by the wild fruits of the jungle, they ate their own relatives when they had become too old to move about. Like the savages of Australia they danced a wild dance accompanied by every variety of horrid sounds, and of grotesque actions; a dance which equalled any corroborry performed by the savages of Australia. Meriah sacrifices of children were offered, and rites dark as any which disgraced the worship of Moloch were practised amongst them. The Gond population, once quite as numerous as any other class of natives in this province, appears to be on the decrease. A single season of scarcity is often marked by the disappearance of many Gond families; and Gond villages will often be seen amidst deep solitudes unoccupied by a single tenant.

The remaining portion of the population consists of Hindoos of various castes and Moosulmans. Under the old Mahratta Government a census used to be made once in twenty-five years; and adopting their system the British Government found that the population of the Nagpore Province in 1821-22, amounted to two and a quarter millions; the Moosulmans being to the entire population as 2.36 to 100; and the Gonds as 11.8 to 100. The present population of the Central Provinces may

be assumed to be nine millions.

The early history of the Nagpore Province would be uninteresting to the general reader. It is as unvaried as a history of any Native State can be. In the narratives of events that occur under Native Governments there is found very little to relieve their dullness—no acts of daring heroism, no exercise of fortitude, courage, self-sacrifice. The histories of all Oriental States display the one unvarying feature of a rapid rise, and of a still more rapid degeneracy. A strong and energetic ruler spreads, his conquests, and will often be remembered long after he has passed away. Under his feeble heirs and under the tutelage of hereditary viziers, his empire under the pressure of external and internal difficulties crumbles away.

It was thus with the Nagpore Province under the old Mahratta rulers. We shall hastily pass over this period of its history, always obscure, seldom interesting. A brief summary

of that history may be sketched in a few words.

The first Rajahs of Gondwana reigned at Kherla near Baitool and paid tribute to the princes of Gurra-mundla. The other Gond chiefs held their rule in wild fortresses occupying the fertile lands in the neighbourhood. Occasionally from the more intelligent class of Hindoos a chief of greater energy would spring up and intimidated by his incursions these chieftains would pay a fine. Such a chief was Bukt Boolund, who rose into notice during the reign of Aurungzebe, and who ruled amidst the wild hills of Deogurh. This was in 1700 A. D. To him succeeded Chan Sooltan, whose widow on his death called in the aid of Ragojee Bhoonsla. The present members of the Bhoonsla family at Nagpore are descended from this chief.

In 1740 he established the Mahratta authority in Kuttack, and in three years from that date, through the treachery of a Dewan he obtained the province of Deogurh. In 1749 he extended his rule to Chanda. He then invaded Berar. With repeated successes his hopes of further conquest rose high. But in 1754 he was met by Salabut Jung and Bussy. The results of that war were disastrous. He made a hurried retreat

to Nagpore where he died in 1755, leaving his kingdom to his sons.

So early as 1773, from the growing importance of Nagpore, an alliance with it became an object of desire to the small body of English merchants who ruled in the Bengal Presidency. Sabajee sent in a Vakeel to Calcutta, and Mr. Elliot and Col. Goddard were entrusted with powers to negociate with the Court at Nagpore. The results of these negociations were to establish an alliance between the two Governments. The Court at Nagpore bound itself to remain neutral. These terms were not kept by the Nagpore Court. In 1779 Madajee entered into a secret confederacy with the Nizam and Hyder Ali, for the subversion of the British power. What the results of this treaty were every one who has read the history of British India during that period must well know. Matched against unequal forces Col. Bailie's detachment was defeated, and the subsequent retreat of the army under General Munro rendered it almost impossible at that time to preserve our tenure of the Carnatic. Madajee had to be bought off to save our possessions in the Carnatic. Since that time until 1799 no further relations with the Nagpore Court were entered into. When at a later period it was necessary to oppose Tippoo in 1798, Mr. Colebrook was appointed Resident at Nagpore, with a view of drawing the Nagpore Government into the triple alliance which the English, the Nizam, and the Peishwa then formed against Tippoo.

After the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo in 1799, the policy dictated by the Court at Nagpore was opposed to the English Government. That policy urged the cessation animosities between the two rival chiefs Scindia and Holkar; it urged a grand coalition against the English ascendancy, then rapidly on the increase; and there is no doubt that if this policy had been carried out Assaye would not have been so complete a victory, nor the Deccan have been so easily conquered. The fall of Gawilgurh followed the brilliant victory at Assaye, and Ragojee on the 7th December 1803 had to sign a treaty by which he was bound to admit a British Resident at his Court for the future. The Honorable Mr. Elphinstone was appointed Resident. From 1803 to 1817 no direct hostilities against the British Government were undertaken; but in that year owing to the treachery of Appa Sahib of Nagpore, and the Peishwa Bajee Rao, the battle of Seetabuldee took place on the 27th November of that year. That battle and the subsequent fall of Nagpore, obtained the cession of the territories northward of the Nerbudda,

Berar, Gawilgurh and Sergoojah;\* and from that period too dated the general superintendance of affairs by a British Resi-

dent assisted by British officers.

There is at present no one with a valid title to the heirship of the Nagpore Kingdom. The last relic of the Bhoonsla line was the queen Unpoorna Bagee. She is now dead, and so is Baka Bagee. Among the present claimants are Joonajee and Iswunt Rao Goojur, the son of Nana Aheer Rao. But among claims so conflicting and so little based on rights it is not easy to decide. And it would be a political error to confer on either of them a right to which by birth neither have any real claims.†

The policy of the Government of Lord Dalhousie has secured to us a province not much inferior to Oude or the Punjaub in resources and capabilities, and superior to them in climate. It has given us a province which with some extension, and under the direction of a master mind will be inferior to few others in British India. It contains some stations superior in climate to any others in India, those on the Himalayan Ranges alone excepted. The elevations of the Vyndyan and Mahadewa ranges offer retreats, as pleasant as any which could be found

away from Simlah, Darjeeling or the Neelgherries.

No one now wishes to see the old regime restored. Even the peasantry have long ceased to feel an interest in the old dynasty. They look upon the thing as accomplished. The policy of Mr. Mansell has long been forgotten. Even the old Mahratta or Mussalman chiefs, except one or two families nearly or personally interested in the question, prefer the change. And that this

*	These are t	the dates of acquisition.
	1817	Nerbudda Districts
	1818	Saugor Districts
	1826	Sumbulpore
	1854	Nagpore Province,
	1860	Shagur and Goodavery talooks.

† Janojee is at present constituted the head of the house, and to him the payments of the stipends to the Ranees and the general control of the palace and household are entrusted.

The scale of those allowances is as follows:-

Janoojee Durga Ananda Savitree Zenana,	Baee Baee	and	alawas	"	90,000 per annum 45,000 45,000 15,000
Zenana,	ladies	and	slaves	,,	38,000

Rs. 2,33,000.

Mr. Temple's Report, p. 139.

should be so is not surprising. The Nagpore Government under the old Mahratta Bhoonslas was a pure despotism. The heirs or the adopted successors of the first Ragojee reigned as Kings. They were alike feared and hated. There were few chiefships, and the independent chiefs exercised but little in-There was no clanship. There were no hereditary affections binding together in one the interests of the Mahratta nobles and their followers. While there was intense selfishness, there was no patriotism. A kingdom constituted like that of Nagpore might have been difficult to conquer, but when once annexed, in spite of Mussalman fanaticism, and an occasional leaning on the part of a few of the Mahratta families to the old line, was easy of retention. The officers of the King, were paid by him; were grateful to him, were dependant on him. They were not easily seduced, and the opposition they might make would be considerable. With the fall of the King, however, they were obliged to succumb, and no fears were entertained but from the other branches of the reigning family. It was in this spirit that the treaty of November 1817 was formed, the principal clause in which was the immediate and unconditional surrender of Appa Sahib, who was then reigning. From that day Nagpore became virtually ours. What is left for us to do is the construction of these provinces into a Lieutenant-Governorship. The work which Lord Canning left undone has been left for Lord Elgin to complete. We would suggest again, as we have done before, the extension of the Central Provinces, giving them a wider area than has as yet been contemplated. While on the north, the lower base of the Bundelkhund hills and the Jumna would form their natural limits; on the south they should terminate with the Nizam's country and the Godavery. Bounded by the Bombay frontier on one side, and the old Regulation Provinces of the North West on the other, they would thus embrace the alluvial tracts of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories—the Non-regulation districts of the North West South of the Jumna—the highlands of Central India, the fastnesses of Jeypore and Gondwanah, Nagpore, Berar and the Northern Circars. This would give us a compact palatinate. It would render available all the great cotton districts of Central India. It would give us a province in point of capabilities scarcely inferior to Bombay, Madras or the Panjaub. It would be drained by the Godavery and the Mahanuddee. It would have two of the main lines of Indian Railway intersecting it. It would have the advantage of ports on the seacoast, capable of as much improvement as

any in the Bombay Presidency. It would make available large tracts of waste lands, now utterly thrown away and overgrown with rank jungle, for the accommodation of European settlers. The fertile tracts on the Vyndhyan, Mahadeo and Satpoora Ranges would offer facilities for the cultivation of tea, coffee and opium, much greater than those afforded in Attic Farm, Arcadia or Hope Town. It would more than any thing open out for these parts that career of progress which has as yet been denied them. In the plains of the Doon, on the spurs of the sub-Himalayan range, and on the slopes of Darjeeling where formerly the native cultivator never succeeded in forcing the growth of the scantiest crops of the most wretched pulse or grain, have sprung up farms like Attic Farm and Arcadia. In Central India, too, as in the Doons, have existed for ages past large tracts of waste land overgrown with interminable jungle and utterly thrown away. In the districts of the Central Provinces there are vast ranges

of table elevations not brought to any use as yet.

The settlement of these Provinces is at present being made. If we should desire one thing more than another it would be the infusion of a better element in the old proprietary. At present, the fairest provinces in India if we except the sub-Himalayan tracts are thrown away on a class of people without any intelligence, perfectly devoid of energy and with no capital. Under them teak forests, the finest next to those found in Burmah have been exhausted for roofing purposes and for firewood. Coal and iron mines have never been worked. Miles of fine arable land of the best black soil have been allowed to run waste. That under Mr. Temple's administration there is an encouraging prospect for these Provinces none can doubt. We have already alluded to their capabilities. From the peculiar characteristics of their soil the principal sources of their wealth will, we suppose, be found in their produce of cotton and opium. The earliest attention will be given to the opium. The facts of the past two years furnish the most unmistakeable evidence of their cotton producing power. The cotton of Berar and Nagpore has during the late cotton crisis made the fortunes of those merchants who embarked in the trade. The Godavery forms the natural outlet of the great cotton produce of Central India. To the navigability of the Godavery the attention of Colonel Bruce and Mr. Temple has during the last year been given. On the 27th June Colonel Bruce left Nagpore. On reaching the Wardah 20 miles above Chanda, he embarked in a raft and got over 30 miles of river in 20 hours. He met with obstacles which he indeed surmounted; but obstacles sufficiently difficult in their nature to

shew that shipping cotton higher than Chanda was not very practicable. He passed through a wild and unpopulated district. where supplies were scarce, and where it was difficult to see a single native; a district nevertheless to all appearance fertile. and giving occasional glimpses of splendid scenery and of large masses of luxuriant foliage. He passed over the first two barriers, and found the tramways in working order, but perhaps less satisfactory than they should be. In his report Colonel Bruce deals with common sense realities, and suggests that the navigation may be made practicable. Making Chandah the first export cotton mart, and constructing a good metalled road from thence to Mogelee, the first and worst barrier would be avoided. From Mogelee, the navigation is described as feasible, the river wide and deep. From Mogelee to the head of the second barrier the distance is 48 miles. A steamer does this in eleven hours and a half. Across the second barrier there is a good tramway. Embarking in a second steamer the traveller is easily carried from this barrier to the sea. He passes Dumoojooduinna, Dowlushwarum and other places, meets with no obstacles, and finds the journey easy. From Chandah to the sea, cotton could thus be exported over the metalled road across the barriers, and along the Godavery in less than 103 hours.

Mr. Temple examined the Godavery works later in the year. His opinion did not differ materially from that of Colonel Bruce. The cotton soil of Central India is both extensive and fertile. The climate is favorable to the growth of cotton. Both the American and Egyptian cotton plant have been found to grow in perfection. Something towards the advancement of this trade might be done by facilitating the introduction of European capital and labor. Additional impulse will be given by the introduction of an improved system of irrigation, and by the means of transit over the Godavery, and by the two branches of the great Indian Railway. The new Revenue Settlements will restore much of their old prosperity to many districts which under the Mahratta rule had been brought to the lowest ebb of pauperism. The grant in fee-simple, and the sale of waste lands will tend more, than any thing else by infusing a new element in the proprietary, to improve these Districts. With European enterprise and European capital we may hope to look for progress as great as that seen in Australia. Indeed there are many circumstances existing in India which give it a position of superiority over either America or Australia. In many parts of India, and particularly among its great central elevations, there will be found vast tracts already cultivated, large areas of culturable land, and an industrious and a numerous population. Besides its great mineral wealth there is

an inexhaustible source of riches in the soil which only requires to be developed by English capital, intelligence and enterprise. The first European settlers in America and Australia had difficulties almost insurmountable to overcome. They found a race of wild Indians who lived by hunting, and who like some of the more savage races found in India supported a miserable existence on wild fruits and the scanty produce of the land. In India, settlers will find an ancient but a barren civilization, and a people who have left traces of their industry and labor in monuments as enduring as the obelisks of Thebes. But if material results are to be shown, and if progress is to be made, it can only be effected by an infusion of new energy in the great working masses of India.

To those who watch with interest the progress of India the Central Provinces will present an interesting study. With a large extent of territory, and with resources not inferior to the other palatinates which the policy of Lord Dalhousie left to us, scarcely any thing was known about them even so late as 1860. No reports had appeared. Nothing was known of the administration. Still less was known of the condition of the agricultural

masses, or of the resources of the country.

The insouciance of Mr. Plowden had left to Major Elliott, the thankless work of getting through an accumulation of arrears. To Major Elliott Mr. Temple succeeded, and under his administration it would not be too much to say that there has been an earnest desire of progressive reform. The Revenue, Judicial and Civil reports of the past year have been printed. Improvements in roads, and in arboriculture have been suggested. New lines of roads have been laid down. A Horticultural Society has been formed. Sites for sanataria have been selected. An official Gazette has been started, and an impulse been given to the administrative machinery which will be productive of much real good. In the departments of Law and Judicial Procedure Act VIII of 1859 and the Punjaub Code have been introduced. Some attention has been directed towards lessening the duration of suits, Courts of Small Causes have been introduced, and a new Constabulary has been organized. In Revenue the concession of a Permanent Settlement has been promised to estates adapted for it, and revised settlements are being made for periods of 20 and 30 years. To Captain Mackenzie has been entrusted the regulation of settlement operations on an uniform principle.

Amongst other improvements noticed in Mr. Temple's report is one which at this early stage it would be immature to introduce. While nothing could be better than to secure a perfect proprietary title in the land and to protect tenant rights and

subordinate interests; it would be, we think, an error to invest native chiefs with judicial powers. The condition of the peasantry has always remained the same. The status of the middle classes, middle men, landed proprietors and Zemeendars has not deterio-The Revenue system in force by making them responsible for the good management of their villages has tended to improve They are responsible for the land revenue. They represent the agricultural communities of which they are the constituted heads. Their rank is hereditary, but they are entirely devoid of any education. Few can read or write, and yet it is proposed to invest them with judicial powers. This would at this Totally unacquainted with rules of Procedure, stage be impolitic. justice entrusted to them would become a mockery. In such hands authority would too often be the instrument of oppression, of exactions worse than oppression, or of individual aggrandisement more criminal than both. Between the cultivator classes and the proprietors of villages there has always been an antagonism quite as great as that which existed in Europe between feudal chiefs and village serfs. The wealth of the great Indian landed proprietors has ever been based on the poverty of the agriculturists. Landholders have rack-rented their sub-tenants in the same proportion as they in their turn have been rack-rented by the government under which they lived. Under our own administration the nature of the Rent Laws has put some stop to oppressions of this nature. The one bitter complaint still made by the landholders of these Provinces is that they can no longer tyrannize over their sub-tenants; they can no longer enhance rents, or eject tenants at will. The single praise which it is ours to record is that under our administration we have striven to improve the condition of the masses. We have taught them obedience to our laws. We have given them security of life and property.

The one dark feature which disfigured all former governments of India was the studied neglect of the masses; the human animal had degenerated, and to use the words of Gibbon, 'without art or laws, almost without sense or language, they were poorly dis-

tinguished from the other animals of the creation.'

If we are to succeed in dispelling this shadow, it will be not by giving powers to a class who can only abuse them, and who have never yet used them well, but by wisely governing through the best instruments, and by improving the material resources of the country. The triumph of our Indian Government should be a triumph over the unemployed agencies of the natural as well as over the grosser evils of the social world. The last can only be the result of time, of good government, and of better example. It can never be attained by giving powers to the only class whose interest it would be to abuse them.

Reviewing the administration of the past year the Editor of

the Times of India thus writes :-

'It would be much too tedious to review Mr. Temple's re-' port, but it may perhaps be interesting to note a few of the 'salient points. The land revenue for 1861-62 was Rs. 51,76,152, but there was some delay in making these collections. Dus-' tucks had to be issued, and the Chief Commissioner remarks, ' that the issue of so large a number was thought unsatisfactory. 'It tended to excite an apprehension that in some parts of the country, the assessments were too high, while in other parts the 'administration was somewhat defective. Mr. Temple remarks ' that the great desideratum at present in the revenue administra-'tion of the Central Provinces is the completion of the settlement, which though commenced more than ten years ago has not 'vet been finished. This is to be regretted. In very many districts the assessment is at present high, and in such districts there can be no progress: there is too often deterioration. Nothing so tends to check the growth of capital and to depress the agricultural masses. Mr. Temple has given this subject his earnest consideration, and measures are in progress for facilitating the completion of the work. Several Settlement Officers have been appointed, and the past it is hoped will be no criterion of the future. An able article in the Calcutta Review on these Territories, suggests that the Settlement should alone be entrusted to officers of large local experience; and it is a good feature of the administration that it has been employing the best agency at its command.

In the Judicial Department the distribution of business ' amongst different officers appears to have been judicious. 'civil work is heavy. The Revenue Department, remarks the Com-' missioner, is in an immature and transition state, not so per-' feet perhaps as the revenue system in many parts of India: but 'still such as would give a confidence of speedy remedy and a 'cheerful future. Like the Punjaub reports so ably written, the ' reports before us abound in praise of some of the officers of the province. Amongst those names we find the following officers prominently mentioned: Major Snow, Major Brown, Captains Gordon, Thomson, Baldwin, and Cumberlege, and Messrs. Cline,

' Cameron, Munton, and Chisolm.'

Rich in physical resources, with a climate almost Italian on some of its higher elevations, and superior in this respect to the North West, to Bengal and even to some of the best Districts of the Madras or Bombay Presidencies, the Central Provinces must in a short time, if well administered, take their place side by side in point of material interest with the Punjaub and Oude. Two more years will open out the Railway lines, which will connect them with Bombay and Upper India; and in another decade, with a large and growing colony of European settlers, we trust that these Provinces will be second to none in India.

- ART. III.—1. Speech of Mr. James Wilson, delivered in the Legislative Council, Calcutta, March 3rd 1860.
- 2. Speech of Mr. Samuel Laing, delivered in the Legislative Council, Calcutta, February 16th 1861.
- 3. The Theory of Foreign Exchanges. London: Effingham Wilson, 1861.

THE Bank of England is the model banking institution of the universe in the opinion of most Englishmen—her wealth is infinite—her resources boundless—her solvency impregnable her system in every respect perfect. Few except those who make such subjects their study know anything of her history and her struggles, of the facts that her notes were inconvertible for thirty years, and at a discount, in comparison with gold, for the greater part of that time; or that she was once reduced to the 'miserable expedient,' as Adam Smith calls it, of 'payment in sixpences.' These and similar episodes in her past history would not, however, if fully known impair the prestige which she enjoys at the present day in the eyes of most men, as the greatest, incomparably, of the banking institutions of the commercial world. Nor is the conviction that the Bank of England would be a worthy model for all similar establishments throughout the commercial world confined to the uninitiated in the mysteries of currency and banking. A large and highly influential school of political economists do not hesitate to assert that the system of the Bank of England, since its reorganization in 1844, is as nearly perfect as any human institution can be-perhaps only stopping short of absolute perfection in so far as they were unable to induce the Legislature to accept the proposed scheme in its entirety. On the other hand, however, many high authorities, of whom we need name but Mr. Mill to show that the opposition is powerful, argue that the restrictions imposed by Sir R. Peel's Act of 1844 were injudicious and even mischievous. parties agree in the end to be attained. They differ as to the advisability and the efficacy of the means which were employed. Non nostrum tantas componere lites. But as these rival parties have appeared upon our Indian stage it will be necessary to lay their conflicting views before our readers as briefly and clearly as we can: and to examine into the applicability of either or neither set of opinions to the circumstances of our Indian Paper Currency. A short sketch of the history of the

Bank of England from its establishment to 1844, including two matters in which we are specially interested—its connection with Government as a creditor, and its management of the national debt and other public funds—will not, we hope,

be considered irrelevant.

The Bank of England was incorporated by Act of Parliament and Royal Charter, on the 27th of July, 1694. this beginning of her existence she advanced to Government £1,200,000; and was to receive from the public £100,000 per annum, of which £4,000 was remuneration for management of the national debt, which may be said to have had its origin about this time. The remaining £96,000 was interest on the amount advanced, at the rate of 8 per cent per annum. So low was the credit of Government at this period that this high rate of interest was not exorbitant. Thus at the very commencement of her career the Bank of England became closely connected with Government in the two-fold capacity of creditor and manager of the public debt. Thus began that mutual interdependence of the Executive and this great Corporation, by which, there can be little doubt, considerable pecuniary loss has been inflicted upon the community at large. At a much later period of the connexion thus begun Mr. Ricardo said—'it may be doubted whether a bank lending many millions 'more to Government than its capital and savings can be called 'independent of that Government.' But there is no doubt whatever that few Governments would be independent of such a bank. How the public has suffered we shall see hereafter. At present we must continue our history.

In the third year of the Bank's existence her notes were at a discount of 20 per cent, in consequence of her refusal to cash them during the re-coinage of the silver currency. This had become so debased by wear and clipping that re-coinage was imperatively required, and the redemption on the part of the Bank of her 'promise to pay' the amount of her notes in the new silver would have exposed her to heavy loss. In the following year, 1697, however, she was allowed to add to her

capital stock £1,001,171-10-0.

In 1708 (the seventh year of Queen Anne's reign) the credit of Government had improved so much since the date of the Bank's incorporation that the former was able to borrow at 6 per cent—the market rate for loans on ordinary security. Accordingly, by an Act of that year (VII Anne c. VII) the interest on the sum which had been lent by the Bank in 1694 was reduced to six per cent. But this was effected by a further loan of £400,000, which she paid in to the Exchequer receiving for the whole

loan, now amounting to £1,600,000, the same sum as before (£100,000) for interest and expense of management. By the same Act the Bank was permitted to cancel outstanding Exchequer Bills to the amount of £1,775,027-17-10½ at 6 per cent: and was allowed, for this purpose, to take in subscriptions to double her capital. Accordingly in 1708 the capital amounted to £4,402,343; and the sum advanced to Government, to £3,375,027-17-10½. In the two following years by two calls of 15 and 10 per cent. the capital was raised to £5,599,995-14-8, the loan to Government remaining as before. But £2,000,000 was added to the latter by the 3rd George I. c. VIII. enabling the Bank to cancel that amount of Exchequer Bills.

In 1722 the Bank purchased stock from the South Sea Company to the amount of £400,000; adding to its capital for this purpose £3,400,000. At the completion of this transaction the amount advanced to the public exceeded considerably the capital of the Bank—the former amounting to £9,375,027-17-10½; the latter £8,959,995-14-8. The Bank received from the country interest on a sum greater than its capital: that is, greater than the sum for which proprietors of Bank stock received dividends. Hence arose the distinction which still subsists, between the Bank's 'divided' and 'undivided' capital. The latter in 1746, amounted to £11,686,800; and the former to £10,780,000.

By the 4th Geo. III. c. 25, (1764,) the Bank Charter was renewed and in consideration of this renewal, she agreed to pay over to the Exchequer £110,000, subject neither to interest nor repayment. In 1782 the 'divided' capital was increased from £10,780,000 to £11,642,400. In 1800 the Bank advanced to Government £3,000,000 for six years without interest, in consideration of which the Charter was to continue till 12 months' notice after August 1st 1833. In 1807, when this sum became due, the loan was continued (without interest) until six months after a definitive treaty of peace: and in 1816, the same was continued till 1833 at 3 per cent per annum. Accordingly the permanent debt of the public to the Bank, or her 'undivided' capital, from 1800 to 1833, was £14,686,800; of which, however, from 1800 to 1816 only £11,686,800 was bearing interest. In the same year (1816) the 'divided' capital was increased to £14,553,000 at which it has since remained. It was intended that £3,671,700, which was repaid to the Bank by the public in 1833, (being one quarter of the total debt) should be deducted from the divided capital: but this was not done. It was in this year that the Bank Charter was renewed to 12 months' notice after August 1st 1855; with a proviso that it might be terminated at twelve months' notice after August 1st 1845. According to this proviso Sir Robert Peel carried his celebrated Act of 1844 (7th and 8th Vict. c. 32.) whereby the charter was continued to twelve months' notice after August 1st 1855.

So far we have given a brief sketch of the history of the Bank of England with reference to its capital, divided and undivided, the latter showing its connexion with the State as a creditor. The Bank's employment as manager of the national debt deserves some consideration; especially as the charge of exorbitant remuneration for the work done, powerfully urged against the Bank of England in past times, has been recently made, with undoubted justice, in this country with reference to the agreement between Government and the Bank of Bengal. By this agreement the latter is to transact the greater part of the public banking business, and to receive, in return, certain pecuniary advantages, asserted to bear an extravagantly high proportion to their supposed equivalent. This subject, interesting on this

account, will not detain us long.

Attention was called to this subject by Mr. Ricardo, in a pamphlet published by him, in 1816, (Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency, &c.) He asserted that the Bank of England was 'prodigally paid' for her services to the public, and was 'accumulating unexampled treasure' at the expense of the community. Certainly his facts seem to support his assertion that 'all the services performed by the Bank could be performed by public servants and in public offices at a saving of half a million annually.' It is obvious that the labor and expense incurred by the Bank in her management of the national debt and other public financial matters would not increase in the direct ratio of the increase of the amounts managed or disbursed. An establishment having been fixed and organized for the purpose of performing the functions referred to, the total amount of the sums disbursed or received might be doubled without involving the necessity of doubling the expense even of the executive establishment—not to mention the supervising officials, whose number and cost might demand no augmentation whatever. But the compact made with the Bank, in pursuance of the recommendations of a Parliamentary Committee in 1807, and which was in force when Mr. Ricardo wrote, was based upon a direct ratio between the amounts dealt with and the remuneration payable, as long, at least, as the unredeemed capital of the national debt did not exceed four hundred millions. When this sum was exceeded the per-centage of remuneration was certainly diminished; but even thus diminished it appears to have been extravagantly high, not only absoutely but relatively to the scale fixed for the lower amounst.

arrangement gave to the Bank £450 per million sterling while the amount of unredeemed capital exceeded three hundred millions and was below four hundred millions; £340 per million while greater than four hundred millions, and less than six hundred millions: £300, if the debt exceeded the latter sum. The Bank was also to receive £800 per million for receiving contributions on loans: £1,000 on each contract for lotteries; and one-eighth per cent for receiving contributions on profits--the Income Tax of those days. Mr. Percival undeniably made a bad bargain for the public: and what makes its badness more remarkable is, that so far back as 1786 the auditors of public accounts had reported that Government could manage the debt for £187-10 per million; while the Bank was receiving £340 per million on 600 millions, and £300 on 230 millions. The expense of managing the national debt had increased enormously, and more than in proportion to the increase of the debt itself between 1792 and 1816. In the latter year the sum paid to the Bank on this account amounted to £277,000, in the former year it had been but £99,800. But we are not to suppose that the sum actually paid to the Bank constituted her sole remuneration for the duties performed for the public. She enjoyed besides the use of large sums of public money deposited with her: her profits on which cannot have been less than five per cent. These public deposits had increased from four millions in 1792 to eleven millions in 1816. Her profits from this source, therefore, as well as her direct remuneration had nearly trebled in twentyfour years: while her labor and expense had not increased anything like two-fold in the same interval. For the ten years 1806-1816, the average amount of public money held in deposit by the Bank averaged eleven millions sterling; the profits upon which may be estimated, as we before remarked, at five per cent per annum. That the Bank should receive this profit, besides payment according to stipulation for services performed, appeared unreasonable, even to the liberal financiers of that day. Accordingly, it was in 'compensation' to the public for its loss, measured by the Bank's gain, of interest on these deposits, that a loan of £3,000,000 was made to Government (which we have mentioned before), from 1800 to 1816 without interest: and from 1816 to 1833, the same sum at 3 per cent interest. This 'compensation' to the public amounted to this—that in ten years the Bank gained £3,820,000, at a cost of £100,000!

So potent is the 'power of the purse' even over successive Governments of a free country, that although most of these facts were pointed out by Mr. Ricardo in 1816, and the remuneration received by the Bank of England for the management of the national debt proved to be excessive,\* no attempt seems to have been made to reduce the extravagant rate of payment until 1833. In that year the sum paid for expense of management was reduced from about £270,000 to £120,000. In 1844 a still further reduction was made. In 1849, £95,000 was paid on this account. We are unable at this moment to refer to

any later statement upon this point.+

We are far from thinking that the public functions performed by the Bank of England at home, and by the Presidency or other Banks in India, would be more efficiently performed through the agency of a Government Office. In England we know that Government offices are apt sometimes to break down, even under the weight of their ordinary duties, and still more liable to give way in circumstances of extraordinary pressure. And this takes place even when the working officials have been trained for years in the duties of their department. The management of the national debt, therefore, is, we believe, wisely entrusted to the hands of a great corporation like the Bank of England, able to command financial ability of the highest order, and so stable as to render embarrassment to Government or the nation from insolvency or insecurity practically impossible. But the very greatness of the institution, which renders the connexion between it and the public free from risk of injury to the latter in one way exposes it to danger of very considerable (but easily avoidable) pecuniary detriment in another. So influential has the Bank of England been, in consequence of her great wealth and almost invariably high character for probity and stability, that in the majority of the compacts entered into between her and the public, the latter, as we have seen, had the worse share of the bargain. This may have been partly due, no doubt, to simple ignorance on the part of the financial or other minister who conducted the national side of the negotiation of monetary matters, and his consequent inability to estimate the advantages which he was conceding to the Bank as remuneration for the services which she was to perform for the public: and let us add that so far as this was the cause of blame, the expediency of confiding complicated money business to trained

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Ricardo estimates the net profits of the year ending 1st February 1816, derived by the Bank of England from her connexion with the State, at £520,280—probably £372,000 from deposits alone.

<sup>†</sup> It may not be uninteresting to give from a Table of Mr. McCulloch's the dividends paid by the Bank of England from 1767 to 1849 (exclusive of bonuses).

From 1767 to 1781,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; 1781 to 1788, 6 per cent; 1788 to 1807, 7 per cent; 1807 to 1823, 10 per cent; 1823 to 1839, 8 per cent; 1839 to 1849, 7 per cent.

men rather than to Government officers is demonstrated. But the fact that the public interest almost invariably came off second best in these compacts was chiefly due to the wealth and influence of the Bank. Adam Smith evinces his opinion on this subject by the statement of his belief that the coinage of gold by the Mint free of charge—the seignorage on coinage being in his view a legitimate and unobjectionable source of revenue—was a job for the benefit of the Bank of England, which was, and still is, the Mint's principal customer for gold coin.

Our remarks are only intended to apply to the more complicated business involved in payment of interest on the public debt and similar transactions, when we argue that a bank is rather to be entrusted with their performance than a Government office. There are some forms, and useful forms, of paper currency which admit of being conducted with safety, convenience and economy, by a department of Government. One general objection will, of course, always be applicable to such an arrangement; namely the undoubted inexpediency of multiplying Government offices or Government officials, or in any way encouraging a tendency to bureaucratical institutions, which are almost synonymous with apathetic routine and stagnation. Waiving this, the 'castiron' office of exchanging paper for gold or silver, and gold or silver for paper, to which the management of paper currency may be confined, might be efficiently performed by a Government department or office. For instance, the Hamburgh system in which notes are issued only against metal (the metal in this case being silver, the Hamburgh metallic standard of value), might be worked indifferently by Government or any trustworthy corporation or Again, where notes are issued partly against a fixed maximum of securities, and partly against metal, the operation is purely mechanical and might be—perhaps advantageously, certainly without harm-carried on by Government officers. For instance the Issue Department of the Bank of England might be so carried on, since its complete separation from the Banking Department by the Act of 1844, to which we shall draw the reader's attention presently. The two cases we have given in illustration differ in this, that in the former no profit accrues to the issuers of the paper; while in the latter the interest on the securities against which a certain fixed portion of the paper is issued is so much clear profit to the body which issues—deducting of course the expense of conducting the department.

The management of the Indian public debt and other financial matters by the Banks appears to us to be even more desirable than the similar arrangement at home, and to have fewer draw-

backs to counterbalance its advantages. On the one hand, Government was far less likely than in England to command even average ability of the kind required. Even where the special talent for financial business might be available, we know from past experience that the possessor of it would find himself in an ordinary revenue, judicial or political appointment as pro-bably as in one suited to his taste and ability. The transfer of officers from duties in which they have acquired knowledge and experience to others of a totally different kind, in accordance with official routine, or to suit the convenience of some great man's protegé or other happy possessor of good interest, has ever been, and still is, one of the darkest blots upon the Indian system To remove one department of public business of administration. from liability to this fruitful cause of mismanagement would be a great point gained; and, as a long step in this direction, the recent transfer of much of the money-business to Banks is salutary, and will soon, we trust, be carried further. The sooner the military pay-offices, especially, (and military audit-offices as well,) are handed over either to Banks or to officials who have had opportunities of acquiring a rudimentary knowledge at least of the rules of their department and of elementary arithmetic, and have availed themselves of their opportunities, the better it will be for the efficient performance of the public business and for the comfort of those who are now dependent upon the ignorance of the European officers, and the caprice, or obstinacy, or both, of their native underlings, for the receipt of their pay. The most remarkable instances of official imbecility and ignorance in the head of an office, combined with complete submission to the imperfect knowledge, and dogmatic opinions of a native 'examiner' or 'manager,' which it was ever our lot to see and suffer from, were displayed in these military offices by men whose interest formed their sole qualification for that or any other appointment.

In arranging the terms of the compact between Government and the Banks, only one of the dangers which existed in England had to be avoided in India. There was no risk of injury to the public interest arising from the preponderating influence of a powerful corporate monopolist, like the Bank of England—creditor already to the public on a large scale, and likely to intensify that relation again. The other danger did exist—that which springs from the ignorance of one of the contracting parties and the acuteness of the other. The one bargain which has as yet been completed in India is, we fear, as unfavorable to the public as Mr. Perceval's arrangement with the Bank of England—making allowances of course for the very different scales of the

two transactions. Its duration is fortunately less; while the exposure of the mistake which has been made in one case will prevent its repetition when other arrangements come to be discussed, or this one is sifted on expiry of the present term. That a blunder was made we should have thought did not admit of dispute, after the stock of the Bank in question had exhibited so remarkable a rise immediately upon the completion of the arrangement in India, in anticipation of the sanction of the Secretary of State as matter of course. The fact that the compact was, to use military judicial language, 'confirmed but not approved' by Sir C. Wood, is, we must admit, unfavourable to our view that the agreement deserved disapprobation. That gentleman has succeeded in making himself so intensely unpopular with all classes in India, that it is difficult to believe that any sound or wise decision can come from a quarter so universally condemned; and the Indian Council thus gets the credit of any measure emanating from the Westminster India Office, to which we cannot refuse approval or assent. Setting aside Sir C. Wood's disapprobation the only argument advanced by those who assert that the terms secured by the Bank were not unduly favorable to her appears to be that compensation was due and guaranteed for the substitution of Government Currency notes for hers. The answer was sufficiently obvious, and was given very recently in the columns of a very able contemporary. To compensation the Bank undoubtedly was entitled, but compensation should have left the prices of the Bank shares as they were. So far as the change of the bank-notes was concerned, any rise in the quotations of the Bank stock was due to some thing more than compensation. Some rise was fairly to be expected in consequence of the increased profit derivable from the extension of the Bank's business, owing to the compact entered into with Government, and the remuneration which she was to receive for transacting Government financial matters. But the rise which actually took place was far greater and can be accounted for in this way: and there is but one other way of explaining it, and this is unfavorable to the sagacity of those who conducted the negotiation on the part of the public.

To return to the Bank of England, the banking system which had been established in 1826 had not sufficiently controlled the issues of country banks; their number, or to speak more generally, the number of private and joint-stock banks had very much increased during and in consequence of the over-trading excitement of 1836-37. In the year preceding that period there existed fifty-five of these institutions in England, which number

had increased to one hundred, -not counting branches -all of them issuing notes without any restriction. Through this means the currency became redundant and exchange depressed. Deficient harvests in 1838 and 1839 increased considerably the drain upon the Bank of England for gold. She accordingly contracted her issues; but the other banks increased theirs. The efforts of the Bank of England to render the exchanges favorable resulted only in reducing her own reserve of gold to £2,420,000, in August 1839. From this alarming state of things it might fairly be inferred that some regulation of banks of issue was demanded: but it was not quite so clear that they deserved to be removed off the face of the earth, as was proposed, and the profits which they derived from their issue of paper money transferred, not to the State, but to the Bank of England, which was already too powerful a monopolist. However, the charter of the latter corporation, as renewed in 1833, had given power to the Legislature to revise or cancel it in 1845. Sir R. Peel took advantage of this to introduce and carry the Act 7 and 8 Vic. c. 32 for the regulation of the banking and currency of the kingdom. The measure embodied the suggestions of Mr. Lloyd (now Lord Overstone) and other eminent authorities on currency and banking, and was passed with general approbation on the part of the public. It has since been amply tried, and is believed by its authors and their school to have been a master-piece of legislation, by others to have been a pernicious interference with a branch of trade which ought, like all other branches of trade, to have been left perfectly free, by a third party to have effected in some degree some of the objects for which its authors designed it, but at the cost of even greater disadvantages than it obviated.

By the Bank Act of 1844 it was provided that no new banks of issue should be established in England and Wales, even in place of existing banks which might become extinct. The existing issuing banks were not forbidden to issue, (as Sir R. Peel's advisers wished), but a low maximum of issue was prescribed to them, founded upon their average circulation for twelve months preceding the 27th April 1844. This amounted to £3,477,321 for joint-stock, and £5,011,097 for private banks. The names of partners were to be published periodically.

As regards more especially the Bank of England, the main features of the Act were the complete separation of the Banking and Issue Departments, and the rigid restriction of the amount of issue—at least of that portion of it which was not merely a substitute for the gold against which it was issued. Fourteen millions sterling was a limit below which the paper

circulation had never been known to fall. Accordingly this sum was fixed as the maximum of issue against securities. debt of the nation to the Bank, amounting to £11,015,000, being part of the securities in question. Should the Bank effect, by private arrangement, the withdrawal from circulation of the paper of any other issuing bank, she was allowed to add to her own issue against securities two-thirds of the amount so with-This provision has been acted upon so far as to add a sum of £475,000 to the original £14,000,000. To the other portion of the issue, representing gold actually lying in the cellars of the issue department no limit was assigned. Finally the Bank is compelled by the Act to give her notes for gold at the rate of £3-17-9 per ounce, and gold for her notes at £3-17-1012, to any person at any time: weekly statements are published of issues, securities, bullion &c. &c. and Bank of England notes are a legal tender in the hands of all parties except of the Bank her-

self in her payments to others.

To enter upon a detailed examination of all, or of the principal arguments which have been urged by political economists on either side of the question of the expediency or inexpediency of this Act would exhaust far more space than we have at our disposal, and even more certainly, our readers' remaining stock of patience. Nor is such an examination necessary for our present purpose, which is the application of established principles to the particular case of an Indian Paper Currency. Bank of England carries on the ordinary business of a banker the trade in money as a commodity—as well as the work of supplying the community with the notes which are necessary for the purposes of commerce. The complete separation of the Banking and Issue Departments, effected by the Act, cannot obliterate from our thoughts and reasonings the fact that the two departments, belong to one institution. Accordingly many of the arguments for and against Sir R. Peel's measure apply only to a body carrying on both classes of operation. Such arguments are of course inapplicable to India, where fortunately the business of issuing paper money is free from entanglement with other banking transactions, and such may therefore be lightly passed over or omitted altogether. The fact that her Government is the issuer, and the existence of some peculiarities in the character and habits of the natives of India help to render the reasonings upon the Act of 1844 far less applicable to our subject, and far less useful to us in practice than is generally believed. We shall therefore pass over as rapidly as possible those objections to the Bank Act which do not apply to India, before stating those which are relevant to the primary object of

the present article. We attach little or no importance to the neglect to regulate the use of cheques and bank post-bills. is quite true that cheques might be so managed as to answer the same purposes as bank-notes, and that the provisions of the Act or the restriction of the paper issued within fixed limits might thus be evaded. But there can be no doubt that the legislature would interfere to prevent such an infringement of the spirit of an enactment which is still supported by the opinions and arguments of many able political economists. There is no reason to believe that the Act has had any effect upon the use of cheques by the community, nor that the amount represented by bank post-bills, which is estimated at something over a million sterling has ever exhibited any tendency to increase so as to disturb the operation of the measure. A more serious objection is the a posteriori one that the Act does not work without occasional violent interference with its action. It has become necessary, or has been considered necessary by financialists, on two occasions to stop the machine, in order to prevent serious mischief. It may well be said that an Act, which imperatively demanded suspension within three years of its passing with general approbation, lost prestige. But stronger language has been used by eminent political economists who assert that what has happened twice already must happen again whenever a serious monetary crisis occurs. Mr. Mill, who is not so thorough going an opponent of the Act, its principle and its effects, as others who deny it any merit or efficacy for good, and attribute to it many serious mischiefs, concedes that it does 'arrest speculative extensions of 'credit at an earlier period, with a less drain of gold, and conse-'quently by a milder and more gradual process' than if it were not in force. But he asserts that the function of Banks in filling up the gap made in mercantile credit by undue speculation is so indispensable that the Act must be suspended, as we have said above, when a crisis comes. Were this, however, its only fault, it might be maintained with a view to prevent, if possible, the occurrence of a crisis, and relaxed when the crisis comes. But he goes on to point out another stronger objection, which requires some preliminary explanation. The injury done in preventing the Bank of England, through the operation of the Act, from helping solvent firms during a commercial crisis—as in 1825-26 such assistance rendered the mischief of the collapse of credit much less than it otherwise would have been—far more than out-weighs the benefit allowed to result from the operation of the measure.

The two principal objects which the authors of the Act of 1844 proposed to secure are admitted by all political economists to be

essential to any sound system of paper currency. The first of these is the maintenance of convertibility, the second is the ensuring that the mixed currency of metal and paper shall vary in quantity as a purely metallic currency would vary. Now with regard to the former of these conditions, the fact that under the arrangement of 1819 convertibility was provided for and maintained without faltering sufficiently shows that further precautions were unnecessary. The Bank was compelled by the Act of 1819 to pay her notes in gold, while it was left to her own discretion and knowledge of her own business to determine how much bullion she should retain in order to maintain the convertibility of her paper: and convertibility was always maintained. Overstone himself admitted in his evidence before the Committee. that the Bank could at any time by a 'violent action on credit' and 'at the expense of the mercantile public,' save herself from a stoppage of payment of her notes in gold, without the provisions of his proposed measure, if mismanagement of her issues should bring her to the brink of such a danger. An equal degree of mismanagement of her banking department, against which no provision is made, would lead to a total suspension of payments, -a much greater calamity than the other. This supposed object of the Act we may therefore leave without further consideration.

With regard to the other point—that note currency should fluctuate in amount in the same manner and degree as a currency consisting solely of coin would vary—the principle is admitted by the opponents of the Bank Act as freely as by its advo-The former, however, maintain that this essential object would be attained, more simply and less injuriously, (or rather without any countervailing injury), by securing convertibility on demand. It is true that notes may be payable on demand in theory, and yet not practically paid on demand owing to their not being presented for conversion. Payment in specie does not commence until depreciation of the currency has made some progress. Convertibility on demand puts a stop to over-issue after this amount of progress has been made, and it is possible that some inconvenience may thus arise which would not have arisen had the over-issue not occurred at all. But we cannot attach much importance to these facts, or consider that they tend to invalidate the assertion, that convertibility on demand would maintain the mixed currency at the amount at which a purely metallic currency would rest.

But the point on which Mr. Mill lays greatest stress is, that while conformity to the permanent or average value of what a metallic currency would be is essential, conformity to the

fluctuating value is not only not necessary but injurious. The only object of the required conformity is steadiness of value, reducing fluctuations to a minimum. But these fluctuations in the value of a currency are dependent, not upon its quantity, whether it consist of gold or of paper, but upon expansions and contractions of credit. In order, therefore, to find what currency best conforms to the permanent value of one purely metallic, we have to enquire what system that is under which occur the smallest and least frequent variations in credit. If a paper currency which follows all the fluctuations of a purely metallic system leads to more frequent and more violent revulsions of credit than one not so rigidly conformable, then the currency which agrees most nearly in quantity with a metallic one, is not that which adheres most closely to its value, that is, to its permanent value.

In the working of the present system, when gold is exported from England from any cause, the amount of note circulation is diminished to an equal, or nearly equal, extent; the assumption being that, were the currency wholly metallic, all gold taken from the country would necessarily be withdrawn from the circulation. There is one case in which that assumption is well-founded, namely, when the exportation of gold is the last of a series of effects arising from an increase of currency, or an equivalent expansion of credit. But this is not the only, nor the most ordinary, cause of an efflux of gold from a community. Of other causes Mr. Mill enumerates four-foreign expenditure by Government, investment in foreign stocks or speculations, failure of crops of raw material, (as of cotton in 1847 compelling England to buy at advanced prices so as to turn the balance of trade between her and the United States against her) and lastly, a bad harvest, necessitating the extraordinary importation of food, In all these, and other cases which might be enumerated, the gold exported would not in the natural course of things, be withdrawn from the circulation at all, at least, not wholly by any means. In countries whose circulation is entirely or principally metallic the gold required for exportation would be obtained from hoards, which always exist to a considerable extent in such communities. In France, for instance, where the gold and silver coin is said to amount to one hundred and twenty millions sterling, hoarding prevails to a great degree; and from the hoards the metal required for exportation in the cases enumerated, would be, directly or indirectly, derived, leaving the actual circulation unaffected. In England, on the contrary, where banking generally, and the use of paper money of all kinds is carried to a greater extent than in any other part of Europe, there is little or

no hoarding. The bank reserves, or, let us say, the Bank of England reserve is the substitute for the hoards of other communities. It follows that from the Bank reserve should be drawn the metal which in other countries would be derived from hoards, 'without any attempt to stop it by diminution of currency or contraction of credit;' unless, of course, the drain should be so considerable in amount as to endanger stoppage of payment by exhaustion of the reserve. But this consequence is highly impro-The drain for foreign payments is definite in amount and stops of itself at a certain point. The habitual reserve of the Bank should exceed the utmost amount of probable drain, which has been variously estimated for England at seven, ten, and, twelve millions sterling. The Bank Act compels, in such cases as we have enumerated, what its principle condemns; contracting the mixed circulation in circumstances where a wholly metallic circulation would remain unaffected. The general conclusion at which Mr. Mill arrives is that while its action is undoubtedly beneficial in the first stages of one kind of commercial crisis, (that, namely, which results from over-speculation,) it, on the whole, materially aggravates the severity of commercial revulsions; rendering contractions of credit more frequent and

more severe by its operation.

The circumstances of England and of this country differ so widely, in currency matters as in so many others, that the attempt to transfer a system, or even to apply a general principle to India, because the system or principle has been found applicable to Great Britain, is little less than absurd. We all remember the late Mr. Wilson's discovery that human nature was the same in the East as in the West, and that, therefore, the same system of taxation and the same principles of financial policy which worked well (or tolerably well) at home would be beneficial here. Many of us thought he was mistaken at the time, and most of us are sure of it now. In the establishment of a general paper currency for British India it was a priori probable that much irrelevant discussion, really applicable only to England, would arise, and that the peculiarities of India would be lost sight of, to a greater or less degree in proportion as each person interested in the question might be more or less thoroughly imbued with purely English statesmanship or English prejudice. Many of the arguments for and against the Bank Act of 1844 are utterly irrelevant to the introduction of a paper currency into India; many are of doubtful applicability, and but few are capable of abstraction from English accidents and application to the conditions of this country. There is one objection to the English system, however, which is equally and obviously applicable to ourselves. The inelastic

limit imposed upon the amount of paper issue by the Bank Act was an unnecessary deduction from the profits legitimately derivable from the substitution of paper for the precious metals. Fourteen millions sterling was fixed, in 1844, as the maximum of note issue by the Bank of England, represented by securities, and at that amount it still remains; notwithstanding the enormous increase of all commercial transactions since that date, and the consequent necessary increase of circulating medium. perfection of banking,' says Mr. Ricardo, 'is to enable a country, by means of a paper currency, to carry on its circulation with the least possible quantity of coin or bullion.' This 'least possible quantity' bears some fixed proportion to the total amount of circulating medium, however authorities may differ as to what the proportion may most safely be. The most advantageous system of paper currency will therefore provide that the amount of metal in circulation shall always be at a minimum; or, in other words, the amount of paper at a maximum. When commerce and trade increase and the amount of circulating medium necessary for them increases with them, in due proportion, provision should be made that as much as possible, (consistently with safety) of the addition to the currency should be paper. In the English system, on the contrary, no such provision is made. However commercial transactions may multiply, the amount of paper represented by securities must remain at the limit imposed twenty years No doubt the quantity of paper issued against bullion may be increased indefinitely, but from this part of the paper curreney, as we have seen, the community derives no advantage beyond convenience of carriage, of money and saving of wear In a little more than twenty years, between 1792 and 1816, the revenue of England was tripled, the exports more than doubled, the imports increased more than one-half: while simultaneously the paper part of the circulation was also tripled. Under the present system this proportional increase in the profitable part of the paper circulation is impossible. Previously to 1844, on the other hand, the paper currency of England amounted to £42,300,000, (the metallic being estimated at £23,000,000). This amount was, no doubt, excessive then, though it might not be so at the present day: yet it can scarcely have been so much in excess of the requirements of the community as to justify the fact that in 1857, when it was found necessary to suspend the Bank Act, the Bank of England note circulation amounted to but £21,000,000,—or £7,000,000 beyond the fixed £14,000,000—which was increased by two millions, six days after the suspension.

The Bank of England and its regulation have occupied

more of our time and space than we intended, though not more than their importance justifies. From the preceding pages it is, we trust, evident that there are some general principles, established by authority and confirmed by experience, on which a sound system of paper currency should be based. It is undoubted, for instance, that the substitution of paper, as money, for the precious metals is most beneficial to the community and profitable to the issuers. It follows 'that the substitution of paper for the precious metals, 'should always be carried as far as is consistent with safety' (Mill); that is to say, so far as to retain only so much gold or silver as is sufficient to maintain convertibility. It follows also that since, 'the value saved to the community by thus dispensing with 'metallic money is a clear gain to those who provide the substitute,' it is advisable, for this and other reasons, that this gain should accrue to the community itself, and that it, through its government, should be the issuer. It may also be considered as established that Government should be an issuer only, not in any other way a banker. Even the amount of paper to be issued, if allowed by law to be variable, cannot with safety be left to the discretion of a Government officer or a government commission. When the operation is purely mechanical, (as it has been in the Issue Department of the Bank of England since 1844,) it might be as well, or better, conducted by Government. Two modes are suggested by Mr. Mill either of which would secure to the nation the greater part of the legitimate profit derivable from a paper issue, without involving the Government in business which it is incompetent to conduct with safety or success. 'It would be better that Treasury notes, exchangeable for gold on demand, should be issued to a fixed amount, not exceeding the minimum of a bank-note circulation; the remainder of the notes which may be required being left to be supplied either by one or by a number of private banking establishments. Or an establishment like the Bank of England might supply the whole country, on condition of lending fifteen or twenty millions of its notes to the Government without interest, which would give the same pecuniary advantage to the State as if it issued 'that number of its own notes.'

So much may, we think, be considered sufficiently established to be applied with safety to this country.\* Difference of

<sup>\*</sup> A Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, indeed lays down that Government should not obtain profit from the paper money any more than from the coin of the country! "Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matter of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling." Ecclus. XXXVII—11.

opinion and discussion come in upon the question of the best means of maintaining convertibility, or rather upon the proportion which the gold or silver retained for this purpose should bear to the amount of paper issued: and upon this subject as we have seen, widely different opinions are held. At one extreme we have those who would issue no paper without retaining an equivalent amount of gold or silver, of which system the Hamburgh currency supplies an example. At the other extreme may be found advocates of a paper currency neither convertible nor intended to be convertible, care being taken to prevent over-issue and depreciation by keeping the value of the paper on a level with that of gold or silver introduced for purposes of luxury or art. Close to this latter extreme lie cases of temporary inconvertibility of paper intended to be rendered again convertible at some future period; of which England for nearly thirty years, and the United States at present supply illustrations. Near the former extreme are the modern system of the Bank of England, and that at present being tried in India, in which the convertibility of every note is secured by retaining an equivalent value either in securities or in precious metal. Between those two extremes lie systems resembling that adopted for the Bank of England in 1819.\* In these convertibility would be maintained by retaining a certain proportion of coin or bullion, the ratio of reserve to paper-issue varying according to the various habits or circumstances of different communities. That some such system would be the best suited to this country, or any other resembling it in the circumstance of having the ground unoccupied or of being about to establish a new system of paper currency of which the issue is in the hands of Government, appears to us probable in a high degree.

A banker, says Mr. Mill, uses for the purposes of his trade so much of the money of others deposited in his coffers as his judgment and experience tell him he may do with safety to their interests and his own. Similarly in Mr. Mill's opinion, a paper currency may be founded upon an estimate of the average circulation of the country. One third of his liabilities is the habitual amount of reserve of a prudent banker. In the same way might a system of paper-issue be established, in ordinary circumstances, upon the principle of retaining coin or bullion amounting in value to one-third of the notes in circulation. †

\* But free, of course, from all complication of other banking business than the issue of convertible paper money.

<sup>†</sup> Adam Smith supposes one fifth a sufficiently high proportion of reserve to notes.

The natives of India are naturally a suspicious race or collection of races. In money-dealings, especially, they are prone to suspect each other of intended fraud, and to be still more distrustful of the foreigner. It cannot be denied that, from the native point of view, annexations were dictated by greed, and involved broken treaties and broken faith; that the reduction of the covenanted interest on the public debt, practically compulsory, was really equivalent to the 'composition' of an insolvent debtor, not over-scrupulous in his dealings with his creditors; and even that the Income Tax was neither necessary to the welfare of India nor equitably assessed, nor fairly collected. refusal of England to give an imperial guarantee for the Indian debt, although this measure would be an immense relief to the finances of this country, is not likely to inspire the native with excessive confidence in the honesty and purity of Anglo-Indian financial schemes of any kind: especially as the guarantee was not merely not given, which might appear to be the result of an opinion that it was virtually implied, and therefore unnecessary, but was more than once proposed and deliberately refused. The statement that the sale of the fee-simple of Indian land and the redemption of the Indian land revenue are believed by many natives to be nothing but plans for 'making a bag,' preparatorily to leaving the country, is by no means improbable. Such being the state of native public feeling, it is evident that in the establishment of a system of paper currency for India, due allowance should be made for a much greater degree of hesitation to accept Government notes instead of coin, and a greater susceptibility to groundless panic, leading to runs upon the Offices of Issue, than would be necessary in a European country. In India, therefore, the reserve should bear a higher proportion to the paper circulation than would be found needful elsewhere: nor could the substitution of paper for coin be carried with safety to so great an extent as is desirable, and practicable in other countries. But we have no doubt that Government notes might safely be issued, without any reserve of silver, or any security for convertibility beyond the pledged faith of Government, to an amount equal to two thirds of the minimum note circulation of the Presidency Banks: the remaining third being issued against securities of some kind, which, as bearing interest, would be a more desirable reserve than coin We believe also that in further issues of Government notes—the issues being made gradually and carefully watched one third, or perhaps even one half, might be unsupported by a reserve of coin, bullion, or securities. As long as Government paper is be a legal tender in payment of the land revenue and other State claims, the probability of a run for conversion into silver will be, in our opinion, infinitesimal: while the worst possible contingency, in the practically impossible case of all the outstanding paper being brought in by the holders to be changed for coin, would be a temporary suspension of cash payments, inflicting pecuniary loss neither upon the people nor the State, and but slightly affecting the credit of Government, this necessarily being at its lowest when such a run as we are supposing could occur. Space will not permit us to enter into details of a scheme of paper currency founded on these principles. We proceed to examine the two systems which have been pro-

posed and of which one is in operation.

The subject of a Paper Currency for this country had, (strange as it may seem to English statesmen and the English public), occurred to and been considered by Indian officials even before a Daniel came to judgment, in the person of an English Financier, red-hot from the anvil of the Treasury and the House of Commons. Papers by Mr. Lushington and others prove the extraordinary fact that all knowledge of currency questions is not monopolised by the self-complacent sages of the British Parliament, to whom one sometimes feels tempted to apply the ironical address of the worried Job to his well meaning but rather self-conceited friends and 'comforters.' 'No doubt 'ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you, but I have 'understanding as well as you. I am not inferior to you.' But we shall begin with Mr. Wilson's plan, which assumed the following four conditions as essential to the soundness of a system of paper Firstly, the paper must be identical in exchangeable value with the coin which it represents. Secondly, its quantity must equal that of the coin for which it is a substitute; so that the amount of paper and coin in circulation shall be equal to the amount of coin which would circulate if there were no paper. Thirdly, all laws which should determine variations in the amount of circulating coin from time to time must equally apply to the mixed currency. Fourthly, the paper must be legal tender in all payments, except those made by the issuers, by whom it is to be convertible on demand. The third of these conditions, it will be remembered, requires qualification. The others call for no remark.

In carrying out in practice a system based on these principles two things are indispensable. A metallic reserve must be maintained, sufficient in amount to ensure convertibility immediately and at all times: and there must be absolute ultimate security for the payment of every note.

Mr. Wilson proposed to entrust the business of issuing the

Indian notes to Boards of Commissioners at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, who were to be independent of Government, except in certain particulars specified in the Act. They were to retain as reserve a certain proportion of coin, to be determined on from time to time, but which was never to be less than one-third of the notes in circulation. Against the remainder of the issue Government Securities were to be retained; so that coin and securities together should equal the full amount of paper issued. By thus keeping a fixed proportion of silver and securities to the full amount of the remainder of the issue, Mr. Wilson maintained that not only was immediate convertibility ensured. but a self-acting limit was imposed upon the circulation, which would increase or diminish, precisely as a purely metallic currency would do, according to the wants of the community. Thus constant conformity to the third of the conditions stated above, would be, in his opinion ensured; and the notes would only be a substitute, exactly equal in amount, for the silver which they

displaced.

The three chief Issue Districts were to be divided into Currency Circles, of which there were to be, (as laid down in Mr. Temple's Minute on this subject) seventeen in all; ten in Bengal, three in Madras, and four in Bombay. Each Circle was to have notes peculiar to itself, the denominations being printed in English and two native languages vernacular in the Circle. Within the limits of its own Circle the paper was to be absolutely legal tender; beyond them, not: and convertible on demand only at the Issue Offices of the Circle and of the Presidency to which that Circle belonged. Notes of conterminous Circles would be received by Government in payments, indifferently; but would not be re-issued from any Office but their own—being retained and periodically The notes would have been introduced into 180 exchanged. districts of British India, and exhibited fifteen different native languages in their denominations. When the system was introduced and in working order, the silver obtained at the branch Offices of Issue in exchange for Government notes was to be sent to the Central Office at the Presidency for investment; the amount sent by each branch being credited to that branch and available for it in case of need. Finally, as to the denominations of the notes, they were at first to be for five, ten, twenty, fifty, five hundred and one thousand rupees; and it was intended that afterwards notes should be issued for less than five rupees.

Such was Mr. Wilson's Currency Scheme, which appears to us to have combined ample security with considerable and legitimate profit to the State: and to have been very much superior to the plan substituted for it and now upon its trial. It

seems to have been an imitation of Mr Ricardo's Plan for the establishment of a National Bank, which it follows even to its This plan, the outlines of which we give in a note,\* is contained in a posthumous paper, dated 1824. The division of the country into Circles or Districts, which appears to us to be the weak point of Mr Wilson's scheme-the notes of one district not being convertible in any other-was objected to by a friend to whom Mr. Ricardo showed his manuscript, as likely to be productive of much inconvenience in the provinces. The author was of opinion that some very simple arrangement might be devised to obviate that disadvantage, but none was added to the original plan. It ought to be an object with all Anglo-Indian statesmen to take every opportunity of introducing throughout the whole of British India uniformity of currency, and of weights and measures. Government notes ought, and ultimately will, circulate throughout the country, being legal tender every where and practically convertible at every Treasury. The Circle system threw needless impediments in the way of a most desirable object. The system now in operation is comparatively

<sup>\*</sup> Mr Ricardo proposed to take the Issue Department altogether out of the hands of the Bank of England, and to give its duties and its profits to the State. He obviated the objection that Government would abuse its power and refuse to convert its paper on demand in case of war &c. by assigning the power of issue, not to Ministers, but to Commissioners removable only by vote of either House of Parliament, and having no money transactions of any kind with Ministers. When ample funds should have accumulated in the hands of the Commissioners, they were to go into the market and publicly buy Government securities. Only when, from increase of the prosperity of the country, increase of currency should be required, would it be expedient to invest in other interest-bearing securities: and, in the contrary case, these, or part of them should be sold. On the expiration of the Bank of England Charter in 1833, the Commissioners would issue fifteen millions of paper, a sum equal to the amount of Bank capital lent to Government. The annual interest on the three-per-cents should then cease. With ten millions more the Commissioners would buy as much gold bullion as they should deem expedient, employing the remainder in the redemption of part of the public debt to the Bank on exchequer bills, which were to remain at the disposal of the Commissioners. The Bank was to redeem its out-standing notes with the new Government papers. Agents in all the principal towns of England would, on demand verify by their signatures the genuineness of notes presented to them; after which process those notes would be exchangeable only in the District where they had been thus verified. Notes issued in one District or verified by an Agent's signature in one District, would not be payable in another: but by depositing them at the Issue Office of the former a bill to the amount might be obtained payable in the other District in its own notes. Notes issued in the country would not be payable in coin in the country, but by bill on London, payable either in coin or in London notes. The Commissioners were to be obliged to buy gold at £3-17-6 an ounce. They were also to exchange their notes, on demand for gold coin. One pound notes were to circulate for one year in London, but permanently in the country.

free from this defect, the number of circles being reduced to three. In this point only does Mr. Laing's scheme seem to us to pos-

sess any superiority over Mr. Wilson's.

It cannot, we trust, be necessary to defend the latter against objections made on the ground that it is inexpedient that Government should derive any profit from the issue of paper money. It was Mr. Wilson's avowed and most legitimate intention to devote a large proportion of the silver for which Government notes should be substituted to the discharge of Government liabilities, and the consequent relief of the finances of the country from the burden of a large amount of interest. Convertibility on demand and ultimate payment of the Government issue being secured, as they would have been, in our opinion, by Mr. Wilson's scheme gradually and cautiously introduced, two thirds of the coin displaced might beneficially have been employed in the manner we have mentioned.

In a paper devoted principally to the subject of our Indian currency, which appeared about three years since in a well-known English periodical, Mr. Wilson's proposed Paper Currency Scheme was examined and roughly handled. The article in question was by no means an able one, but, on the contrary, displayed a painful degree of ignorance on the subject generally, and of principles almost universally admitted. A writer who denies the necessity of fulfilling any of Mr. Wilson's four preliminary conditions except the first—(that paper money should be identical in value with the coin which it represents) -asserting to the contrary, for instance, that the quantity of paper in circulation need not be equal to the amount of coin displaced; who maintains that the silver imported into India from Europe, (estimated by him at 39 millions sterling in the three proceding years) remains in circulation and raises prices, as it is coined and added to the currency because there is so little demand for silver in this country 'for purposes of manufacture'; who asserts that 'the quantity of 'silver which can at mint price be easily and at once disposed of 'for coinage is unlimited,' and thence concludes that a paper currency will not withdraw any metal from circulation; who ignores altogether the universal practice of hoarding and its powerful influence in matters of currency—a writer thus ignorant of the questions at issue, both generally and with special reference to India, deserves but little notice. One or two objections, however, we may briefly examine, first remarking that the absence of Government control, to which he objects, is, in our opinion, an advantage.

He argues thus: Suppose the Commissioners to have issued three crores of paper. One crore of the silver received in

exchange would be retained in their hands to ensure convertibility; the remaining two would be invested in securities and thus be returned into the circulation, which would thus receive, in the case supposed, an addition amounting to two crores—three crores of paper and two of silver having been introduced in the place of the original three crores of silver. The two crores of silver issued in payment for the securities might then come back to the Commissioners, and two thirds be, as before, invested in securities. This process might be repeated until there were three crores of silver and six of securities in the reserve; and nine crores of paper in circulation having replaced three crores of silver. Hence the theoretical limit of the process would be that nearly all the coin of the country would be in the Commissioner's reserve, and three times that amount of paper be in circulation.

To this elaborate arithmetical objection the writer himself supplies a sufficient answer when he concedes that 'prudent management' might prevent the consequences which he details. He does not tell us why we should despair of obtaining prudent managers of our Paper Currency, if not of Indian manufacture, at least by importation from England; or why distrust and a run on the Issue Offices should be more probable, as he asserts, than average care and financial knowledge on the part of the Currency Commissioners. However, waiving this, it is evident that the silver invested in securities, if it renders the currency redundant in comparison with the commercial requirements of the country will be exported or hoarded, leaving the total amount in circulation what it was before. We have already dwelt at such length on this natural process that it is unnecessary now to recur to it. We shall notice one other objection, which has, however, been already

answered elsewhere.

The purchase of securities by Government is equivalent to the cancelling of so much of the public debt. In England stock is purchased for the reduction of the National Debt only when there is a clear surplus. In India there is no such surplus, and the country is therefore not in a position to redeem any portion of her debt. We have already stated that one object of Mr. Wilson's scheme was the creation of such a surplus and such a power of redeeming part of the Indian debt, by substituting Government paper for part of the metallic currency and applying a large proportion of that part to the relief of the finances. We have shown by argument and the highest authority that such a course was perfectly legitimate and safe. What is brought forward as an objection is, therefore, in fact a merit, and must necessarily enter into any plan for establishing a Government Paper Currency.

The main features of the scheme which superseded Mr. Wilson's, and which is now in operation, are as follows. Notes are issued only against coin or bullion, except a certain limited amount—four crores of rupees—below which it is supposed that the paper in circulation can never fall. The notes are issued through Banks. It is intended that a subsidiary gold currency shall be introduced, equal in amount to one-fourth of the paper issue, not superseding silver as the standard of value, but circulating at fluctuating rates liable to revision at six months notice. This part of the scheme is still in abeyance. No notes are issued for less than ten rupees, the gold coin, when introduced, sup-

plying the place of notes of lower denominations.

To this unambitious scheme we can concede the praise of being undeniably safe: a merit which it shares with purely metallic currencies. Based upon the principles of the Bank Act of 1844, it is of course open to most of the objections to which that measure is liable, and which we need not now recapitulate. It will confer upon the public the profit accruing from the redemption of four crores of securities, minus expense of management, and the convenience of a portable instead of a clumsy circulating medium. It will be understood from the preceding pages that it has not secured to the public the profit and other advantages which we believe might have been derived from the introduction of a Government paper issue, nor does it make provision for future increase of notes issued against securities, from which alone appreciable profit can be derived. Its benefits, such as they are, will be increased by the contemplated introduction of a uniform currency note for the whole of India. On the subject of the intended use of gold we cannot enter further than to express our opinion of its superiority to that part of Mr. Wilson's plan which would have issued notes for twenty, ten, five, and ultimately for less than five rupees. The poorer classes, amongst whom chiefly these notes of low denominations would have circulated, if at all, are the least capable of distinguishing genuine from spurious paper, and would probably have suffered severely from forgery, which is even now productive of serious inconvenience.

Up to the present time little more has been effected in the carrying out of Mr. Laing's plan for supplying India with a Government Paper Currency than the substitution of the new paper in the circulation for the notes of the Presidency Banks. How little has actually been done towards supplying this enormous territory with a cheap and convenient substitute for its silver currency will be seen from the following statement of the condition of the Issue Department on the 31st January last, with which we conclude

our paper—Notes in circulation: Calcutta, Rs. 2,43,00,000; Bombay, Rs. 1,60,00,000; Madras, Rs. 58,00,000; Total, Rs. 4,56,00,000. Silver coin reserve—Calcutta Rs. 1,74,51,139; Bombay, Rs. 51,00,000; Madras, Rs. 53,00,000; Total, Rs. 2,78,51,139. Silver bullion reserve—Bombay 1,09,00,000. Government Securities—Calcutta, Rs 68,48,861.

ART. IV.—1. On the Geological Structure of part of the Khasi Hills, with Observations, &c. Calcutta; Military Orphan Press, 1854.

2. Notes on the Kasia Hills and People. By Lieutenant H. YULE. Bengal Engineers. "Journal of the Asiatic Society" No. CLII. 1844. Calcutta.

DILIGENT students of the newspapers, those who daily read every line of 'Correspondence,' 'Editorials' and 'Extracts' are no doubt aware of the existence on what is called our North Eastern Frontier of certain tribes, who, they know, are more or less savage, but of whose whereabouts, habits and history they have been able to form a very dim notion. Nor is this to be wondered at, since with respect to these tribes the Newspaper accounts present a most inextricable tangle which is by no means confined to the less civilized part of the North-Eastern Districts. For some of the mistakes which are made it is difficult to account, except on the supposition that in the editorial mind the names of the several tribes are convertible terms, and that Kassiah, Kookie, Naga, Garo, Abor, Mishmee and twenty other appellations may be indiscriminately made use of to describe all or any one of these tribes. It is hardly possible to imagine, that correspondents, writing from the spot and with any knowledge of the localities, can be guiltyof the errors which are such a constant source of confusion.

This confusion it is true is not confined to the newspapers and their editors; it has taken possession of the official as well as the editorial mind, and very recently we heard of a case where an officer being ordered to Sylhet was officially recommended to take steamer to Gowhatty, from whence he would be able to drop down (by a tunnel through the Kassiah mountains probably) to the former place. In short, a thick veil of ignorance seems to hang between the public and all knowledge of our North-Eastern Frontier, comprising as it does Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar with their rivers, hills and forests, their varied products, peoples and languages. For ourselves these border tracts have always had a strong fascination, it may be in our own case from early associations, but we share the feeling with many of our friends; and indeed there is much in them

of the strange and the beautiful to gratify the eye and lay hold on the imagination. Who could refuse a tribute of admiration to someof the loveliest scenery in the world? Hills clothed with forests most varied and luxuriant; rocks whose rugged sides are relieved by hanging wood, silvery cascade and foaming waterfall; rivers now pent in narrow precipitous passes or chafing between vast boulders, now widening and reflecting in clear depths fantastic rocks or islets of 'dark greenery'; and in short all that goes to form a perfect landscape?

Add to these the elemental wonders which cannot fail to exercise powerfully the imagination of all who witness them, the heavy rain-fall which converts the whole plain of Sylhet into one vast lake; the glorious storms in which for whole nights long hill calls to hill in never ceasing peals of rolling thunder, whilst lightning of every hue flashes incessantly forth in defiance of the dashing rain torrents which seem vainly striving

to quench it.

Look, too, at the wonderful flora of these hills and valleys: the 'Ficus elastica' whose living roots bridge chasms a hundred feet wide; the orange groves perfuming the air with blossom or laden with golden fruit; the forests south and east of Sylhet and Cachar where the trees rise like buttressed columns, and creepers and trailers of varied and grotesque forms hang from the branches like cables and ladders of rope, or climbing the trunks of the loftiest trees send forth floating banners of blossoms from their summits. Every where in the damper nooks are found the most beautiful and varied forms of ferns, from the minutest delicately pencilled variety to the tree fern with its gigantic Here too, spreading their fleshy roots over the bare rocks or the gnarled tree bark, flourish in all tints of lilac, purple and gold the most levely orchids; and again in spots where few other conspicuous plants are found, the stately 'Lilium giganteum,' sometimes nine feet high, stands laden with rich flowers of crimson and white.

And who can describe the variety of insect life with which the hills and forests teem? The brilliant butterflies of all brightest hues; the moths large as bats which flit heavily through the evening air; the quaint beetles of startling size sweeping by in 'droning flight;' the leaf insects, from birth to death mimic representations of the foliage on which they feed, and which fade and die with the fading leaf, or the cicada whose clear but monotonous note rings through the air like a distant sheep bell? Till withal comes over us the wish of the hero of Locksley

Hall.

. .... " Ah, for some retreat

'Deep in yonder shining Orient, where my life began to beat.
'Oh, to burst all links of habit—there to wander far away,
'On from island unto island at the gateways of the day.

'Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies, 'Breadths of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise. 'Droops the heavy-blossom'd bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree—

'Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea.

'There methinks would be enjoyment more than in this march of mind,
'In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind.'
If, however, we had more of the Steamship and something of

If, however, we had more of the Steamship and something of the Railway we should not have to complain of the apathy which, except in those who have a material interest in them,

almost ignores the existence of these districts.

We had thought of endeavouring to treat of the whole North Eastern Frontier and its various tribes, but the subject is too large and would exceed the limits of an article as well as of the patience of our readers. We must confine ourselves for the present to that portion of the Frontier which has for some time past forced itself on the notice of the Government and extorted a languid attention even from the public in general; we mean the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills, and that portion of the plains, namely Sylhet, which, lately at least, has been more intimately connected with these hills than with the valley of Assam to which in

an official sense they belong.

Surely the Sylhet of the earlier days of the British rule must have been better known than it now is; the days when Lindsay (of the Balcarras Lindsays) reported to Warren Hastings that he had built in the District sundry ships, one at least of four hundred tons for the export of rice to Madras and elsewherestrange days when the Collector, the same Lindsay, was the great lime-dealer of the district, when his whole official salary was paid in cowries in which he was also necessarily a dealer when for protection against the Kassiahs (then, as of late, troublesome, and much more aggressively troublesome) forts were erected in which Bengalee traders were sometimes besieged for weeks together. Better known, too, probably nearly half a century later, though more to our cost when the Burmese over-ran Cachar to the borders of Sylhet, and a British column was temporarily repulsed on the Barak \* during the first Burmese war; but still with a knowledge mixed with a strange ignorance which, during the same war, sent nine hundred camels to die in the swamps of Cachar, a mission which they most strictly and completely fulfilled.

The Barak is the river which after flowing through Cachar forks into the Soormah and the Koosearah, the two principal rivers in the Sylhet District.

It seems strange at first sight that an interest, which undoubtedly in days long ago attached to these districts, should have been almost lost;—and it seems still more strange when we consider that, for long years past and even up to the present time, Calcutta, and indeed all Bengal, have been indebted almost exclusively to Sylhet, or rather to the Kassiah Hills through Sylhet, for one of the necessaries of civilized life, lime-stone, as also for one of its luxuries, the so-called Sylhet oranges, which, however like the lime are a product of the Kassiah Hills and of that very locality in the hills from which a large part of the lime is brought. Moreover, there was at one time a hope of the profitable export to Calcutta of the valuable coal of these hills,

a hope which hitherto however has not been realized.

How has it then happened that the interest, which once existed and which many circumstances conspired to maintain, has been suffered to die out? The answer is not difficult. Interests, like every thing else, are comparative—the greater interests have swallowed up the smaller. The trade which seemed of importance in the days of Lindsay and Warren Hastings has been mainly for years past in the hands of one Company, and is now a mere drop in the ocean of the trade and commerce of British India The districts which then formed a large portion of the possessions of the East India Company are now a mere corner within the line of red which marks Her Majesty's Indian dominions. Great wars with their reverses and victories have wiped out the memory of the little detached operations in Sylhet and Cachar with their small successes and failures; whilst the tranquillity, -- broken only by petty raids of no political importance, —which for many years past has reigned undisturbed in this part of the Indo-British territories, has allowed the attention of both the Government and the public to be withdrawn from it. Even during the last Burmese War it was thought sufficient to detach one native regiment of the line for the defence of the frontier in addition to the one Local Regiment to which alone for some years its protection had been entrusted, and even this was found to have been an unnecessary precaution. Lately no doubt much of interest has revived for Sylhet and Cachar in consequence of the discovery of the indigenous Tea plant in those districts and the consequent influx of European settlers, amounting in the case of Cachar to almost a colonization: but hitherto any increased knowledge, with regard to situation, climate, capabilities and means of access, seems to have been chiefly confined to those who either have visited or have a personal concern with the districts. And the same may be said of

Assam, notwithstanding the much longer time that Tea factories

have been established in that Province.

This too is intelligible, Assam or Sylhet and Cachar once reached, there is at present nothing to get to beyond; an adventurous traveller, a persevering naturalist or a sanguine sportsman might, with difficulty and at much risk, make his way through the hills to Burmah\* or Bhootan, and possibly to China, but there is no high road, nothing at present to tempt the speculator beyond our borders; and thus it happens that those alone who are brought by duty or business to these countries feel interested in acquiring any information about them. Moreover, though the actual distance between Calcutta and our North Eastern Frontier is not great, the journey has always been a long and difficult one, by a tedious and uninteresting route; and till within the last few months no sort of facility has been offered for reaching Sylhet, the only facility now being an indifferent steamer which makes the journey backwards and forwards, more or less regularly, about once in six weeks, and which can only be looked on as the harbinger of better times. We may hope that even if the Eastern Bengal Railway be not extended beyond Khoosteah, yet that means of constant communication will soon be established from thence to Dacca and so on to Sylhet, the Kassiah Hills and Cachar; and we hold that there is a fairer field for European Colonization in this corner of Bengal than in any other part of India. The climate of Sylhet and Cachar themselves seem very favorable to the European constitution, whilst the close neighbourhood of, and the easy access to, the mountains render a European climate readily attainable.

The District of Sylhet (including the lowlands of Jynteah) runs along the foot of the Kassiah and Jynteah mountains,† which form its boundary on the north, from Mymensing on the west to Cachar on the east, whilst its southern jungles merge in those of Independent Tipperah, in a wild and very sparsely inhabited country of hill and valley covered with dense forest, where the laying down any boundary is matter of extreme difficulty. It thus forms part of a wide level valley between the Northern and Southern ranges, the latter seldom rising above

\* There is, of course, no difficulty in reaching the confines of the Burmese territory through Cachar and Munneepore, but the Burmese authorities are jealous of European travellers in this direction.

<sup>†</sup> It is a common error to suppose that Sylhet and the Kassiah Hills are identical, and that the district of Sylhet is an elevated plateau. The Stations of Sylhet and Cherra Poonjee are, we believe, often confounded.

fifteen hundred or two thousand feet, whilst those to the North vary from a little over three thousand to upwards of six thousand feet. The climate of Sylhet, considerably cooler than that of the ordinary districts of Bengal, and free from the arid blasts of the North West Provinces, is for a great part of the year

extremely pleasant and is seldom oppressively hot.

The physical features of the country are such as might be expected in an extended basin such as that just described. In ages long past this basin probably formed an estuary of the Bay of Bengal. In its centre and stretching away to the river Soormah, which divides the larger part of Sylhet from Mymensing, are wide plains, (almost universally inundated during the periodical rains,) on the higher inequalities of which are perched villages with the houses closely huddled together as if crowding up from the flood; whilst the lower parts are occupied by swamps and marshes which never dry up. In the drier months the plains are covered with a short nutritious herbage affording pasturage to the numerous cattle which form the chief wealth of the villagers. In the rains the cattle are condemned to close imprisonment, their forage, coarse jheel grass and reeds, being cut and brought in boats which at that season of the year form the only communication between village and village; in the intervals however between the rainy seasons such crops as are found in the ordinary districts of Bengal are abundant, whilst nature has, in addition, provided a description of rice, of which the elastic stems and roots stretch with the rising flood and enable the plants to flourish during the highest inundation.

Here and there, along the banks of rivers, are more continuous tracts of high ground on which villages are seen embedded in groups of feathery bamboo: and tracing the courses of the rivers upwards the country generally rises higher, and the villages become more frequent and more picturesque. Here and there are considerable marts, of little external pretension, where trade is carried on in rice, oilseeds, ghee, and dried fish, and where may be seen boats of all shapes and sizes, the flat-bottomed and punt-like boats of the Ganges, the more graceful colack of Dacca and Lower Bengal, and the uncomely looking, but elastic and sea-worthy balam boat of Chittagong, whose planks are strongly sewn together with cane bands. The numerous fishing boats present a great variety of elegant forms, some resembling Wordsworth's 'little boat in shape just like the crescent moon' about eighty feet long and very narrow, others like a duck sitting on the water with a raised and curved neck, and again the less

pretentious dhinghee, or the humble khoonda fashioned out of a single trunk, but all, unlike their heavier and clumsier neigh-

bours, shooting swiftly and easily over the waters.

Ascending the Soormah we come to the town and station of Sylhet. Both here and at Chattuck, lower down the river, we see the jungle-clad hillocks which form, as it were, the outposts of the mountain range in their rear, in which, increasing in height and with intervals here and there between them, they eventually merge. These detached and semi-detached ranges of low hills are found on the south and north banks of the Soormah; and on these are situated the Tea gardens of the Sylhet District. The Station of Sylhet is one of the prettiest in Bengal, the hillocks we have spoken of being ever covered with varied and beautiful vegetation, backed in the distance by the blue Kassiah Hills.

There is nothing to distinguish the mass of the inhabitants of the district from the ordinary Hindoo and Mussulman Bengalee. Here and there a small colony of Munneepoories may be seen, easily distinguishable by their Tartar features and fairer skins; as well as in their villages by the houses with long straight ridge poles and gable ends unlike the hog-backed hut of the Bengalee. In Sylhet nearly every man is a land proprietor in his own right, some of the assessments being as low as eight annas a year.

Much that is picturesque and beautiful may be found in many parts of Sylhet, but in claiming consideration for the beauties of the North Eastern Districts, we intend to confine our readers' attention chiefly to those ranges of mountains and hills and tracts of luxuriant forest which form their most distinguishing features: and in all these the Kassiah and Jynteah Hill Districts take a prominent place; whilst the recently quelled disturbances

add to the interest which ordinarily attaches to them.

Travellers who have seen the Hymalaya and other bold mountain chains would at first sight be struck with the tameness and monotony of outline of these hills, as like a low blue cloud they rise from the bank of the Brahmapootra to the Westward and trending towards the east, with a long wavy inclination, reach their highest point (visible from the plains) of between five and six thousand feet; but a closer examination will reveal features of unexpected grandeur—perpendicular faces of precipice and water-falls of stupendous height, noble gorges leading into valleys unsurpassable in beauty, where in the bed of the clear streams lie vast boulders washed down from the cliffs above and on either side spurs of emerald green slope down

symmetrically to the water's edge, whilst an immense wall of rock three thousand feet in height rises abruptly in front.

Three such valleys nearly surround the peninsula-like plateau on which stands the station of Cherra Poonjee. In these are to be found some splendid specimens of those 'living bridges' of which we have before spoken as formed from the roots the 'Ficus elastica' for a description of which we must refer our readers to Colonel Yule's paper. The appearance of the station itself is disappointing. The almost incredible rain-fall (which is however very local and in a great measure confined to an area of a few square miles) has denuded the rocks of soil, and the mere plateau looks bare and inhospitable; but the prospects over the distant plains and hills and into the valleys immediately beneath are most beautiful and unsurpassed by any thing in the hills. Cherra Poonjee, however, as the main station in the Kassiah Hills is, we believe, doomed, we need therefore say little about it. West of the station rising to a height of about three hundred feet is a range of hills in which are contained the coal mines which having been most worked are best known. These run in horizontal galleries into the side of the rock; but here and elsewhere the working on any large scale has been abandoned.

The limestone rocks which underlie the coal beds are every where pierced with caves and are well worth exploring, particularly on the south side of the range, where the limestone forms a wall eighty or a hundred feet high. Strolling about here with a friend many years ago, we come on what we had long been looking for-having heard of its existence-a sort of well cave. It is of a circular form, not less than seventy feet in diameter, and the walls rise perpendicularly to an almost uniform height of eighty It is approachable by two entrances, one the bed of a watercourse, and one a short winding passage which would almost cheat one into the belief that it was artificial. Over the wall of rock we have spoken of, and which forms the background, falls a small cascade, which loses itself in a subterranean passage below the floor of the well. In the same range of cliffs is a very remarkable cave quite a mile long in its windings, and penetrating in a straight line nearly half a mile into the rock; but it is somewhat difficult of access, and to reach the end, it is necessary to wade nearly up to the waist in water. It is everywhere lofty, and, once inside the cave, no creeping or climbing is required. At the foot of the mountains not far from the village Pandooah is a cave of still greater size and of greater intricacy. Here, according to popular tradition, a Chinese army was lost whilst on its march underground to invade Bengal.

As we are on the subject of the limestone, we cannot refrain from quoting a description of some curious formations found in the hill country east of Cherra, nearly on the borders of Assam, by Major Cave, who was for many years a resident in these hills. He says—'At one place called Mungolai the limestone is very peculiarly placed. I do not mean geologically but pictorially. 'The valley is about one mile broad, flat-bottomed and surrounded by low hills. All round the valley at the bottom of the hills, 'are walls of limestone presenting a more perfect resemblance 'to buildings than any thing of the kind I have before seen. On 'closer inspection these walls are curious, being composed of huge 'rectangular masses regularly divided into streets which cross and recross each other at right angles or nearly so, and extended 'some distance. These streets are of a good width, six or eight 'feet; sometimes a fine tree is growing up from the bottom, and 'generally there are branches and creepers arching over the top,

'all very picturesque.'\*

The Mamluh valley about three miles west of the Cherra plateau is well worth a visit. The village of the Mamluh, which is most picturesquely situated on the upper slopes of the valley, was one of those places where resistance was made, when the treacherous murder of Lieutenants Bailton and Beddingfield obliged Government to assert their authority in the Kassiah Hills. The only legitimate approach to it from above is by a paved causeway cut, and for a short distance tunnelled, through the rock; and along the whole rear of the village extends a pretty wood, outside which to the edge of the valley on either side runs a rough stone wall intended for purposes of defence. This village, unlike most of those on the heights which are generally rather bare, stands embosomed in a wood which extends into the village and amongst the houses. The huts are built substantially of horizontal layers of planks painfully fashioned by the adze. These, resting on one another edgewise, are kept in their places by stout posts, and the whole is roofed over with a sharply inclined thatch of bamboo leaves. A pigstye is an indispensable adjunct to every hut, and the pigs, which are of a handsome China breed, are quite as much at home either in the hut or stye as their owners.

A distant view of the sloping village forms a very inviting picture, but here as in other places an efficient Municipal Commission is much needed. There is considerable difficulty in picking one's way through the village paths, and the scents,

<sup>\*</sup> Oldham's Geology of the Kassiah Hills.

though not quite so bad as in some more civilized neighbourhoods, are anything but agreeable and suggest unpleasant recollections of Calcutta.

Leaving the village and skirting the edge of the valley to the North West we come on one of the steepest and deepest precipices which these hills present, and rushing over it is a magnificent waterfall. This goes by the name of 'Luckae's Leap;' the legend being that Luckae, a Kassiah woman, married a wild Garrow, who during his wife's absence killed and cooked, and afterwards gave her to eat, her two children by a former marriage, on learning the nature of her meal she fled and leaped over the precipice,

and by her name it has ever since been called.

It is impossible to avoid being struck by the groups of monumental stones which are to be seen in the neighbourhood of vil-We cannot lages and in other conspicuous spots on these hills. 'The varido better than quote Colonel Yule on this subject. 'ous remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every 'way-side cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger 'from the peculiar aspect thrown by them on almost every scene 'in the upper parts of the country. They are of several kinds, 'but almost all of them recall strongly those mysterious soli-'tary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries, which abound in England, 'and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe and Western 'Asia. The most common kind in the Kassiah country is compos-'ed of erect oblong pillars sometimes unhewn, in other instances

'carefully squared, and planted a few feet apart.

'The number composing one monument is never under three, 'and occasionally they are as many as thirteen. The highest 'pillar is in the middle, sometimes covered with a circular disk, 'and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of 'these is what English antiquaries call a cromlech, a large flat-'stone resting on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary 'road-side resting places of the weary traveller. Some of these 'stones are of considerable size and must have cost immense The tallest of a thick cluster of pillars at 'labour in erection. 'Nurtung in the Jynteah country rising through the branches of a huge old tree measures twenty-seven feet in height above the 'ground, and in another place near the village of Lailankot a flat 'table stone or cromlech, elevated five feet from the earth, mea-'sures thirty-two feet by fifteen and two feet in thickness. In 'some cases the monument is a square sarcophagus composed of 'four large slabs resting on their edges and well fitted together, 'and roofed in by a fifth placed horizontally. In other cases the

'sarcophagus is in the form of a large slab, accurately circular, 'resting on the heads of many little rough pillars closely planted together, through the chinks between which may be seen certain 'earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are merely cenotaphs, and some few among them have 'probably been erected in commemoration of certain important 'events.'

We need only add to this that we have seen a group consisting of not less than twenty-two oblong pillars all belonging to the same monument. The position of any considerable collection of these tombs would seem frequently to be determined by the facilities which may be afforded for procuring stone, and the greater amount of symmetery which some blocks show is due to the character of the stone. Where only granite or other hard rock is to be found, the forms of the monuments are correspondingly rude. Sometimes they seem almost to disappear in places where stone is procurable only with great difficulty, but they are found very generally in all parts of the Kassiah hills, and we have even seen tombs of the kind in the plain of Assam some miles from the foot of the hills.

Less than thirty miles from Cherra Poonjee, east of the road which leads from thence into Assam, stands the peak of Shillong, the highest known point in the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills. Its height, which has been accurately determined, is 6449 feet, and hence may be seen what is described by Dr. Hooker, as probably the most extensive view in the world, embracing an area of (he calculates) not less than 30,000 square miles, or as large as the whole of Ireland, from the Munneepoor hills in the east to the Himalaya on the north and north-west, and far over the plains of Sylhet to the Tipperah Hills on the south.

Below this peak to the north lies the plateau which has been recently chosen as part of the site for the new head-quarter station in the hills. Its general elevation is about 5900 feet. Again some 700 feet below this we come by a very easy descent to the plateau of Yeodo which forms the other part of the site. On both of these plateaux, and all down the hill side which leads to the lower, are beautiful spots for building, and in time this should be one of the finest hill stations in India. The supply of water is abundant, and it is stated, and we believe it to be the case, that by merely damming up one of the streams, at a ridiculously small expence, a lake may be made as large as that of Nynee Tal. The rain-fall, which is the serious drawback in parts of these hills, is here comparatively light and probably less by three-fourths than that at Cherra Poonjee.

We have said in an earlier part of this article that there is a fairer field for colonization in this corner of Bengal than in any other part of India, and it was to the advantages which these hills hold out that we chiefly referred. It is, we suppose, generally known that the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills consist, all along their southern front, of a series of flat-topped ridges and nearly level plateaux, intersected by deep, narrow, abrupt glens such as those we have described as surrounding the Cherra plateau. Advancing further to the northward we come on long tracts of rolling moorland, still diversified by river valleys. Such, for instance, is the country about Shillong, and Yeodo is an instance of the flat-bottomed valley we have attempted to describe. these moorlands one may often ride for miles without ascending or descending more than from one to two hundred feet. From Moflong (where about eighteen miles from Cherra we first come on these wider plateaux) the road for nine miles to Shillong lies over such a moorland and along it there is no where a dip of more than sixty or seventy feet.

It will be easily understood that such a country as this affords space for occupation such as is not to be found in our hills to the North West. We believe that it would give admirable pasturage for sheep, we already see cattle in plenty in the finest and sleekest condition. Potatoes and other esculent roots are even now grown The soil would seem to promise well for cereals of abundantly. all descriptions, and we look forward to the time when smiling English homesteads\* shall rise along the gentle slopes, and when 'the valleys shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh Here, too, we have almost everywhere stone easily and sing.' workable and admirably fitted for building purposes, slate is to be had for the searching, lime-stone is at hand in any quantities, and the coal which here at least may profitably be brought to market is abundant in various parts of the hills. Already have two roads been commenced from Shillong, one leading to Sylhet and one to Gowhatty in Assam, and everything promises fair for the new station.

About thirty miles from Shillong to the west stands a very remarkable rock called by the natives 'Kalung.' This forms a most imposing feature in the landscape from various points in

the hills. An immense isolated mass of granite it stands amongst the gently undulating hillocks which surround it, overtopping them all by 500 feet, whilst its western face rises, naked and

<sup>\*</sup> The little detached Kassiah villages on the slopes remind one very much of small English farms.

almost perpendicular, above 700 feet from its base to its rounded top. Its eastern base rests in rich wood which climbs half way up this less abrupt side, and here it is accessible by a steep and very slippery ascent. From the top is a fine view over a well timbered, park-like country to the westward, whilst on all sides it commands a prospect similar to, though less extensive than that from the peak of Shillong. Some ten miles north-east of the Kalung rock is Nungklow, from whence the Kassiah bills begin to slope towards the valley of Assam. We cannot imagine any scene more levely than that which presents itself from this place. In the foreground sloping from the verge is a hanging forest of very varied vegetation, where wild plantains and other tropical plants are seen side by side with the pine of these hills (Pinus Sinensis we believe) which, first seen small and stunted about fourteen miles north of Cherra, attains its greatest height and girth in this forest. Lower down are hills still beautifully wooded or green with gigantic grass. These gradually sink into the valley of Assam which, intersected by the silver thread of the Brahmapootra, stretches away for seventy miles to the dark Bhootan hills, behind which tower the eternal Himalaya snows. To the east as far as eye can see rise range upon range of blue hills till they fade in the distant horizon. Here at day break a strange and beautiful sight may now and then be seen. A dense mist fills the valley to the very brink, which then looks like the wooded shore of a pale waveless sea stretching into space. denly out of the still depths rise, as if by magic, islands of silver tinged with rose colour and gold, as the first beams of the rising sun kiss the snowy peaks of the, till then, invisible Himalaya.

But we have devoted too much space to scenery, we must pass on to the Kassiahs themselves, their character and customs. They are generally a cheerful, lively, good-humoured race, amongst themselves full of jokes and fun, truthful, open-hearted and honest, till intercourse with the people of the plains teaches them to deceive. Seldom tall but of strong well knit figures, and with such developement of leg from constant exercise up and down hill as we have never seen elsewhere. Men and women with their broad Tartar features approach to general comeliness when young, and we have known specimens of both quite good looking. But they disfigure themselves early by the universal and excessive use of pawn which blackens the teeth and mouth and removes all trace of good looks. They have seldom any hair on their faces, a thin wiry moustache being quite the exception. The men shave the forepart of the head, gathering the long back hair into a knot which is often concealed by a large and very

dingy turban. The women also confine the hair in a knot, but ordinarily wear no head dress. Both sexes are fond of sticking flowers, the bright crimson rhododendron or some gay colored orchid, between the ear and the head, and the women often adorn the knot of hair in the same way. The national dress of the men is a sort of unbleached sleeveless shirt fringed at the bottom and ornamented in front and at the back somewhat after the fashion of an English waggoner's smock frock. In addition to this, those who can afford it, wear a long, striped, picturesque looking chudder, but there is not the smallest attention paid to cleanliness of person or dress. The women are wrapped in a long straight mantle of striped cloth, with ends meeting and tied in a knot over the breast. Indispensable both to men and women is a small net bag of pine-apple fibre, which hangs over one shoulder and contains a very miscellaneous collection, consisting chiefly of a rude clasp knife and the materials for pawn, namely, betelnut, pawn leaves, and a small brass or silver box, with a chain attached, which holds the prepared lime which is eaten with the pawn. In the rains they generally wear a hood, formed of a light bamboo frame, lined with broad leaves which going over the head reaches far down the back and is a very effectual protection. Their burthens, like most hill people, they carry on the back, but these are kept in their place and to a certain degree supported by a wide plaited band across the forehead. When working by the job they will often carry as much as two maunds of coal or potatoes, and we have known a stalwart Jynteah Kassiah to carry a six dozen chest of beer: but the ordinary load is something under a maund. A common mode of travelling which we have never tried ourselves is to be carried on the back in a basket or chair prepared for the purpose. We remember a very stout friend of ours arriving at the foot of the hills, there was no pony to carry him, and to walk seemed for him out of the question. A chair was prepared for him and he sat patiently waiting to be lifted. Several men came and looked, but the size of the burthen alarmed them. At length when he had begun to despair, an old woman, taking pity on the inferior sex, stepped out and amidst shouts of laughter prepared to take him up. lieve the matter ended in a sufficient number of men being shamed into acting as carriers.

Kassiahs as a rule have a great objection to early rising, and on a journey it is difficult to rouse them to take up their loads. We had from a friend not long since an amusing illustration of this in a letter he had received from an old servant; after mentioning that he had been appointed a dâk runner he adds—

'and oh my misery! they say to me if I do not arrive at six in

the morning I am of no manner of use.'

They have no prejudices about food and eat every thing that is good for food indiscriminately; but, as is always the case, those who have more intercourse with natives of the plains become more particular. The Jynteah Kassiahs who, as we shall see, have become more Hindooized, refuse to eat beef, which is freely eaten in other parts of the hills. Their staple food is rice and dried fish.

Next to the oranges, which are a local crop confined to the southern slopes of the hills, their most important erop is potatoes, which are largely cultivated and exported, affording employment to a large portion of the population. The export through Cherra cannot, we believe, be less than a hundred thousand maunds a year, and the cultivation is yearly increasing.

In some parts of the hills iron smelting and forging form the almost sole occupation; and it is a common thing to come on whole villages inhabited exclusively either by iron smelters or blacksmiths: often at a distance the measured beat on the stone

anvil sounds like a peal of village bells.

Cattle and goats are frequently seen, but they are kept almost exclusively either for food or sacrifice or for their manure. Milk is taken by the Kassiahs in no shape, nor are the cattle used

for husbandry.

Many of the Kassiah customs are remarkable, and foremost amongst these, distinguishing them at least from any of their neighbours, is the strange, though not altogether unique law which, entirely excluding the direct line, transfers the inheritance to the sister's children. This rule obtains universally; so that a Raja's son may be a common peasant, whilst his nephew succeeds to the dignity and property whatever it may be. This usage is no doubt a consequence of the laxity of the marriage tie, which indeed can hardly be called marriage at all. The house and goods are the property of the wife to whom the husband pays perhaps only occasional visits. Mutual consent and the exchange of five cowries dissolve the tie. The children and the property remain with the wife.

The funeral festivities, for by no other name can they be called, are very peculiar. These do not take place necessarily or even usually at the time of the decease of the person in whose honor they are celebrated. The body is preserved to a convenient season either by desiccation or some other process, and on the last day of the ceremony it is burned and the ashes are collected and placed

in a sepulchre.\* The festivities last for three or more days, and during that time a sort of fair is held enlivened by various games, amongst others climbing a greased pole. On each day there is a sacrifice of goats; and it is important that their heads should be struck off by one blow of an unwieldy two-handled sword. For people of consequence a bullock is added to the goats, and the flesh of all is distributed amongst the people with plenty of pork and strong drink. The most striking feature of the ceremony is the dance which is performed on these occasions for which all their finery is preserved. The men decked out in jackets of satin or velvet or broadcloth of the brightest hue, red, green, purple yellow, with silken turban, plumed with peacock or gold and silver earrings, bangles and other feathers, with chains, with silken dhooties, and often with a bright chudder of silk or broadcloth, a gaily decorated quiver with arrows hanging at their back, and armed with the two-handed sword and shield which they continually clash together, dance in a circle a wild but monotonous measure, accompanied by discordant music, firing of musketry and long-continued howling.

The village maidens, meanwhile, swathed mummy-fashion in the most gorgeous of silks and muslins of every procurable colour and loaded with silver chains and ornaments, stand in a circle, and, with eyes demurely cast on the ground, execute an unvarying pas which consists in bringing the heels and toes alternately and very slowly together. The only picturesque thing about them is their head dress which is formed of a circlet of silver rising into a spear-head ornament behind. These gold and silver ornaments as used by men and women on these occasions are their most cherished possession and are handed down as heir-looms. A Kassiah would almost rather starve than part with a set when once possessed. They are sometimes worth as much as seven or eight hundred rupees. But here as in more civilized

life they are often hired for the occasion.

The Kassiah national weapon is the bow and arrow, but they are by no means skilful archers, and their war arrow is so heavily barbed with iron as to render it a most uncertain missile.

Of religion they cannot be said to have any definite idea. They have a sort of belief in a Supreme Being, but their dread of a spirit of evil is much more prominent than their confidence in a spirit of good. They have great faith in omens, their principal

<sup>\*</sup> It is not absolutely necessary that the whole body should be kept for the ceremony. When there is any difficulty about this, as in the case of a man dying at a distance from his home, a bone or a piece of a bone is sufficient, to fulfil the positive requirement.

means of divination being drawn from the breaking of eggs dashed with force on a board. Whole days and hundreds of eggs are sometimes expended before the required sign is obtained. Like most savage denizens of the hills they have certain groves and peaks to which, as the residence of deities and demons, they pay more than ordinary respect, and every village, as a rule, has its sacred grove from which is taken the wood used for sacrificial and funeral ceremonies, and which it is profanation to use for any other purpose. Here, however, as elsewhere, auri sacra fames exercises its own religious influence, and we have recently heard of village communities being not unwilling to part with their

sacred groves for a consideration.

Law suits were formerly decided in a manner which, were it practised amongst ourselves, would put a stop to a good deal of litigation. Plaintiff and defendant either in person or through their attornies, appeared on the margin of a deep pool into which they dived, whichever of the representatives of the parties, succeeded in remaining longer than the other under water was adjudged to be the successful claimant. Here in truth longwindedness had a merit which it cannot always claim in our own courts. This mode of decision, however, has been long put a stop to in consequence of a case which occurred about five or six and twenty years ago, when both parties to a suit remained under water too long and neither came up alive. As a substitute gold and silver are thrown into a vessel together; into this a man appointed for the purpose, dips his head and according as he brings up gold or silver in his mouth the suit is decided.

The Kassiah hills generally are divided into a number of petty chieftain-ships with more or less independent powers. All of them are to a certain extent in defined relation with, and, either expressed or understood, dependence on, the British Government. All of them are possessed of a certain absolute power in relation to their own subjects. Whilst, on the other hand, in their relations as separate powers with one another, they are entirely subordinate to the British Government. independent Chiefs are under an engagement not to wage war with any other chief, but to submit their disputes to the paramount power, which on its side is bound to adjust their disputes and to protect them if attacked; but they are practically possessed of absolute power over the lives and property of their own people, and in these relations the British Government professes to exercise no more than a moral influence. The less independent chiefs, though the power of life and death is left in their hands, are (under express agreement) removable for misconduct in

their dealings either with Government or with their own people, and this power of removal has, we believe, been exercised, at least in one case within the last few years on complaint of misgovernment and oppression. In the case of such removal a successor, a member of the ruling family, is elected by the suffrages of the people, the election being confirmed by Government. Separate villages have each their head man and council of elders, in most cases hereditary offices under the ultimate control of the Raja. There are not less than from twenty to twenty-five of these Rajaships in the Kassiah hills exclusive of the Jynteah portion of these hills, which, as well under its former rulers as since it became a part of the British possessions, has

been administered on a different system.

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The ancient territory of Jynteah embraced a considerable tract of plain country north of the river Soormah extending from a few miles east of Sylhet to Cachar, and the whole of the hill country stretching north and, for some distance, northeast to the valley of Assam. About twenty-six years ago the then Raja, who was a semi-barbarian, having persisted in the practice of human sacrifice from which he had been warned to desist, was deprived of his authority and removed from his capital Jynteahpoor, a small pension being assigned by Government for his support. He might possibly have been allowed to retain possession of his hill territories, but in these his personal authority was fixed on a not very firm basis, and the revenue to be derived from them was not such as to enable him to support any amount of dignity. These then were also taken possession of by Government, the plains of Jynteah being added to and absorbed in the district of Sylhet, the hill portion being at the same time placed under the authority of the then Political Agent in the Kassiah Hills. Little or no trouble, so far as we can gather, was experienced in assuming control of these hills; nor was any general dissatisfaction at the assumption either expressed or felt. Care was taken to administer the country according to old established custom, and for many years no dislike to our rule was in any way evinced.

We will now give a brief sketch of what may be called the

Jynteah Hill constitution.

The country was divided into twelve circles of villages, each circle being administered by separate officials. At the head of each was an officer called a Dulloye, who was elected from some particular tribe or family by universal suffrage. Once elected his office lasted for life or during the pleasure of the Raja. He had the power of deciding certain cases both civil and criminal

without appeal, but others of importance were referred to the Raja and his council. The Dulloye was assisted by an officer called Pathor, who was generally elected, but was in other cases nominated by the Dulloyes. His function was to act as a deputy of the Dulloye. Besides these there were certain ministerial officers and a council of elders, in most cases appointed by the Dullove but sometimes hereditary. The powers of this council varied in the several circles. In some cases they were, mere advisers, in others they exercised at least the power of putting a veto on measures proposed by the Dulloye. All these were nominally at least, subordinate to the Raja, whose authority was acknowledged by an annual tribute of goats from each Dulloyeship, and he held moreover certain lands for which labourers was supplied from the villages. But the Rajah's suzerainty, though thus far acknowledged, was less real than nominal, and the several tribes were at constant feud with one another, settling their own disputes without much reference to their common head.

This was the state of things when the British Government took possession of the Jynteah Hills, and no material change was made in their administration. Beyond checking the petty warfare between the several tribes and villages, as little interference as possible was exercised. One or two small military posts were established, and these were for many years sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended. The usual annual tribute, which had been made in acknowledgment of the authority of the Rajah, was punctually brought to the representatives of the Government at Cherr Poonjee, and we have heard, but we know not how far the report was true, that a promise was given to the inhabitants that, provided they remained quiet, no

taxation should be imposed on them.

Gradually a change began to be made in this policy which, as far as we know, had worked very well. First, a thannah was established at Jowie, one of the largest and most independent villages in the Jynteah country. This was, very distasteful to the inhabitants and probably sowed the first seeds of discontent. Then in 1859-60 came the imposition of a house tax. This caused an outbreak, which was however quelled without much difficulty, but the people then declared that they would submit to no further taxation. Consequent on this outbreak came the enforcement of the Arms Act, and, to add to the inevitable bitterness which was attendant on the confiscation, their bows and arrows and shields were collected and burned in great numbers before their eyes. This was looked upon as an inten-

tional and additional offence, though certainly no insult was intended. It will easily be understood that the imposition of the income tax following closely on the still unpalatable house tax was not calculated to have a very soothing effect; but other causes were at the same time working and adding to the general dissatisfaction; amongst these we may instance a change in the appointment of the Dulloyes and other officers which limited their tenure of office to three years: but there were still stronger influences than this.

We have spoken of the reason which led to the removal of the Raja of Jynteah, namely, his persistence in human sacrifices. The worship of Kalee which was thus pursued with such extreme fanaticism in the plain country had to a certain degree spread into the Hills, and a spurious Hindooism had been grafted on to the original demon worship of the Kassiahs, resulting in a medley of superstitions, unknown in the other parts of the Kassiah Hills. To a certain degree caste observances were introduced, beef and other articles of food forbidden by the Hindoo religion became proscribed, and groves, rocks and streams, which a semi-religious, semi-poetical sentiment had peopled with unknown spiritual beings, were converted into the abodes or the

actual personifications of the gloomy Mahadeo.

And now a time had come when, as they imagined, not only their political immunities but their religious rites were to be interfered with. It is probably well known that for many years past a Christian Mission has been working quietly but steadily in these hills, and we believe that more has been done here, more practical results have been obtained with limited means than in almost any part of India. But even this, unmixed good as it really is, has seemed to have its temporal Many of the inhabitants of Jowie and other indrawbacks. fluential Jynteah villages became converts and, refusing to be bound by the ancient superstition, fished in forbidden waters, cut down trees in so-called sacred groves and cultivated lands which had hitherto been devoted to deities and demons. All this might have been overlooked, there was no personal hostility to the Christians, no opposition to Christianity so long as it remained a passive agent; and probably they thought that the deities and demons were capable of looking after their own affairs; but when the Kassiah Darogah of Jowie interfered with one of their most solemn religious rites, when, as we understand, they were told by the converts that the solemnization of these rites would no longer be allowed, then the obstinate Jynteah spirit showed itself and the resistance, which had before been

only contemplated, was now resolved on.

No one isolated act has ever, we believe, been the cause of any political convulsion large or small, and we are far from main. taining that this last act of interference was the absolute cause of the outbreak; but it was the spark that fired the train, the last item in the scale which inclined the balance in the direction of rebellion when a modicum of judicious concession might have turned it the other way. It must be confessed that our old policy of non-interference had this much of evil in it that it left the people to a great extent unacquainted with our power, and they no doubt entertained the conviction that they should be able by resistance at least to induce us to leave them alone altogether. There seems little reason to doubt that they were under the impression that the local corps which had been so long stationed in the hills was the only available force of the British Government: and simultaneously with the introduction of the income tax came a large reduction in this regiment, without any corresponding increase from any other source. The conclusion drawn was a natural They were little inclined to submit to what they held to be unjustifiable oppression, more especially at a time when as they supposed the Government had less power than ever of enforcing

These were in our opinion the chief motives of the outbreak. We could perhaps have entered into them at greater length and with more particularity, but time and space forbid it. We believe that Government Officers are now employed in an enquiry, the results of which will probably eventually become known to the public; and it may be that other causes besides those we have spoken of will be found to have been at work.

Great impatience has from time to time been expressed at what has been considered the inaction of Government, and at the slow length to which the campaigns in these hills have been drawn out. But those who have never had experience of warfare on our Eastern and North-Eastern Frontiers can have no idea of the sort of difficulties that have to be contended with. The brilliant operations of our Chamberlains and Lumsdens are over and over again repeated, and the martial, well armed Wazeerees and other warlike tribes of the North-West are brought into comparison with the half-clad savages with whom we have to deal in our Eastern Hills: but here it is the country, the climate, the want of means and appliances that have thrown difficulties in our way. The people of Jynteah opposed to our forces in the open country would have been a contemptible enemy, and no one knew this better than themselves; but in

their own fastnesses they were often able to evade troops unused to hill warfare, and by such evasion to protract operations. one who has not had experience of it can understand the embarrassments which arise from the want of any other than coolie carriage; no one who has not seen a rainy season in the Kassiah and Jynteah Hills can form an idea of the difficulties which are experienced in such a country without roads and without All these difficulties have been overcome, the people have learned that the military resources of Government are not limited to one regiment; they have seen that guns can be brought into, and made serviceable in, what they believed to be, their inaccessible hills; they have seen in the introduction of the Kassiah Police that we know how to use their countrymen for something else than coolies, and that we can at the same time provide other means of carriage to take the place of coolies; they have fully proved moreover, what indeed they knew tolerably well before, that our troops are more than a match for them if they can only get at them.

Another of our small wars is over, and we hope that its historian may yet be found, for no doubt much that is interesting has to be told about it. We cannot be the chroniclers, for even had we the materials, it would far exceed the limits of an article such as this is intended to be. The Jynteah people have been taught a very severe lesson, one which they will not easily forget:

' Will be the final goal of ill'

Now is the time for civilization to step in, for Christianizing influences to commence their work. We hold that there is no more propitious field for humanizing efforts than the fallow ground presented by our hill tribes. Every hill top and valley and grove is an altar to an 'unknown God' whom it is our mission to declare unto them. The people are willing to learn, are even craving for instruction. Government has been compelled to teach them this lesson of severity-let it now do its part in teaching them a lesson of love. Instruments will not be wanting if Government will but do its part. The Kassiahs have many admirable qualities and much intelligence which need only education and developement; and we confidently look forward to a time when these hills partially colonized by Englishmen, and with their native inhabitants enlightened and humanized will be a source of strength instead, as of late, of weakness to the British Government.

- ART. V. 1.—Copy of Correspondence relating to the introduction of the Chinchona Plant into India and to proceedings connected with its cultivation from March, 1852 to 1863. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 20th March, 1863.
- 2. Copy of all Correspondence not hitherto laid upon the Table relating to the Pier and Harbour of Sedashegar and roads leading thereto. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 3rd March, 1863.

WE have been somewhat puzzled how to conform to the usual practice of placing at the head of this article the name of a book whose contents we are supposed to review. We have succeeded, we believe, tolerably well, as we may have occasion to quote a few facts from the publications we have designated; but we may as well candidly state at once that our object in the ensuing paper is to describe, chiefly from personal recollection, a tract of Southern India to which European enterprize is giving

daily increasing interest and importance.

The tract to which we have given the name of Southern Ghâts is the mountain chain extending from the frontier of the Portuguese territory of Goa to Cape Comorin. It comprises the Province of Canara Balaghât (or Canara above the Ghâts). It forms the eastern boundary of South Canara, of the District of Malabar, and of the Kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore. includes the small principality of Coorg, the District of Waynaad, now of Coffee-bearing celebrity, and the well known Sanatarium of the Neelgherry mountains; and falls abruptly into the sandy plain of the sea shore at the Southern extremity of India. Throughout the length of this tract, which measures in a straight line about 500 English miles, the characteristic features of the mountain chain vary but slightly. Exposed to the long continued rains and violent storms of the South-West Monsoon the peaks on the western side are abrupt and precipitous, and fall like granite ramparts into the jungle below, while on the eastern side they are clothed with fresh greensward and slope gradually into the forest which creeps up their sides. Wherever the detritus of the rocks has formed a sufficient resting place to resist the action of the torrents, the force of tropical vegetation has been able to overcome the violence of the winds, and wherever there

is a moderate depth of soil there is a dense jungle except on the very highest peaks and plateaux. Over these the winds both of the South-West and of the North-East Monsoon sweep with intense violence, and here the forest vegetation seeks the shelter and follows the waving outline of the ravines, while a rough turf-sward clothes the undulation. Elsewhere throughout the mountain range all is either thick jungle or precipitous rock.

But although thus unvarying in general characteristics, there are many variations arising from the distance of the mountain chain from the sea and from the altitude of the mountains themselves which seriously affect the salubrity of the climate and the character of the vegetation. At the northern extremity the mountains encroach upon the sea and a spur thrown from them forms the bay and harbour of Sedashaghur, now rising into importance as a cotton emporium. Farther south, as at Candapore, and many other places, they recede sufficiently to allow their rivers to form rich alluvial deltas between the chain and the coast. Opposite to Mangalore they form a semi-circular amphitheatre, in the arena of which the extensive ruins of an ancient city lie almost unexplored, owing to the deadly climate which now prevails. And thus with a waving line from north to south they bound the narrow districts of Canara and Malabar and the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore, separating them by so distinct a margin from the rest of the Madras Presidency, and forming a country so entirely different in people, language and climate that the western coast Officers almost form a distinct branch of the Madras Civil Service.

It is difficult to say what is the average height of this chain. The Ghâts or mountain roads which now intersect it do so at elevations varying from two to four thousand feet, while the peaks which overhang them rise to six thousand and in one The greatest elevation is instance to eight thousand feet. attained by Doddabett the highest point of the Neelgherries, and not far from it is the greatest depression, where the Palghât Gap affords a wide passage through the chain with an ascent of a little more than a thousand feet. The mountains lose nothing of their altitude as they approach their termination. The Augustia Peak near the southern extremity is 6,000 feet high, and the range throughout Travancore is as lofty as in Canara, but it is otherwise with regard to the breadth of the plateau; this narrows gradually towards the south. The table land of Mysore has an elevation of from two to three thousand feet, and into this the Ghâts on their Eastern slopes gradually subside. But south of the Neelgherries and especially south of the Palghat Gap they form a steep rampart between the ancient kingdoms of

Madura and Travancore, and fall with almost equal abruptness on their eastern and western sides; till between Tinnivelly and the Nanjenáad of Travancore they become a narrow serrated ridge four thousand feet in height, from which the sun is seen to rise from the Bay of Bengal and set in the Indian Ocean.

At the extreme point some large masses are detached from the main chain and stand alone surrounded by plains of finely sifted sand, heaped up by the force of the south-westerly gales. The interruption to the rampart which here takes place is supplied by an artificial stone wall or curtain, constructed across the plains intervening between the mountain masses, and carried finally into the surfat Cape Comorin. This wall forms the southern lines of Travancore, so often mentioned in the military histories of the last century, through which the jealously guarded Arambooly Gate formed the only entrance into that secluded kingdom.

Within the last thirty years this tract of country has undergone considerable changes, and has exhibited in a marked manner the progressive effects of British sway. Within this period the long line of mountains has become dotted over with the houses of British settlers, its jungles have in many parts given place to the estate of the Coffee-planter, more than one Sanatarium has risen into importance, and numerous passes constructed on scientific principles have become the scenes of a busy and increasing commerce.

At the commencement of the period to which we have alluded, Mysore was in a disorganized state, and had only just passed, in consequence of this disorganization, under British rule; Coorg was still a mountain stronghold governed by a cruel and bloodthirsty madman; along the two sides of the mountain chain, in British possessions as well as in those of the Native powers, monopolies jealously guarded repressed intercourse, and peopled the defiles with smugglers and robbers, and not a single road practicable to wheeled carriages pierced the mountain barrier; but within this period a vast change has taken place. At its commencement Mysore was rescued from the hands of the Rajah, who after squandering the treasure which had accumulated under the virtuous administrations of the Minister Poorneah, drove his people into rebellion by his exactions, and then hanged them thick as acorns on the trees of Nugger. From his rule the country passed under the administration of the able statesman Sir Mark Cubbon, whose loss India has lately mourned. principality of Coorg was soon afterwards absorbed into the British Empire and committed to the same management. abolition of several of the most obstructive monopolies gave a stimulus to agriculture and commerce, and the advantage of wellconstructed roads was at last conceded by our rulers.

It has been our lot to be placed in a position to watch the progress of improvement in this tract of country and to become familiar with nearly all its Passes in their unimproved and im-The value of our mountain tracts not only as proved condition. a source of wealth to the settler but as a source of strength to the Empire is daily more fully recognized. The Coffee-trade of Southern India is already of great extent. On the Cotton trade the state of the Passes has at the present time an important bearing, and two other articles of commerce, Tea and Quinine, must shortly rise into importance. Sir Charles Trevelyan well remarked, when Governor of Madras, in one of his interesting Minutes that—"It was reserved for the Anglo-Saxon period to 'disclose the use that may be made of these mountain regions; 'they now form an important element in our system." We have thought therefore that a few records of the early stage of this mountain colonization may not be uninteresting to our

To state how and where the principal lines of communication in a country were formed will generally be to follow the march of improvement in that country, and it is so in the present instance. When we first visited the Southern Ghâts just thirty years ago the principal Pass through the chain was the Bisly Ghât, forming the communication between Bangalore and the capital of Canara, Mangalore; and from the magnificent scenery of this Pass our first impressions of mountain grandeur were The change from the flat monotony of the Carnatic received. and the treeless undulations of Mysore to the gigantic forests and rocky precipices of the Ghâts produces sensations not easily effaced, especially when the traveller is new to India, and looks around him with all the interest which attaches to a country likely to be the home of many years and the scene of his first public labours. The road, if so it could be called, had been slightly repaired by the Pioneers, but only by repairing the native track which generally followed the bed of a torrent; and the traces of civilization were few indeed. And yet the Province of Canara had then been in British possession for 30 years, and the neighbouring Province of Malabar for nearly forty years. At this time not a wheeled carriage could enter the Province of Canara! Whether the natural facilities of the Palghât Gap allowed of their entrance into Malabar, we are not sure; but we know that the communication was so imperfect and the amount of traffic so small, that then, and for many years afterwards, travellers were always attended by peons armed with firelock to protect them from the numerous Elephants which infested th Pass. It is strange, but it is a fact, that during this first thirtye years of British possession so small was the appreciation at head quarters of the value of public works, that trade had to force its own way through mountain defiles to the coast, and even there not a single jetty gave its aid, not a single crane displayed the advantages of mechanical science, not a single lighthouse guided the ship to its port.

It is the progress of internal communication in the next thirty years which we have proposed to make the subject of our present article; and to show how great has been the change effected within that period, we may here mention that having first visited the western coast by the Pass above described, where even the palanquin had often to be abandoned to be lifted over masses of rock or up the precipitous banks of the torrents, we quitted it at the close of the period in a first-class railway carriage, at a steady rate of thirty-five miles an hour. It is strange to look back over the intervening space, to trace the stages by which so great a contrast was brought about and thus to mark the progress of a single generation. Within that period twelve good roads were constructed through the mountains into Canara alone, and several into Malabar; finally the railway was completed and improve-

ment is now advancing with accelerated steps.

It would be gratifying if it could be shown that an enlightened policy had given the first stimulus to this march of improvement, but in the country which we are describing it originated in another cause, namely a sense of dan-When the tranquil state of Mysore under British management encouraged the industry of the people, a surplus was created, which naturally sought an outlet through the mountains to the sea; but it had to force its way by mountain paths and torrent beds on half laden bullocks to the coast. The local authorities who witnessed the struggles of the trade were anxious enough to open out the country, but the means at their disposal were trifling, and their representations to a distant Government met with little attention. in 1834 the want of communications was severely felt. Rajah of Coorg's insane cruelties and wanton insults compelled the Governor General Lord William Bentinck to resolve to deprive him of his kingdom and to declare war against him. natural strength of the country and the warlike character of the people of Coorg rendered the task of conquering this petty state far from an easy one. Although surrounded on all sides by British territory, the capital of this mountain stronghold occupied the crest of the Ghâts where they attain an elevation of four thousand five hundred feet, and the dense jungles and steep ravines offered most serious obstacles to the march of regular troops. Four separate columns each composed partly of English

and partly of Native troops were organized and ordered to enter the country simultaneously. But so impenetrable was the jungle that with the aid of a few stockades the hardy mountaineers were able to hold their invaders in check. The column from the was repulsed at the Buckshie stockade. The western column from Mangalore was driven back to the coast. The south-western column from Cannanore was checked in the pass of the Stoney River, a name sufficiently indicative of the nature of the road. The south-eastern column which entered by Fraserpett had only a slight skirmish with the enemy and was met by overtures of peace from the affrighted Rajah before the more difficult country had been entered. Had not the Rajah, to the disgust of his devoted subjects, surrendered his country and person, it must have cost many a life and a protracted war before the conquest could have been achieved, for the monsoon was close at hand during which no troops could have

kept the field.

It would have been a measure of only ordinary precaution had our rulers taken warning from experience and provided against the recurrence of such difficulties, nor was an example wanting. To the north of Coorg on a plateau above the Ghâts is a tract of country called Bollama formerly inhabited by a turbulent race of people. After the conquest of Mysore the people broke out into insurrection, but they were under the vigorous rule of Sir Arthur Wellesley who immediately cut a military road through the country which has ever since remained undisturbed; but no such precaution was taken in regard to Coorg. In 1837 when the country had been in our possession for about three years, an insurrection broke out in Lower Coorg, and the force sent to quell it found itself opposed by the same difficulties as had met the first invading force; from a want of roads and carriage it was unable to penetrate the country. The absence of a common purpose between the Upper and Lower Coorgs alone saved the Government from serious and costly disaster. The Upper Coorgs after some wavering, sided with the Government, and the ease with which they suppressed the rebellion showed to those who witnessed it how serious would have been the resistance of a people so accomplished in mountain warfare.

This second warning was not neglected, the force sent into the country on this occasion was accompanied by a young Engineer of more than common talent and energy. Lieutenant Fast undertook to construct a carriage-road through the mountains in a line from Mysore to the coast. Lord Elpinstone was then Governor of Madras and no one more thoroughly apprecia-

ted the value of internal communications. Taking advantage of the emergency to set aside the restrictive rules which deprived the minor presidencies of all freedom of action, orders were issued to carry on the work with all practicable speed, and if possible, to open the road before the ensuing rains. With such full powers Lieutenant Fast and his colleagues carried on the work with vigor, and the Sampajee Ghât connecting Mysore with Mangalore through Mercara the capital of Coorg, the first road carried through the Southern Ghâts on scientific principles forms a lasting monument to the professional skill of this young Officer.

Those who saw this noble work when such works were new, and observed the intelligent eye and animated face of the young Engineer by whom it was planned and executed augured a bright career for one who so early in his service had done so much; but Lieutenant Fast's career was a short one. There is a more formidable enemy to be encountered in Indian Engineering than the granite precipice or the densest jungle; it is the deadly To this Lieutenant Fast fever which lurks in the ravines. fell a victim when carrying out another public work under Lord Elphinstone's orders, and the Madras Corps of Engineers lost one who promised to rank high even among its De Harilands and Cottons. Lord Elphinstone directed that a tablet to Lieutenant Fast's memory should be erected at the head of the Sampajee A more lasting monument would have been assigned by directing that the Ghât itself should bear his name and in all official papers be called Fast's Ghât.

Although constructed for military purposes, Lord Elphinstone was fully alive to the commercial advantages of this road. It is true that if selected as a commercial line, the choice would have been a mistake, for many a line of far greater importance in this respect remained unimproved. The portion of Mysore from which it started was thinly peopled. The Coorgs were unacquainted with commerce having been jealously debarred from it by their Rajah, and the line which the road followed was for many a mile through dense jungle. Every tree which when felled would fall across the road and form a barrier, had, for military reasons, to be removed, and this implied a clearing of from 60 to 100 feet on the slopes of the mountains and this for continuous miles, for not a single clearing for cultivation then existed. But even with these disadvantages the outlay as a money speculation has proved a great success. Within a short period the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, while the easy access to a market gave a stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg, and boundaries long neglected and almost obsolete began to be carefully renewed, and attested the increased value of the land, and at the present day extensive Coffee plantations line both sides of the road. Even as early as 1851, when the commission on public works was pursuing its enquiries, the Collector of Canara was able to prove that the cost of the Sampajee Ghât had been

amply repaid.

To Lieutenant Fast then the honor rightly belongs of having been the chief pioneer in opening out the valuable tract of the Southern Ghâts, of having made them the scene of an active commerce and the site of a lucrative culture. From the successful opening of the Sampajee Ghât a steady progress in road making has followed. The Manjerabad Ghât and the Agombay Ghât were planned and executed by Captain (now Colonel) Green and subsequently a whole series of passes were traced and in a great measure carried out by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Walker. The progress was slow, it is true, and the labour extended over a period of many years, and at the present day, when even a lavish expenditure on public works is recognized as sound wisdom, it is almost with incredulity that one recalls the efforts necessary on part the of local officers to obtain from distant rulers the means of pouring a full tide of wealth into the public treasury. But at the same time it may not be unwise to look back to the expenditure of those days and the effect produced by it, at a time when there appears a danger of running into the opposite extreme.

We find in an official report from the Collector of Canara the following table, which epitomizes the result of mountain road-making in its early stages up to 1852, and which may come to be looked upon as a curiosity in future years if the cost of public works in India should continue to increase at its present rate.

Name of The Ghât	Length in miles.	When	Cost Rupees.	
Sampajee	66	1838		Bridged throughout.
Agombay	5	1838		Bridged.
Manjerabad	29	1843	84,356	Temporary Timber Bridges.
Daivamunnay	78	1843	78,644	Bridged.
Arbyle	$9\frac{1}{2}$	1843	9,351	Temporary Bridges.
Neelcoond	8	1843	7,500	"
Cooloor	31	1846	9,700	11

In commenting upon this account the Collector remarked 'Recent experience has proved the following facts: That at the 'rate of about £40 per mile a trace can be made on scientific 'principles and opened to the extent of five or six feet, being 'sufficient to allow of loaded bullocks using it. When so made 'the traces are immediately used in supercession of the old Ghâts,

which are the beds of the mountain torrents. When so traced the native road-superintendents of the District are competent to convert them into good cart roads at about 1,000 Rupees or £100 per mile. These can be afterwards bridged at a very cheap rate with timber bridges on stone piers calculated to last

'for twenty or thirty years."

It was on this plan that it was sought to open the country by a series of cheap works into which the macadamized road or the railroad should be engrafted. The result of the system as far as it had been carried in 1852 was carefully analysed by the Public Works Commission, and it was declared by them that 'the Go'vernment had received a direct return on the capital expended on these roads of  $10\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in the form of Land Revenue and of 10 per cent. in the form of Salt Revenue being a total net profit of  $20\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the outlay clear of all charges.'

Circumstances in India have so greatly changed since Lord Dalhousie inaugurated the railway system and appointed a Commission in each presidency to investigate the state of the Public Works Department, and since in his newly annexed territories he gave examples of the manner, in which the conquering and civilized power should inaugurate its sway, that the above facts have little more than an historical interest as an episode in the history of Indian inland communications. But we are persuaded that throughout a large portion of India and for many years to come a series of cheap roads such as were then constructed and can be executed by the indigenous labour and skill of the country under a certain degree of scientific direction will be found much more efficacious than the costly railway and even the cheaper tramway; and be believe that in all parts of India, even where the railway and the tram are needed to carry off the great flood of commerce, they should not supersede and place in abeyance these humble works, but both should form parts of one well-considered system.

After a long experience of mountain road-making in the Southern Ghâts we may here state that the general result of our observation is that the road best calculated to develope the resources of the Ghâts, that is to say the one sufficient for the wants of existing commerce, and combining facility of construction with economy of expenditure is one having a gradient varying from one in sixteen to one in thirty, and a breadth varying from fifteen to eighteen feet. A road in which these variations are allowed may appear a very rude work to the English engineer accustomed to require perfection of finish almost without reference to cost, but it supplies all the wants of the trade as it now exists, and will do so for many years to come; and when

skilled labour and scientific superintendence are as scarce as they are at present in India they should be applied to a few of the most important lines, while rapidity and cheapness of construction should be the general rule. Several circumstances should be kept in view. The most important of all is that the substitution of wheeled carriage for the pack bullock is beyond all calculation a greater advance in intercommunication than the change from the rude country cart to the railway car. A second is that in the country we have described nearly the whole of the trade is down and not up the Ghâts; that what is brought down is for the most part bulky raw produce, and what is taken up consists chiefly of manufactured goods. The return carriage half laden is therefore more than sufficient for the upward traffic. We are satisfied from long experience that an unequal gradient with an occasional steep pull of one in sixteen is preferable to a protracted and uniform pull of say one in thirty. To many engineers a zigzag is hateful and they will take a long sweep at a considerable cost to avoid it; but we do not hesitate to own a liking to an occasional zigzag. Of course if descent and progress towards the coast can be combined and a zigzag avoided, so much the better, but where the top and bottom of the Ghât are given points, we do not see the great advantage of the long sweep over a well made zigzag. If the turns are made at a dead level the occasional pause and a shift of the harness afford great relief With regard to the breadth of the Ghât, when to the cattle. it is remembered that on the scarp of a hill by doubling the breadth of the road you quadruple the cost, that is, that you can make four miles of Ghât, 15 feet in width for the same cost as one mile 30 feet in width, the importance of economy in this respect will be appreciated.

We have observed at the beginning of this article that the opening out of the Southern Ghâts by these passes had had a material influence as well on the cultivation of Coffee, as on the transport of Cotton. We shall now turn aside to recall a few facts concerning the progress of Coffee-cultivation in Southern India and especially on the Ghâts; and afterwards take a glance at a portion of our tract which is the scene of the Cotton trade, and on that account has recutly occupied a good deal of the attention of the public press of India. When the kingdom of Mysore was brought under British management Coffee-cultivation was not unknown, but it was repressed by monopoly. We have not learnt when the plant was first introduced, nor have we at hand any statistics of its cultivation at this early period. The monopoly had become the property of an English firm at Madras, and the Coffee was chiefly exported from the Eastern Coast. But as soon

as the period had elapsed for which the monopoly had been rented, the strong representation of the Superintendent of the Nugger Division (Mr. Hudleston Stokes) led the Commissioner to throw open the trade and substitute an excise on the Coffee. Coffee land was exempted from assessment and a duty of eight annas (or one shilling) per maund was demanded on the removal of the produce. This was a heavy duty, but even under it the spread of the cultivation was steady. Of late years the duty has been reduced to four annas per maund, and the cultivation has rapidly increased.

Since the removal of the monopoly the largest proportion of the produce has sought the ports of the western coast, and the exports from Canara, being entirely the produce of Mysore and Coorg, afford a faithful indication of the growth of the trade in later years. We find that whereas the quantity exported in 1850-51 amounted to 1,643,713 lbs. valued at Rs. 148,197, (or £14,800) it rose in 1860-61 to 6,194,686 lbs. valued at Rs. 1,152,137 (or £115,200). If we examime the trade tables down to 1860-1 we see it increasing in the last two years by £40,000 and £30,000 a year. But even this is not the whole increase of Coffee cultivation in Mysore. A portion of the produce still finds its way to the port of Madras; and the exports from Madras increased in the last two years of the series about £14,000 and £44,000 respectively giving a total increase in two years of £128,000 in the value of this trade.

The principle site of the Coffee trade of Mysore is the base of the Bababoodan mountain in the neighbourhood of the town of Chie Magalore; the Bababoodan peak rises from the higher tableland of Mysore and its lower slopes afford a soil and enjoy a climate peculiarly adapted to the growth of Coffee. duce from this site, known as Cannans Mysore, bears the highest price in the London market. When planting was commenced in this region, labour was abundant, and one anna, or a penny half penny per day, was the common rate of wages. The cultivation is not confined to the English planter but is extensively curried on by the native landowners, and of late years some of the native Christians of Canara have taken up land in Mysore for this purpose. A new Ghât was traced with the express view of aiding this trade and is known as the Coffee Ghât and although still in a very incomplete state owing to Lord Canning's restrictive order, which arrested the progress of all public works in the Madras Presidency, it is much used by traders. At the fort of Mangalore, at which this road, as well as those of Agombay, Manjerabad and Sampajee, converge, in common with several other passes which still remain in their natural state, the Coffee-trade now gives

employment to a large portion of the population, and steam machinery has been called in to aid the labour of man.

The tract of the Southern Ghâts embraced within the passes above named may be estimated as extending about 150 miles from the Agombay Ghât to Mercara, and to this region the Coffee cultivation of the Carara Ghâts may be considered as at present limited although partial experiments in North Canara and other places give every encouragement to the prospect of its extension over a far wider area.

While thus the cultivation was extending in Mysore the Talook of Malabar became the scene of busy English enter-This tract of country is situated eastward of Tellichery occupying a plateau intermediate between the low country and the higher table land of the Neelgherries. In this portion of the range the cultivation is entirely owing to English energy, and has been carried on under many disadvantages with regard to the supply of labour and difficulty of communication, and we are inclined to believe with as little advantage of soil and climate as in any place where the cultivation had been tried. But English energy has carried this little colony ahead in the race, and in ten years the exports have risen from £13,500, to £137,700, and there is every reason to believe that in two or three years from the date of our last return the yield will be increased by The estates are now from 55 to 65 in number. By the latest accounts which we have been able to procure there are in the estates held by Europeans 4880 acres in bearing, and 2500 planted but not in full bearing. The estates in the possession of Natives are returned at 4000 acres.

The produce of Waynaad is chiefly exported from Tellicherry, one of the oldest possessions of the East India Company on the Malabar Coast. From this port the communication with the interior is said to be in a very imperfect state and forms the subject of loud complaints on the part of the English settlers. In the earlier period of British occupation the Waynaad was a wild and turbulent district, and a small local force called the Waynaad Rangers under an English Officer had its head quarters at Manantoddy, and the pass between Mysore and Sultan's battery was commanded by this detachment and kept in partial repair. The protection afforded by this force and the comparative facilities for trade which the pass afforded led to the first establishment of this now important cultivation; but the action of Government has by no means kept pace with the wants of the planter.

It has been unfortunate for the interests of this trade that the Financial Minister, Mr. Wilson, while desirous, and most justly so, of encouraging the settlement of English planters and the

application of English capital to the soil of India, was led to act in this matter before he had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the real wants of the country. Until Mr. Wilson brought forward his budget, an export duty of 3 per cent. was levied on Coffee. This duty Mr. Wilson swept away with the avowed object of encouraging production. But the great want of the Coffee planter was not a pecuniary encouragement but the construction of those lines of communication which the exhaustion of the Indian treasury and Lord Canning's restrictive order had suspended. The trade required no such encouragement as an exemption from duties paid by other products of the country. We have seen it flourishing in Mysore with an excise of four annas (6d.) per maund, and it would have been far more to the interest of the planter to have had the duty still levied, the amount being applied to the construction of roads, than it has been to have the duty remitted and the roads unmade. The Coffee exports of Madras amount to £320,000, and 3 per cent. on this amounts to £9,600. Had this amount been levied and applied to improving the communications through the Coffee country, it would have been more than saved to the planter on the cost of transport, and every year would have seen fresh tracts of soil made accessible to his enterprize. We have shown above that for little more than £100 a mile roads can be, and have been, constructed so as to allow of the substitution of wheeled carriage for pack-bullocks, and the fund above specified would allow of the addition of 90 miles of road every year to the communications of the country. Even at this late date the planters would do well to petition the Government that this duty be levied at the seaports as a turnpike toll and formed into a fund for the construction and repair of the roads.

From Waynaad the Coffee cultivation has crept up the sides of the Neelgherries to the very verge of the region of frost. The greater the elevation at which it is grown the heavier appears the berry of the coffee and the finer its flavour. About six thousand feet is the greatest height at which it is now successfully

cultivated.

We have not room nor is this the place to describe either the process of Coffee cultivation or the profits on capital to be expected from it, but that with proper management and with the present prices it is abundantly remunerative there is now no manner of doubt. We have it on good authority that a planter, who gets less than half a ton of Coffee per acre from the lands of Waynáad has himself and not his land to blame. We have heard of a yield of 40 tons of Coffee from a plantation of 50 acres on the Neelgherries, and we have heard of exceptional cases in which

three tons have been gathered from a single acre. The Madras cultivator enjoys unusual advantages in comparison with other countries. "The tax paid in Ceylon for the supply of labour alone would amount in the case of employing 200 men (the generally desired number by rough calculation) on an estate of 200 acres, (generally considered the most advantageous size) to £75 annually."\* This tax is, we understand, one self-imposed by the planters of Ceylon for the establishment of an agency for the encouragement of immigration, and has to be superadded to the enhanced wages which it is necessary to offer to the coolies to tempt them from their native country. But it needs no statistics to show that if coolies can be profitably transported to Ceylon, and the West Indies, much more can they be advantageously enployed in their own country, if the soil is not of far inferior quality, which, we believe, is by no means the case.

With regard to the future prospects of the Coffee cultivation of the Southern Ghâts we shall only observe that, if it is not limited by the extent of the available land, there appears to be no assignable limit to its extension. The whole exports of Coffee from the Madras Presidency amount at present to £324,000 while Ceylon exports to the value of a million and a half, and Brazil to the value of five millions with all the cost of slave labour or of free labour imported from Germany. And the market is at the same time rapidly extending, owing in a great degree to the increased consumption of Coffee by the labouring classes of England, as well as to the rapid extension of our

colonial empire.

We shall endeavour before we close this article when we have completed our survey of the Southern Ghâts to form some estimate of the area still available for cultivation; but we now proceed to view our mountain passes as the channels of another branch of commerce, the Cotton trade of Southern India.

Three small principalities, Soopa, Sonda and Bilghi occupied the jungly table land of the Southern Ghâts, extending from the Goa frontier to the border of Mysore near Siddapoor being a distance of 80 miles in a straight line. Having been absorbed by the arms of Hyder Ali and Tippoo into the kingdom of Mysore they passed after the fall of Seringapatam into British possession, in common with the province of Canara, and are known by the name of Canara Balaghât, (or above the Ghâts). The country when first occupied was jungly, wild and unhealthy, but valuable for the rich gardens of pepper, cardamons and betelnut which occupy its deep wooded ravines, nourished by the

<sup>\*</sup> Report of Mr. Thomas, Assistant\_Collector of Malabar.

springs which the density of the jungle render perennial, and by the leaf manure which the jungle yields in abundance and which native gardeners well know how to value. The gardens occupied the upper and consequently the narrowest and most shaded part of the ravines, and below them a few terraced fields yielded rich crops of rice and sugar-cane. In those secluded farms the Haig Brahmins, their possessors, lived in clustered families; ignorant, suspicious and poor amid the richest crops that the bounty of nature ever yielded. The betel palms there grow so close together that the first gatherer after ascending one slender stem can pass round the whole garden by swinging from tree to tree. Up every stem the pepper vine is trained, and between them the cardamon is planted in alternate rows with the shadowy plantain. The latter alone fails to yield its fruit in this dense shade, and is planted only to be cut down and add to the decaying vegetable manure. But in full proportion to this bounty of nature had been the exactions of the tax-gatherer, and the moneylender, and the garden Ryets were an impoverished and indebted The rest of the country was almost uninterrupted jungle, abounding in game and thieves; for it was the safe retreat of bands of Pindaries and other lawless tribes from the more open Southern Mahratta country. So unhealthy was the country deemed that for many years it was considered to be unsuited for European residence and was only occasionally visited by a Revenue Officer addicted to sport. Even the annual jummabundy was entrusted to the native officials who hurried through their duty and returned to the coast with as little delay as possible.

Through this country there was from the first a very brisk trade carried on by Brinjeries in large camps between the Southern Mahratta country and the coast, and between the cultivators of the country and the large cities of the Decean, where the betel-nut and cardamons were chiefly consumed. Even the wheat of Oomrawutee, distant 500 miles, found its way to Canara to be exchanged for these spices. After a few years the Balaghat proved to be more healthy, and every cold season it was visited by the Collector and his Assistants, and the coldness of the climate and abundance of sport rendered this annual tour a time of great enjoyment. It was on one of these visits in 1832 that the Collector of Canara and his Assistant narrowly escaped with their lives during a riot raised in the town of Sirsi by the Nugger insurgent Boodda Bussapa. After standing a two days' seige from the Mussulman population excited to madness by the usual scheme of throwing a pig into the mosque, the timely arrival of troops from Honore

relieved them from their perilous position. From this time Sirsi, the capital town of the Balaghat, was furnished with a small detachment of troops and shortly afterwards one of the Sub-Collectors built a house there and made it his permanent

headquarters.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to select any portion of territory which should illustrate more distinctly the effect of one English official resident among the native population of India than the Balaghat of Canara. Secluded from the rest of the district by its peculiar position the Balaghat became the almost independent charge of the Sub-Collector to whom the people, grateful for his presence, paid willing obedience, while he, cognizant of all their wants, was able to lay them before the Government with influence and success. One of the first measures required was the suppression of robberies, committed by the large bands of Pindaries from the Mahratta country, which gave great insecurity to trade. This was effected by raising a body of 80 Military Police who patrolled the chief lines of commerce, and by obtaining permission for the merchants to pay their money into the Treasury of Bellary and other districts and travel with bills instead of cash. The effect of these measures was great and immediate, but a measure as

urgently required was the construction of roads.

By this time the Cotton trade of the Southern Mahratta country had risen to importance and thousands of bullocks yearly forced their way through the jungle down the steep Ghât of Neelcond to the inconvenient port of Compta, leaving a considerable portion of their burden on the bushes and bearing the rest in a damaged state to its destination. As early as 1835 sanction was obtained for a small outlay to improve the Ghât and road between Compta and Lusi and a large increase of trade was the immediate result. This was an important step but it was not till a late date that the construction of a pass calculated for wheeled carriage was thought an attainable object. But after the successful construction of the Ghât the practicability of such a work Sampajee moderate cost was put beyond question, and all that was required was to prove to our rulers that such a work would repay its cost, and to obtain their sanction for the outlay. The difficulty of this task will hardly appear credible to those whose knowledge of Indian Government is of recent date. But the object was obtained by the persevering efforts of one of the Sub-Collectors, who had held sway over and become attached to this territory. But it was only by providing himself with complete plans and estimates of the work, together with statistics of the trade, and armed with these proceeding to England, and personally boring the

Court of Directors, and when this failed proceeding to Manchester and enlisting the interest of influential men there and bringing them to bear upon the Court, that he at last obtained a dispatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras sanctioning the construction of a cart road by the Daivamunnay Ghât to aid the Cotton trade of North Canara.

The Daivamunnay Ghât was constructed in 1843 at an expense of 79,000 Rupees, and George Stephenson never in after life contemplated with more satisfaction the rapid passage of a railway train than those who had witnessed the early struggle of this trade watched the continuous line of carts slowly winding down the Ghât, and proving that at least one great step in civilization had been attained. But he, to whose persevering character the attainment of this object was chiefly due, only heard from a distance of the success of his exertions. On his return from England he was appointed to other duties and not long afterwards terminated his honorable and During one of his explorations of the Ghât useful career. he discovered the beautiful falls, second only to those of Gairsippa, which are known as the Lushington Falls; and it is our hope that they will always be thus called and so perpetuate the name of one of the most conscientious of public servants and most warm-hearted of friends whose memory is indissolubly connected with all our recollections of North Canara.

The Daivamunnay Ghât soon proved inadequate to the necessities of the trade which increased with great rapidity, and every exertion was made to open out new lines. The abolition of the land customs, in which the excise on pepper, cardamoms and betel was included, took place at this time and removed one great impediment from trade, and raised the Garden Ryots from a state of poverty to one of comfort and independence. The means at the disposal of the local authorities would allow of nothing more than practicable traces of Ghâts being made, and these were opened in quick succession. The Arbyle Ghât was constructed between Liddapoor and Compta with a branch to Ancola. The Mullamunnay Ghât connected the Mysore country with Honore and Compta, but still the Daivamunnay Ghât was over-crowded with cart and bullock traffic. To give further relief a trace which had been made on the old Neelcond line was opened out for bullock traffic; and thus four lines of Ghât converged on Compta and the trade was proportionably augmented.

But the port of Compta was obviously unsuited to be the emporium of a trade which had assumed these large dimensions and the trade itself was circuitous and expensive. The question

had long been asked whether a more commodious harbour could not be found, and now the question arose, was not the trade of sufficient importance to be self-dependent instead of tributary to Bombay? Why should not the goods be conveyed from a suitable harbour on the coast direct to England and China, and thus the cost of the voyage to Bombay and all the attendant charges at Bombay be saved, and shared between the grower and the manufacturer? Several attempts were made to direct the trade to the noble estuary of Suddery which lies close to Compta. But the Suddery itself was but an inland backwater with a dangerous and inconvenient bar, while a few miles to the north lay the Bay of Sedashagar formed by the promontory of Carwar Head protecting it from the south-west monsoon and apparently forming a safe and commodious har-To ascertain whether such was really the case, and if so to establish on the western coast, equi-distant from Bombay and Colombo, the emporium of a direct trade with the great marts of Europe and China appeared to the Collector of Canara to be the surest method of promoting the interests of the country.

With this view special application was made through the Madras Government for the services of Lieutenant Taylor, of the Bombay Navy, to report upon the capabilities of both Sedashagar Bay and Suddery and the result was a beautiful chart of the Bay of Sedashagar with the most favourable opinion of a thoroughly experienced hydrographer and sailor of its capabilities as a harbour of refuge and commercial emporium. Lieutenant Taylor's report was laid before the Government of Madras, and was by it forwarded to the Government of Bombay for its opinion. At Bombay the project was received if not with opposition at least with coldness. The Government of Bombay sought the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce whose reply implied that they thought that Bombay itself sufficiently supplied the wants of the western coast, and that another harbour would be a superfluity. Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, however fully appreciated the importance of the question and himself visited Sedashagar calling Sir Arthur Cotton to meet him there. The opinion of Sir Arthur Cotton as to the advantages of the harbour was enthusiastically favourable, and a breakwater, a pier and lighthouse, with a series of inland canals, were quickly in vision. But in the meanwhile the completion of lines of road already traced on the north and south banks of the Sedashagar river conveying the inland traffic to the highest navigable point, was the great requirement, and this was ordered and the work actively in progress when the mutinies broke out, and Lord Canning's order to stop

all public works fell upon the scene of busy progress in north Canara.

We shall use this pause to see what has been the effect of the outlay of public money as far as it was carried up to this period. We have shown that through the line of Ghâts from Goa to Liddapoor being 80 miles in length, six passes had been opened. They were in more or less advanced stages from the Daivamunnay Ghât which had been metalled to the Kyga Ghât of which only a narrow trace had been made. We shall endeavour to show what developement accompanied this early stage of public

We have stated above that in 1853 the Madras Commission on Public Works found that the roads of Canara were returning to Government a net profit of 20 per cent, from the two sources of Land and Salt Revenue; we shall now take the ten years from 1851 to 1860 and show what has been the progress from about the last year on which the Commission founded its report to the last at our own command. Omitting all fractions below a quarter of a lac we find that the import trade rose within the above period from  $4\frac{1}{4}$  lacs to  $25\frac{1}{2}$  lacs. The value of Exports rose from  $30\frac{1}{2}$  to  $102\frac{1}{4}$  lacs. Thus the whole trade increased from 343 lacs (£347,500) to  $127\frac{3}{4}$  lacs (£1,277,500). In the same period the Salt Revenue rose from £14,000 to £31,000, that is to say, was more than doubled. The gradual clearance of the jungle raised the Land Revenue from about eight to nearly nine lacs of Rupees (or from £80,000 to £90,000), while improved supervision over the teak forests added a Forest Revenue which in the last year of the series amounted to £25,000. The minor sources of Revenue shared in this prosperity, and if any one fond of statistics will refer to the annexed Table he will find many unmistakable signs of prosperity such as the fourfold increase of the Farry-farm within these ten years. Our statistics, as we have stated, end in 1860, before the American war had influenced the Cotton trade of India; but still the export of Cotton, included in the general total of exports given above, had tripled in quantity and increased fourfold in value.

We have thus given a short narrative of the early rise of the trade of North Canara through that period of struggle in the history of our Indian rule during which those on the spot could not fail to see what were the wants of the country, but were unable to impart their convictions to their distant masters, to whom these ideas were strange and to whom India was the India of their youth. At last the change came, the Government was transferred to the Crown, the mutinies were suppressed, the Finances were restored, and the restrictive order of Lord Canning

withdrawn, and an era of improvement was commenced, in which the establishment of Sedashagar as a commercial emporium was to have an important place. But with the announcement of this intention on the part of the Government of India came the proposition that Sedashagar should be transferred from the Madras Government to that of Bombay.

It is not surprising that the Madras Government should have remonstrated against this severance of one of its most rising and important provinces, and the transfer of so large a portion of its trade to another Presidency. We find that between 1857-8 and 1861-2, the trade of Madras rose from 262 lacs to 1161 lacs (Homeward Mail April 21st 1863). We cannot learn what proportion borne by North Canara later than 1859-60 when it amounted to one-eighth of the whole trade of the Presidency. But the transfer has been ordered and carried out, and we have no desire to re-open the warm discussions to which the question gave rise in the public press of Bombay farther than by correcting, as we hope we have done by the above narrative, some of the erroneous impressions which were received by many, and repeated even by the leading journal of Europe, as to the state of the province under the Government of Madras. The Bombay Government has received this tract of country and the site of a magnificent harbour under pledges which will, doubtless, be honorably and zealously fulfilled, and in the future prosperity of Sedashagar the authorities of Madras will see the development of the plans which they long ago laid before the Government to which Bombay and Madras are alike subordinate. But it is important to remember, and the people of Manchester should carefully observe, that the harbour of Sedashagar will influence the growth of Cotton in India in proportion, not to its connexion with, but to its separation from Bombay. If the trade is still to be a circuitous one, little is gained. But if all the cost of the voyage to Bombay is saved, and a direct trade with England is established; that is to say if the price given at Bombay for cotton should now be offered at Sedashagar, the Cotton grower will receive a sensible profit.

It is not to be expected that Sedashagar will ever become so large a mart as Bombay, Calcutta or Karachee which receive the products of vast inland countries. Its trade will resemble but probably exceed that of Madras. But in advantage of situation, especially as regards European settlers, it will excel all of these ports. In beauty of scenery it resembles but surpasses Bombay. The climate is healthy and the mountain of which Carwar Head is the promontory attains an attitude of 1600 feet within three miles of the bay, so that the merchant may there

find the same climate as the Governor of Bombay and his staff seek by the aid of the railway on the hill of Mazagon; and with the aid of a glass he may see his ships loading in the bay Should a change to a somewhat colder climate be desired the beautiful river is navigable by steam to the foot of the Ghâts and ascending the Unshi Ghât on the north bank a pleasant ride takes the traveller to the village of Unshi at the summit of the Ghât at one elevation about 2000 feet high. Above this rises a hill 400 feet high, and if the traveller ascends to the crest he will obtain a magnificent view of the plateau over which the Ghât passes, and of the low country beyond with the noble Black river flowing through it, to Sedashagar Bay and Beitcole Cove, seen distinctly in the distance. Should the merchant weary with the labours of the week make this expedition on Saturday evening he will on rising on the Sunday morning find the Thermometer at 64 and enjoy throughout the day a cool and refreshing climate in which he may surround himself with all the charms of the English garden. Exposed to the full influence of the sea breeze the crest of the Southern Ghâts throughout their whole length is generally free from fever, and if actually at the top of the Ghât, not short of the summit, freshness of climate is almost equally obtained whether the elevation be 2000 or 4000 Here therefore the merchant has close at hand the advantages which the merchant of Bombay seeks at Kandalah or Mahaboluishwar and which the merchant of Calcutta or Karachee seeks in vain. We trust that a busy and beneficent commerce will soon enliven the lonely bay and noble river of Sedashagar and spread the blessings of civilization over the adjoining country, which, rich in Teak timber, iron ore and in fuel, invites alike the merchant and the manufacturer.

We must now invite our readers to accompany us to another part of the Southern Ghât, and our narrative has already extended to such a length that our passage must be rapid. We pass over a space of 450 miles, from Sedashagar to the Ghâts opposite to the port of Aleppy in Travancore. In doing so we have passed along the whole district of Canara, and the whole length of Malabar, including the western slopes of the Neelgherries. We have crossed the railway which connects the two coasts through the Palghat Gap, and passing by Anamullay range with its extensive Teak forests, and the Palni range branching into the Madura district, we come to the chain lofty but narrow which

separates Travancore from the Carnatic.

The sanatarium of the Neelgherries is too important to be more than noted here. The Anamullays have been described by Dr. Cleghorn, in his work on the forests of Southern India; and the Palnis have been pleasantly sketched by Sir Charles Trevelyan in one of those minutes so characteristic of the active, hopeful mind of the writer.

'The Palni Hills are composed of two ranges, the upper and the lower, which blend into each other. The European station is 7,230 feet high, but the highest peaks of the range are

'upwards of 8,000.

The upper range is entirely free from fever, and it is accessible without having to pass through any Terai or fever belt. 'The climate is equal to the best climates of the Indian 'mountain regions. The vegetation has a much closer analogy 'to that of England than is the case at Simla. The fern, the 'bramble, violets and several kinds of moss grow wild here, as they do at home. The nettle and cowslip assume Brobdigna-'gian proportions, and fruits strongly similar in appearance and 'taste to the wortleberry and gooseberry grow upon trees. The 'nettle will sting here which it wont at Simla. Mixed with 'these are the rhododendron which here really deserves to be 'called a 'tree rose,' the magnolia, and products of a more 'genial clime. These hill stations would not be temporary 'Sanataria to persons who have been relaxed by the heat of the plains, if the air were harsh and bleak as it often is in England. 'The flora here is beautiful. At one small spring, I saw 'gentians of two kinds, everlasting flowers and balsams, besides other flowers, the names of which I did not know.

The potatoes are so mealy and good that I am surprised that, notwithstanding the present imperfect means of conveyance, Europeans have not settled here to grow them for sale in the plains. The turnips also are excellent; and every English vegetable and fruit, except currants and gooseberries may be cultivated with advantage. Garlie is grown in great quanti-

' ties in the Native villages for export to the plains.

'The summit of the upper range extends, in long undulations, over a space twenty miles in length by fourteen in breadth, it is covered with grass which is burnt every year, and cattle and sheep graze upon the young shoots. The grass may be improved; but, even as it is, horses live upon it, and butter is made equal to English butter. There are woods full of timber, some of them of great extent, in the ravines and sheltered hollows of the plateau. Elk and bison abound in them. The scenery is similar in character to the best Highland scenery. In some places it is highly romantic. Two remarkable features are extensive ledges of smooth, mushroom-shaped rocks over which the torrents fall, and natural bridges and under-ground channels through which they percolate.

'It is an important fact that, as regards much the largest 'proportion of this tract, there is no claim to the soil which can 'interfere with the establishment of the most absolute freehold. 'The villages are few and far between; and the rights of the 'inhabitants are confined to the land they cultivate, or graze 'with their scanty herds and flocks. For eight miles from the 'European station to the hill of Púmbáre, and again in a second 'excursion to the pillar rocks, I did not see the slightest 'symptoms of the land being occupied, even for grazing. Like 'the Australian pastures, these rich grass lands are a highly 'productive capital unappropriated to the use of man; but the 'strange thing here is that the wild lands are in the midst 'of an old inhabited country. There is no trace of ancient 'habitations on the plain plateau. The few native inhabitants 'say that their ancestors were immigrants from the plains at ono distant period, and every circumstance confirms this statement.

'The ground at the Station is singularly adapted to the object. 'It consists of a large basin, into which numerous spurs, each 'suited for a separate building allotment, are projected from the 'surrounding hills. In the centre is a hill, which will, I hope, be crowned by a handsome church; and its sides should be kept 'for public walks and drives, and for the bazar of the place. one side of the basin is a beautiful wood, which has been re-'served as public property, and walks have been made through it. 'There is abundance of good water from natural springs. Se-'veral small streams trickle down the wood, and two brooks wind

'through the basin one on each side of the central hill.

'The place is still in its germ. It has been discovered rather 'than occupied by the Civil officers of the district and the 'American Missionaries, who have their hot weather retreats 'there. The entire basin and surrounding hills ought to be ac-'curately surveyed and divided into suitable allotments, reserving 'the water-ways and the ground required for roads and other 'public purposes. A walk should be kept along the edge of the 'cliff overlooking the low country. The allotments should be 'sold by public auction as they are in demand, and the proceeds 'should be employed in improving the station.

'The soil, in the lower hills is rich, and the scenery is not 'unlike the best parts of Kent. Coffee is successfully grown 'there and the cultivation might be carried to any extent. 'lower hills are liable to fever but the planters might have their 'dwellings above fever range. There is a magnificent valley in 'the upper range, extending from Púmbáre to Palni, up the sides of which the cultivation climbs, amidst wood and undulated 'ground, where Coffee plantations might with advantage be 'formed. It is like a Swiss valley, only on a much lower scale. 'Ginger, turmeric and cardamoms are also grown in the lower range.

'If this important mountain region is made accessible, and 'the land is judiciously sold, the settlement will form itself. I 'made a long and not very safe day's journey to examine the only 'line which is reported by the Engineers to be fit for a wheel-'road between the plains and the upper range. There are two 'places on this line admirably suited for European farms, one 'at Shembaganur or Magnolia-town, and the other at the site 'of Mr. Blackburne's bungalow which would be the half-way 'house; but, although I have no doubt that a good road 'might be constructed by skilful engineering it would be so 'costly both to make and keep in repair that I cannot recom-'mend the work being undertaken until the settlement is in a 'more advanced state. Till then, we must be content with the 'horse-path from Periakolam. This is likely to be always the 'quickest route; and ladies may be carried up and down in 'Chaises-à-porteur as they used to be at Simla, and as they now 'are at so many places in Switzerland. A more urgent need, 'and one that may be provided for at a moderate cost, is the 'substitution of a good wheel road for the present execrable and 'dangerous track from the European station to Púmbáre, the 'principal native place in the upper range. This would open great part of the plateau and would lead to further improve-'ment.'

Throughout the former part of this paper we have viewed the passes of the Ghâts chiefly as the channels of the commerce of the fertile table lands of the Deccan and Mysore forcing its way to the great highway of nations. But as we approach the southern extremity of the Ghâts there is little or no table land and the Carnatic and Travancore having each its own seaboard the only object of a commerce over the Ghâts would be the interchange for local consumption of the products of the two sides of the range; and it is not surprising if a barrier of four thousand feet rendered such interchange rare and precarious at a time when even the level country was ill supplied with roads. Accordingly the mountains of Travancore and Cochin have been abandoned to the few and scanty aboriginal tribes which in ages long past sought refuge from invading hordes; and to the wild beasts, especially the elephants, which, driven steadily farther and farther from the North, there find a safe retreat in the tracts marked impervious by even the indefatigable explorers of the Trigonometrical Survey. But it appears to have been the design of Providence, when the

earth on which we dwell was fitted for habitation and man was created to inhabit it, that his occupation of it should be complete, and that there should be few portions of it to which his steps should not be allured, and we shall find that however rugged may be the mountain chains either they tempt man to explore them for the mineral wealth which they contain, or by the difference of the produce on the two sides of the range he is induced to force a passage over them for the interchange of the necessaries or luxuries of life. When the chain runs from east to west the difference of latitude and climate naturally causes this effect, and the inhabitants of the chilly north soon found a passage across the Alps and the Pyrenees to seek the grapes and olives of sunny Italy and Spain.\* But even where the chain runs north and south and both sides are equally tropical they, generally owing to the difference of the rainfall, differ greatly in climate and consequently in products. This is particularly the case in regard to the Southern Ghâts, and the western coast is rich in betel nuts, cardamoms, pepper, ginger and other spices, which the dryer climate of the Carnatic will hardly yield.

And thus although for some generations while the Peninsula was a prey to war and violence, the mountain passes have been used only by the smuggler who drove a brisk business by running the tobacco of Madura into Travancore, and returning with the pepper and cardamoms of Travancore, all three of which articles of monopoly afforded irresistible temptation under the fiscal system of that State, there is proof that in remote and peaceful times there had been an extensive trade between the western coast and the civilized Kingdom of Madura. In the travels of Bartolomeo written about a century back, mention is made of a town called Canjerapulli which is described as "celebrated for its trade with the kingdom of Madura, which it carried on over the mountains" and there are other allusions

to this trade in the same work.

About two years ago the subject began to attract attention when the Government of Travancore, advised by the British

<sup>\*</sup> As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast.
The prostrate south to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields.
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day and heav'ns of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

GRAY.

Resident was endeavouring to reform its fiscal system and abolish the monopolies which had proved destructive of legitimate trade and most injurious to its subjects. If monopolies were to be abolished legitimate trade and developed production must supply the deficiency, and it became important to ascertain what

were the natural resources of the country.

There are few parts of India more beautifully cultivated or more densely peopled than the sea-coast of Travancore, but few more deserted and neglected than the interior. The population, though pressing hard on the means of subsistence, seems to have a horror of the jungle or of any place beyond the range of the cocoanut-Debarred for several generations from the use of arms and generally unaccustomed to the chase the people of Travancore are particularly unenterprising, and the interior of the country is almost unknown to them. The wildest reports of its dangers, of the deadly fever of its jungles, of the numbing cold of its mountains, of the ferocity of its wild beasts, and of the colossal size of its serpents are intentionally spread by the smugglers and greedily believed by the people. These were probably encouraged by the corrupt officials whom the smugglers took care to conciliate, and whom greed and indolence alike deterred from disturbing the existing state of things. And indeed the reports of the state of the country were not without foundation; and they gained support from the fact that of those whom the smugglers enticed to join them few returned to their homes. Cholera, fever, and cold carried off numbers of the gangs bribed to carry the goods over the Ghâts, and others were on their way back robbed of their ill-earned wages, scared by plunderers, and sometimes by protective peons, into the jungles, and, exposed to the night cold or attacked by cholera or fever, they crept into the bushes and there laid down and died, and the jackals held the inquest. This is no fancy picture, but unexaggerated fact; but happily a change is now going on. Civilization is forcing its way into these jungles, and the pioneer here as in so many other moral wildernesses, has been the Christian Missionary.

A small and scattered people, a relic of the early inhabitants of India, dwells on the mountain slopes of this portion of the Ghâts. This people known by the name of Arrians, devil-worshippers in religion and degraded in social position, held occasional intercourse with the Missionaries of Cottyam the chief station of the Church Missionary Society in Travancore. A few years ago this simple people entreated one of the Missionaries to settle among them and raise them from their degradation. Their repeated and pathetic appeals touched the heart of Mr. Henry Baker, and thirty miles within the jungle on the roots of the mountain range

the small station of Moondakayam became the centre of Missionary action and soon assumed the appearance of a village, with a small wooden Church. Frequent circuits through his widely extended parish, which was about the size of an English county, and an occasional visit to the table-land of the mountain, combined with his free intercourse with the people gave Mr. Baker an accurate knowledge of the country; and from him the Resident received information that the Canjerapulli which Bartolomeo's remark led him to enquire about, was a village near his station, now inhabited by only a few Syrian Christians and Mahomedans, but having signs and traditions of former greatness. Mr. Baker added that portions of an old paved road or Ghât still remained and that the whole line could be traced, although much of it had been broken up by former rulers of Travancore with the view of preventing the smuggling for which

the road was then chiefly used.

The Resident laid before the Rajah of Travancore the importance of re-opening this line of communication and of re-constructing with the aid of modern science a work which his The line of road from the sea to predecessors had achieved. the foot of the mountain would pass through the wildest portion of his dominions and through a tract which, though now a dense jungle, shewed by the remains of land marks and enclosures that it had once been thickly peopled. The trade would doubtless immediately revive, for the people of Travancore are still clothed with the cotton fabrics of Madura, and the people of Madura still consume the spices of Travancore. A wide and frequented road would form a barrier to the smuggler whom the wilderness favoured and sheltered, and a change from monopoly to a moderate frontier duty would re-establish a legitimate and lucrative trade. The Rajah of Travancore listened willingly The destructive pepper monopoly had to these suggestions. already fallen. A road was ordered from Cottyam to Canjerapulli, to open out at any rate the low country, and a meeting was arranged between the Resident and the Collector of Madura, on the top of the mountains to ascertain whether a line of road could be opened at a moderate cost. Supposing the road to be completed to Canjerapulli the interval between this spot and the flat country of Madura, to which carts could ply was but twenty-five miles measured on the map. It was an interesting question whether the intervening mountain could be surmounted, and thus a communication formed between two populous districts each requiring the products of the other, which now reached them by the circuitous routes of Palghat Gap or the Arambooli gate.

This expedition displayed to those who took part in it a very remarkable portion of the Southern Ghâts. Between the crest of the Ghât on the western to that of the eastern side they found about 18 miles of extremely undulating country, table-land it can hardly be called. The peculiar feature of the tract is that along the spine of this ridge in a deep groove, having a course from south to north, runs a wide river at an elevation above the sea of three thousand feet. This river called the Periaur (literally large river) has its rise in a dense impenetrable jungle from which it issues in large volume. Its course continues in a northerly line for 50 miles before it finds a channel westward,

through which its waters reach the estuary of Cochin.

In ascending from the west the party followed the line of the old Ghât. For the greater portion of the way the ascent was easy, and here either the road had never been paved, or else the paving stones, except in a few spots, had been removed. But at an elevation of about 2,500 feet the difficulties increased, and these the engineers of the past ages had endeavoured to overcome by converting the abrupt and stony path into a series of gigantic steps of unhewn granite masses. Eight hundred feet of this ascent had to be overcome, and then the full height of the pass appeared to be surmounted. But on reaching the edge it proved that this was only a ridge connected with the main chain by a saddle 800 feet below. To reach this saddle similar paved inclines and huge steps had to be descended, then a final ascent of 1,000 feet led to the summit of the Ghâts.

When the summit was attained any toil that had been encountered, even including the extra ascent and descent of 800 feet, was felt to be amply repaid by the grandeur of the scene and the freshness of the climate. Undulating grassy hills with wooded valleys stretched eastward from the edge of an amphitheatre of mountains facing the western sun. At the edge of this amphitheatre the sea breeze blew fresh from the ocean, which was seen bounding the horizon beyond an outstretched map of the kingdom of Travancore. And what was most gratifying a spur of the mountain was seen to run exactly in the direction required for a road at a proper incline; avoiding the ascent and descent of 800 feet over which the old road was taken. In short, while everything tended to prove that the summit of the Ghât would afford a healthy resting place, the practicability of making an easy Ghât at a moderate cost was put beyond a doubt.

When the camps met on the banks of the Periaur the opinion of the Collector of Madura proved to be equally favourable to the project, and not only did all the information collected prove that an active commerce would follow the opening of the road, but it was apparent that large tracts of land suited to the Coffee planter would be opened out, and noble forests of teak be made accessible. In short, it was resolved that the construction of a pass should be recommended to the Governments of Madras and Travancore. About two years have since passed and in that time considerable progress has been made. A road from Cottyam to Canjerapulli has been completed, and a Ghât line has been successfully traced and is already in use for bullock traffic. It is being widened into a cart road of 18 feet, and the twelve miles of ascent will be completed to this breadth at a cost of £150 per mile. Already four Coffee estates have been opened, and numerous applications for land have been made. In an experimental garden established by the Rajah English fruit trees and flowering shrubs are growing luxuriantly; potatoes of good flavour have been gathered in; the tea plant and the chinchona are thriving well; and above all the climate at all seasons of the

year has proved healthy.

Under these favourable auspices has been founded the little settlement of Maryville, and from this nucleus, it is to be hoped, that the blessings of a pure and holy faith, and of the civilization which it engenders will spread to the surrounding country, and satisfy the longings of many poor tribes who like the Arrians hear now and then tidings of a God with attributes far different from those of the devils, whom they have long feared and worshipped, and of a religion which has the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come. The little church which Mr. Baker built in a dense jungle, now stands by the side of a wide road along which commerce with its attendant evils and its countervailing blessings will soon pass busily by. We may sometimes feel almost appalled at the prospect of the evils, which a commerce with almost savage races brings with it, but a hopeful faith rests on the command of God that man should replenish the earth, and we may be assured that to use every effort to advance the intercourse of man with man, and to draw from God's earth the bounties which it holds, is to fulfil His will and to aid in dispelling the gross gloom which lurks in the dark places of superstition.\*

<sup>\*</sup> It happened to the writer of these pages to be on duty at Sedashagar at the time when the proposal of forming there a commercial emporium was first entertained. He can remember that he thought with many misgivings of the evils which would accompany this measure, when rough English sailors would break in on the peace and tranquillity of the then secluded villages surrounding the beautiful cove and occupying the fertile valley of the river,

We thus bring to a close a slight and imperfect sketch of the Southern Ghâts and their passes. To sum up what has been said the whole line from the Goa frontier to the Arambooli gate may be divided as follows:—North Canara, a length of 80 miles, having six passes, two converging on Sedashagar, three on Compta and one branching to both of those parts. South Canara, including parts of Coorg 75 miles in length having six passes: one leading to the port of Cundapore and five converging on Mangalore. Malabar extending from South Canara to the Railway, having a length of 175 miles in which is one Ghât from Coorg leading to Tellicherry, with two steep paths to the Neelgherries. Cochin and Travancore extending from the Railway to Cape Comorin having a length of 175 miles through which the new Maryville Ghât is the only pass. Thus in the line of 500 miles, fourteen passes of varying degrees of completeness surmount the chain of the Ghâts and render their lands accessible.

To form, then, some estimate of the resources of this tract of country and to show how important a bearing it may have on the future of the Indian Empire, and the solution of the great problem of the tenure of India by the Anglo-Saxon and the Oriental race in common, it is a most important fact that not one of these passes has been constructed without opening out extensive tracts of land adapted to the English settler. the exception of North Canara the bead of every Ghât is already a small settlement of English planters. Octacamund and Waynaad are now English colonies, and throughout the line of Ghâts, which be it remembered is longer from North to South than England and Scotland, there is a vast area capable of cultivation, with frequent plateaux interspersed, which boast a temperate and salubrious climate. To afford some idea of this area we have endeavoured to place the reader at different portions of the chain, separated by wide intervals. But, perhaps, the following incident will best convey the impression we desire to give. An experienced Coffee planter of Ceylon visited the newly formed

and was almost inclined to doubt whether all the evils of a crowded city and a port did not more than compensate for the advantages which it was proposed to confer. But a circumstance occurred which gave him a striking lesson. One of the most secluded and fertile villages was possessed by two rival branches of a Hindoo family and long years of strife and animosities were brought to a termination by the foul and cowardly murder of one of the contending heads of the family as he returned late in the evening from the Collector's tent. A proof that although seclusion from the more busy marts and open competition of the world may cut a people off from the general march of improvement it cannot shut out, while perhaps it nourishes, the evil passions which spring up spontaneously in the human heart.

station of Maryville, and was so pleased with its capabilities that he made application for some tracts estimated to contain several thousand acres. But he was advised to visit another spot which had been lately opened. This was the next clearance to the It was visited and the preference given to its forests and the former application cancelled. The distance between the two was eighty miles of unexplored mountain forest running parallel with the sea, through which the Periaur, the river above described, forces its way, and the intervening tract is as likely to contain first rate forest land as either of the spots to which attention happened to have been directed. We have given above an extract from Sir Charles Trevelyan's Minute on the Palni Hills. The following passage occurs in a letter received while this paper was in hand from a range of the Anamullay group. Our correspondent writes—' We have huts and tents in a most levely spot at an elevation of 6000 feet above the sea at 'the mouth of a large valley which I first discovered some ten 'years ago, and which has been named after me. It is delight-'fully cold, frost in the early morning, and a roaring fire in the hut 'after dinner, round which we smoke our cigars. There is abun 'dance of game about, principally ibex, a sort of chamois, and 'we live almost entirely on game. Bison and elk are pretty 'numerous too. I have but half explored the range of hills yet, 'but I find they are very extensive and the same height as the 'Neelgherries. I was on a peak the other day which I ascertain-'ed by the Barometer to be upwards of 8000 feet high. The 'climate is delightful and the scenery and flowers most beautiful. 'No doubt some day these hills will be as thickly colonized as 'the Neelgherries.'

Again; in the mountain range opposite Mangalore rises the peak of the Cooderi Mookh or Horse's face, on the summit of which at an elevation of six thousand feet a small settlement was formed by the unaided enterprize of a few private persons resident at Mangalore, who built a club house on the summit and opened a bridle path of eleven miles up the mountain. This peak may be reached either from the south by Bellatungaday, or from the north by a native track from Karkul. Both lines as they ascend the mountain pass through rich Coffee lands, and the climate on the higher elevation is perfect. The peak rises to a height of 6,020 feet, but at a lower level of four thousand feet an extensive table land affords many favourable sites for

plantations.

Many other spots can be named and many more remain as yet unexplored. But enough, we trust, has been said to prove that there is in the Southern Ghâts a wide field for English enterprize.

The subject we consider to be one of great interest with reference to the future of India, for not only does the settlement of the English in the mountains give strength to our Government, but it leads to the rapid extension of cultivation in the plains below. The wages earned on the Coffee estates (and there is employment there for man, woman and child) swell the agricultural stock of the Ryet, whose object is to accumulate enough to enable him to take up a piece of land below. And in proportion as the mountains of Madras are made available the tide of emigration of her yet scanty population will be stayed and the large area of land still uncultivated throughout her wide

districts will be brought under the plough.

To aid in this desirable result some action on the part of Government is both necessary and legitimate. The passes which we have described in this article, being only 14 in a line of 500 miles, are on an overage more than 40 miles asunder. Where the table-land of Mysore is ready to pour its produce to the coast and the people are dependent on the coast for their salt, a pass every 15 miles will immediately repay its cost. Farther south there is not a trade ready to use the roads, but there the Government should establish at suitable intervals plantations of chinchona under intelligent superintendents and make them accessible by bridle paths on correct inclines. The first start which the settler requires being made, every plantation will become the nucleus of a settlement calculated to rise as rapidly as Waynaad, and to contribute as largely to the wealth of the country.

There are many other subjects of deep interest connected with the Ghât mountains. Their vegetable and animal resources, their varying tribes, the mysterious relics of ancient races, their field sports, all claim attention, but we have already trespassed long on the reader's patience, and must confine ourselves in this article to the subject which we proposed namely the history of the mountain passes and their influence upon commerce up to the present time. At some future period, when the Coffee trade has received a large development; when extensive tea plantations yield a wholesome beverage to the population of India, and supply a portion of the market of Europe; when the Quinine of the Ghâts is allaying the suffering of thousands; when the settlements of the Ghâts and their Lawrence Asylums yield their contributions of hardy recruits to man the fortifications of the city of Sedashagar; these few notes of early progress may not be without interest.

A French writer has said—'Un nouveau chemin, un chemin 'amélioré, est toujours un bienfait. Parmi les créations du génie ou 'de l'activité humaine, il en est peu de qui l'on puisse dire, comme

'des voies de communication, qu'elles ne peuvent jamais être un ' mal.' \* We cannot quite adopt this sentiment, for we believe that every road is a channel for that mixture of good and evil which God has appointed for our trial on this earth; but it savours of the cheerful spirit of the road-maker; and we can say from experience that when the time comes that the more active period of life is looked back upon as a thing of the past, few recollections will give more unalloyed satisfaction than will be derived from any share taken in those works by which the produce of the earth is increased and the burden to be borne by our fellow men is lightened. 'Whatever spares the body's toil 'emancipates the mind,' and whatever aids the intercourse of man with his fellow man advances the spread of truth. The mountain path is but the first step in civilization but it is the most important; when once the line of communication is established the progress of improvement is sure. We have sometimes looked at the motionless wires which stretch from our metropolis, and thought how strange it was that although we heard no sound, and saw no winged words, still some message of deepest import, unseen and unread by us, might be passing in mysterious influence along the line even while we gazed. And so, we have thought, when commerce has once stretched her lines, though the ignorant may not know it, and the selfish may not heed it, along that line a message is passing which bids the barbarous to be civilized and the enslaved to be free.

We have only to add with reference to the publications which we have named at the head of this article that they afford specimens of the valuable mass of information which the Parliamentary papers place at a very moderate cost within the reach of all. The papers on chinchona would be particularly valuable were they not superseded by Mr. Markham's separate publication of his travels, which deserve a longer notice than can be allotted to them in this place.

Manuel et code des Routes par Stephane Flachat-Mony.

STATEMENT shewing the value of the Import and Export Trade of North Canara during the last ten years.

	VALUE	VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED.	IPORTED.					>	ALUE O	4	00	VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED.	TE	D.		
							Cotton.				-			Value of goods		
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STATEMENT shewing the annual collections of Revenue during the last twenty years in the District of North Canara.

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ART VI.-1. Mr. Cust's proposed Tenant Code.

- 2. Settlement Reports of various Districts in the North West and the Punjab.
  - 3. Act X. of 1859.

F we admit the Benthamite doctrine 'that the thing to be 'attained is the greatest good of the greatest number,' we shall not be far from subscribing to the further axiom, that the more the country can be made to produce, the better is it for its inhabitants. But if over and above this, we should contrive to make this increased production coeval with the employment of a lesser quantity of manual labor upon this land, it is scarcely too much to claim a great advance upon the present state of For by so doing not only should we increase the quantity of food in the country, and consequently the greater comfort of the people, but by liberating a large amount of labor hitherto wasted enable it to be turned into new and profitable channels, thus increasing the aggregate wealth and, as a consequence, the general sum of happiness among the people. These are propositions that scarcely any one would care to confute in these days, unless it be a philosopher after the manner of Mr. Ruskin. But, these premises being granted, the question naturally arises how is this to be done? To which we answer that we must bring about a marriage between capital and land, and to offer some suggestions for the removal of obstructions to this union, which has a natural tendency to consummate itself, is the object of this paper.

When the great revenue officers of the North West, in the course of their investigations into the tenures there prevailing, discovered the existence and constitution of the village communities they were naturally very proud of it. They found these "little republics" flourishing after an existence of centuries, notwithstanding the successive waves of conquest that had passed over the land. They found the people strongly attached to them; and it was the fashion then to decry the settlement of Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. So they, with a pardonable partiality, looked no further and pronounced that these village communities were the real foundation of agricultural happiness, and were thoroughly suited to the people of this country, among whom they considered them a peculiar institution. But what

they did not see was, that this village community, with its rules and usages, is nothing but the development at which society arrives at a certain stage of civilization and progress; that India has stopped there, while other countries have in their onward course dropped these institutions to take up others better fitted to a more advanced stage of development; and that the change has been gradually worked out by the necessities of mankind as the occasion arose. If then this can be shown, it follows surely that our legislation, while securing positive rights, should yet leave the door open to allow natural causes to work their own effects, and as the times changed and the habits and ideas of the people advanced, so should capital find no difficulty thrown in the way of its free alliance with land, whenever it found its

interest point that way.

But before proceeding to show how in our opinion legislation has thrown difficulties in the way of the application of capital to land, and how the present law is still more to be feared in its effects for the future, we would first say a little upon the subject of the coparcenary community being but the peculiar social development of what, in western Europe, is considered a very remote and, comparatively speaking, imperfect stage of civilization. For while we hold it to have been eminently adapted to a rude age when the people were spreading on all sides when there was a spirit of enterprise among them, and plenty of new land to be taken up; we at the same time are of opinion that when society becomes settled and populous, when it ceases to expand by conquest and settlement, when good government secures to each man peace and the enjoyment of his own, then will families increase and multiply, and the individual holdings divide and subdivide, until the 'sturdy republic' has become nothing but a pauper multitude, never improving, and having its numbers regulated by the point of starvation only. That there are indications abroad, that the time has come for removing every scrap of legislation tending unnaturally to foster the existence of this state of affairs is, we think, only too apparent.

Mr. Maine, in his admirable work on Ancient Law, says— Our studies in the law of persons seem to show us the family expanding into the agnatic group of kinsmen, then the agnatic group dissolving into separate households; lastly the household supplanted by the individual; and it is now suggested that each step in the change corresponds to an analogous alteration in the nature of ownership.' \* This process he declares to

<sup>\*</sup>Ancient Law, p. 270.

be observable among all the races of Indo-European blood. If nations then have practically worked out this revolution in the course of their gradual development from a state of barbarism to that of civilization; if the change has been accompanied by an increase of members, wealth and happiness such as the experience of the whole civilized world proves, it can scarcely be considered unworthy the attention of a government, anxious to develop the resources of this country, and to mould its wonderful natural capabilities, so that it may supply the crying wants of other countries, while at the same time it spreads plenty and happiness over the land with which the government is more immediately concerned. Mr. Maine continues—'As the con-'tracts and conveyances known to Ancient Law are contracts and 'conveyances to which, not single individuals, but organized ' companies of men are parties, they are in the highest degree 'ceremonious; they require a variety of symbolical acts and ' words intended to impress the business on the memory of all 'who take part in it; and they demand the presence of an in-'ordinate number of witnesses. From these peculiarities, and 'others allied to them, springs the universally unmalleable 'character of the ancient forms of property. Sometimes the ' patrimony of the family is absolutely inalienable, as was the 'case with the Sclavonians, and still oftener though alienations ' may not be entirely illgeitimate, they are virtually impracti-' cable as among most of the Germanic tribes, from the necessity ' of having the consent of a large number of persons to the Where these impediments do not exist, or can be ' surmounted, the act of conveyance itself is generally burdened with a perfect load of ceremony, in which not one iota can be 'safely neglected. Ancient Law uniformly refuses to dispense ' with a single gesture, however grotesque; with a single syllable, 'however its meaning may have been forgotten; with a single ' witness, however superfluous his testimony. The entire solem-' nities must be scrupulously completed by persons legally en-' titled to take part in it, or else the conveyance is null, and the 'seller is re-established in the rights of which he had vainly 'attempted to divest himself.

'These various obstacles to the free circulation of the objects of use and enjoyment begin, of course, to make themselves felt as soon as society has acquired even a slight degree of activity, and the expedients by which advancing communities endeavour to overcome them form the staple of the history of

'property.'

The case could hardly be put more clearly, and we contend that while moveable property is in this country freed from the obstacles thus described, the transfer of real property is still saddled with many of them, and their removal, so far as legislation may justly effect it, can safely be laid down as the condition necessary that land may attract capital. The more prominent of these obstacles are the coparcenary right of preemption; the recording the peculiar customs of each village in the settlement administration paper, with a view to settle all questions regarding real property arising within the community by its provisions, and thus indefinitely prolong the existing state of things; and the concession of rights of occupancy to cultivators.

Coparcenary property in itself is a great drawback to its transfer; and indeed, when we consider that an estate held in shares, the land of which is not divided, must first be divided before a man can sell his share, and that afterwards the right of pre-emption pertains to the shareholders, there is at once a most formidable obstacle raised. The nature of the shares in some estates held in common renders division almost impossible. We have seen a statement of shares in which fractions were used to express them smaller than the eight millionth part of a rupee, and the profits which the rupee represented altogether amounted only to Rs. 1,000 annually. Absurd as this sounds it is a fact and can be verified by the records of the settlement now under progress in Oudh.\* Now, capital is a skittish thing, and it commands great interest in this country; and though the excellent security which land gives is a great attraction, still if such difficulties are thrown in the way of its transfer capital will not come forward. The ordinary partition of an estate is a very troublesome process; and, though the legislature has wisely ordered that any coparcener who wishes to separate his portion can have it done, and thus establish his right over an actual piece of land, yet the division is necessarily entrusted to the fiscal officers, and they have a reluctance to enter on the process, both on account of the trouble it gives in itself, and of that which it entails as a consequence by multiplying the Revenue accounts. Moreover government discourages absolute partition 'as imperfect partition keeps the community 'together and preserves to them the right of pre-emption.' † But without sacrificing individual rights, which must be kept sacred, it appears to us that small properties can only become large ones by affording facilities for the transfer of land. And there can be no doubt that a piece of land, belonging to a single

Settlement of Hurchandpoor, Roy Barielly district.

<sup>†</sup> Paras 169-170 Dir. to. Collrs. Oudh Rev. Cir. 176 of 1859.

man, free to do as he likes, is an infinitely more transferable property than where the same land has to undergo a troublesome process in the first instance, and is clogged with a right of preemption in the second, not to talk of the difficulty of getting an influential officer to perform the partition he is brought up and instructed to think undesirable.

If, then, the foregoing argument be true, and if, as we believe, capital will only be attracted to land when it is held in considerable estates by single individuals, it follows that partitions should be encouraged with the avowed object of breaking up these coparcenary communities. It is true that to maintain them has been the object of many years' legislation, but we claim to have received a new light on this subject, to see that they are the relics of a former stage of society fast passing away, and that, as this country becomes unlocked to the outer world and learns that foreign markets reward successful industry, it will call for its own emancipation. We think, however, that our position here should make us lead the way, as we have both the power and the knowledge, and can hardly go wrong where we have the experience of the whole world before us. The North West reverence for the village community is a hobby to which everything has been made to bend. It was a grand discovery when it was made, and many rights were secured in consequence of it. But it is one thing to respect what we find existing, and another thing to perpetuate it for ever. Unborn generations have no rights at our hands, or, if they have any, it is that we should leave the country to them in the best condition that we can, and that is not to be done by perpetuating for their benefit the traditions, laws, and customs of the past only.

We do not here propose to discuss the right of a proprietor to sell his land as against his family or any one else. That question has been decided by Government in the case of Talookdars in Oudh, whose powers over their estates have been declared absolute,\* Hindoo law to the contrary notwithstanding; and there can be little doubt that ere long this will take the shape of a legislative enactment. What is law for one must become law for all, and indeed has already become so, for it is authoritatively declared in the rules for the Oudh settlement that 'parties holding an intermediate interest between the Talookdar and the 'Ryot have as unlimited a control over their property as the 'Talookdar enjoys over his.'† But here the right of pre-emption comes in. The Punjab Civil Code, which also prevails in Oudh,

<sup>\*</sup> Oudh Rev. Cir. No. 154 of 1860.

<sup>†</sup> Oudh Settl. Cir. No. 46 of 1863.

declares 'the right of pre-emption to exist in communities of ' landholders however constituted, under whatever tenure the It does not appear that this is a maxim 'estate may be held.'\* of Hindoo law where coparcenary communities have the land divided among them. Macnaughten's Principles rather affirm the contrary. But it is Mahommedan law and appears to have been the practice of the Semitic races, as we have a notable example of it as old as the Book of Ruth. But Macnaughten says there are many legal devices for defeating this right; among them 'the seller may agree with the purchaser for an exhorbitant 'nominal price, and afterwards commute the price for something ' of inferior value; when, if a claimant by pre-emption appear, ' he must pay the price first stipulated without reference to the 'subsequent commutation.' A device of this sort is a clear invention of lawyers to get rid of a right which they found was disadvantageous, as of course it is not competent to any Mahomedan to advocate a change in the text of the We may take the fact as evidence of a desire to Koran. abolish the law. Actual practice moreover is on the side we advocate. Among native landholders under a native state, sales are almost unknown, but mortgage giving full usufructory possession to the mortgagee is very common, and by means of it strangers are introduced into coparcenary villages every day. But the right is in the statute book, and it cannot be doubted that men will rather seek other investments than land for their money, when, after taking all the necessary trouble to satisfy themselves of the value of the property and its suitability, they are liable to have it taken from them by any one of the brotherhood who wishes to buy it at the price. We think, therefore, that we have shown that the abolition of the right of preemption is justifiable; and, considering that legislation has already recognized the sacredness of individual rights in property, by giving any coparcener the right to claim partition of his share, and by giving Talookdars the right to dispose of their property by gift, sale, or bequest as they please, we may safely say there are precedents for it. And we advocate the policy of the abolition of the right of pre-emption, because it is not desirable to bolster up these communities, but rather to enable individuals to do with their own what they like.

There is one other subject in connection with this we should like to notice. In Oudh, though the sale of land is not absolutely prohibited in execution of a decree of the Civil Court,

See also Act I. of 1841 and Act XXIII. of 1861.

<sup>†</sup> Macnaughten's Principles of Mahommedan Law Chap. iv. para 13.

great discouragement is given to it. Acquired real property cannot be sold except with the consent of the Commissioner, and ancestral property without the consent of the Judicial Commissioner. We are however of opinion that the procedure described in Sections 243 and 244 of Act VIII. of 1859 is ample security against hasty and improper sales, and the present Oudh practice has merely the effect of making the transfer difficult; no officer can absolutely refuse execution of a decree of court, if no other means than the sale of the debtor's landed property can be shown by which the decree is to be satisfied, and the procedure above quoted amply provides for this contin-The only result of the present Oudh rule is to give all parties concerned an immense deal of trouble, and materially to lessen the value of the property, when lengthened delay proceeds from unreasoning opposition. The succession of an estate entire is secured by a law of primogeniture, and certainly in an economic point of view it is not the interest of Government to bolster up bankrupt families; no capital can flow on to their lands. We are aware that it will be answered that this question has a political aspect, but we confess we cannot see that this should have any weight. The present law amply protects landholders if they will only act reasonably and live within their means, and, though a wholesale turning out of ancient proprietors, as was done in Oudh in 1856, may outrage public feeling, more especially when there is no reason for it but the crotchets of the ruler, we have yet to learn that a tenantry like to be screwed and rack-rented to minister to the necessities of a needy bankrupt, and that the general feeling of the country hedges these parties with any such reverence as should make Government turn aside the even current of justice in their favor.

The compilation of the administration paper is detailed in para: 167 of the Directions to Settlement Officers, while the principles upon which it is prepared will be found in paras: 146 to 149. Those principles are that every peculiarity and every custom in the village is to be noted and recorded. The North West system always proceeds on the supposition that the villagers engage for the Government Revenue, and what is laid down for the payments of sharers to the headman in the Directions must be understood in such a settlement as that of Oudh to apply to the payments of rent by under proprietors to the Talookdar. Now it is stated that 'what is matter of distinct engagement should be clearly distinguished from what is merely a record of rates 'and payments, as at the time existing. The latter should be 'recorded thus—The payment found to be at this time for—is—; 'but this sum remains open to further arrangement according

'to law.'\* But what is this? It is explained that 'Rvots 'having rights of occupancy, but not at fixed rates, are to ' have a patta at fair and equitable rates.' That the Collector. may be guided in his enquiries to determine what that is, the administration paper is drawn up, and not for that only. It is intended to show him the rules and customs that prevail. so that where any alteration in the value of the land takes place from purely extraneous causes he may take them into consideration, but the customs are fixed, and he must uphold them in all cases which come before him, unless all concerned agree to an alteration, a contingency that is simply impossible. The effect of an administration paper may be held to be a perpetuation of the existing state of the affairs in the villages throughout the term of the settlement. As however it is well understood that the present settlements, if on trial they are found good, are to be perpetual, both Sir Charles Trevelvan and Sir Charles Wood having publicly so declared, it follows that the paper perpetuates the present state for ever. If we go back again to the native practice we find no such paper in existence. True, they followed the same customs from father to son, for their condition was stationary, but they never so bound themselves, still less did they draw up a document which enabled one of a community to resist a change for the general good. Their progress was nil, and they did not find occasion in later times to alter their customs. But have we given up hope of progress? Are we prepared to stereotype anything we find existing here? If we are not we must not bind ourselves to make the customs of each separate parcel of land an authoritative guide for the judicial decisions that may be necessary within it. Let us see how it works. It is well known that the collection of rent by a division of the produce of the soil is common in many parts of the country. Probably this originated in a scarcity of coined money, but like every thing else in this country it has an inveterate tendency to grow into a custom. As such of course it would be recorded in the administration paper, and the rate whether a half or a third, as the case may be, would be recorded also. But if improvement is looked for, proportional produce rents must be done away with. This system is well known both in France and Italy, where it is called 'metaver.' Speaking of Lombardy Mr. Young, who travelled there about a century ago, says-'If the intelligence with respect to the produce of wheat be

<sup>\*</sup> Instructions of Sudder Board regarding settlement of Scharunpoor, Se . XXXIII.

<sup>†</sup> Act X of 1859, Sec. 5.

' reviewed, it will be found at an average varying from five to ' seven and a half times the seed, generally between five and six: 'suppose the latter number, and we shall, with reason, be 'amazed at the miserable products of this rich plain in every-'thing except grass and silk. The average soil of England ' cannot be compared with the average soil of Lombardy, yet our ' mean produce is eleven times the seed perhaps twelve. Every one must be curious to know the causes of such wretched crops. I attribute them to various circumstances; but the ' predominant cause must be sought for in the small farms, occupied either by little peasant proprietors or what is more general by metayers. This abominable system of letting land is the origin of most of the evils found in agriculture, wherever the ' method prevails. Such poor farmers, who, in every part of 'Italy, where I have been, are so miserable that they are forced 'to borrow of the landlord even the bread they eat before the ' harvest comes round, are utterly unable to perform any opera-' tion of their culture with the vigor of a substantial tenantry. 'This evil pervades everything in a farm; it diffuses itself, im-' perceptibly to a common eye, into circumstances where none would seek it. There are but few districts where lands are let ' to the occupying tenant at a money rent, but wherever it is found, 'there crops are greater, -a clear proof of the imbecility of the ' metaying system. Yet there are politicians, if they deserve the ' name, everywhere to be found, who are violent against chang-'ing these metayers for farmers; an apparent depopulation is ' said to take place, and the same stupid arguments are heard, that 'we have been pestered with in England, against the union of ' farms. Men reason against the improvement of their lands, ' which is the natural progress of wealth and prosperity, and are 'so grossly absurd as to think that doubling the produce of a ' country will deprive it of its people.'\* We could easily multiply authorities on this subject. 'Previously to the French revolu-'tion about seven eighths of France was occupied by metayers, 'paying generally half, and hardly ever less than a third part of 'the produce to the landlord. In England it is not supposed that the rent of the land amounts to more than from a fifth to 'a fourth part of the produce. What, then, must be the effect of subjecting the occupiers of France, where rent is naturally 'lower than in England to so excessive a demand as a half or 'even a third part of the produce. Nor is this system less in-' jurious to the proprietor than to the cultivator. The landlord gets, indeed, a large proportion of the produce raised upon his

<sup>\*</sup> Young's Travels in France, 2nd Ed. Vol. 2, page 216.

'estate; but owing to the degraded condition of agriculture, and the wretchedness of the occupiers, caused by the exorbitancy of the demand upon them, the produce is comparatively trifling; so that the half which belongs to the landlord under this system is not nearly so large as the share falling to him would be were the rents moderate and fixed and the tenants allowed to reap all the advantage of whatever skill and talent they might exert.'\* But probably no one would dispute the disadvantage of rents in kind proportional to the produce, though there will be plenty of stout defenders for the retention of a paper among the settlement records which directly tends to perpetuate it. The principle involved is a plain one. We cannot expect to improve in the future if we bind ourselves down to the customs of the past, our true policy is always to leave the door open, and then the customs will be modified from

time to time as occasion may arise.

But except to be a guide for the decision of questions arising in the village, it is difficult to say what is the use of the administration paper, unless it be to hold the community together. But we have shown how in the case of its happening to record proportional produce rents for a custom, it perpetuates what is undesirable, and the whole drift of our argument is that separate and not common property is the condition of national prosperity. It may be said, perhaps, that the case of proportional rents is a special one, but to a greater or less degree the same argument applies to every entry in the administration paper. For instance, it is ruled under a system of fixing fair rents that if a tenant builds and digs a well his rent shall not be raised on that Such would be entered in the administration paper; account. but a landlord, who understood his own interest, would forbid the tenant to make the well, his argument being, 'I know that 'the increase of produce will be greatly in excess of the interest on the outlay, and I will either borrow the money on the strength of the increased rent, or I will wait till I am in funds. Besides, 'I do not like that this fellow should establish any kind of pro-' prietory right in my lands.' Were there no custom recorded, the business would have become one of mutual engagement between landlord and tenant: the latter would protect himself by a lease for a sufficient number of years to repay him amply for the outlay; and the former, looking to the future, would gladly consent to the tenant's present improvement of the estate. The country generally would be benefitted by the amount of the increased produce. That the administration paper is regarded

McCulloch's Treatises and Essays on Economical Policy, page 177.

as the Revenue law of the village may be shown by the following: 'It would be far better that the administration paper were not drawn up at all, than that its provisions should be ' called in question whenever appearance may justify the dissent, or that its conditions should be cancelled, whenever they may 'happen to be opposed to the opinion of any officer, whether 'Commissioner or other, who may choose to doubt their justice or expediency. I consider that the preparation of the admi-'nistration paper should receive much more attention than is ' usually bestowed upon it, that it should express the opinions of 'the proprietors themselves, and that its conditions, when not ' contrary to the law, should be enforced.'\* The foregoing extract is from a letter of Mr. Edmonstone, late Lieutenant Governor N. W. P. when he was Financial Commissioner in the Punjab. Now, not only is a paper of this description open to the objection of perpetuating a state of things quite unsuitable to a condition of healthy national progress, but it also creates a law of real property for each separate village, wherever the legislature has not stepped in and made a law on that special point. Had the paper been prepared only for the purpose of collecting information on which eventually to found a general code of agrarian law, it would be most useful, and satisfy all the requirements of the inductive process so far as regards the present state of things. But a wise legislature looks to the future in circumstances such as those of the English rule in India: and, even where legislation is somewhat behind the general public feeling, as is the case in England, nothing is ever done which posterity may not undo without breaking faith. Here, however, with our imperfect knowledge of the people, we introduce a paper, which professes to emanate from themselves, but which, it is well known, always bears the stamp of the Settlement Department's opinion upon it.

In the Punjab, for instance, these documents of course contain the status of the hereditary cultivator, though the concurrent testimony of all the settlement officers of that province is that this status is of our own creation. And, when we have introduced the paper we give the sanction of our regular law to a state of affairs which becomes day by day more difficult of amendment. Nothing but the act of the legislature can undo it, and the longer it remains the greater becomes legislative disinclination to meddle. If a man is the recognized proprietor he can settle all the internal economy of the village far more acceptably to the people than we can, and if a village

<sup>\*</sup> Papers circulated with Fin. Commissioner Punjab's proposed Tenant Code No. 24 para. 9.

belongs to a community they can do so either in council or by their headman. Where the law is broken it knows how to assert itself, and those who cannot settle their disputes have always the Civil Court to go to, rent of course being recovered by summary process as at present. Besides, no administration paper ever can provide for all the possible contingencies of even one village, and it is thus open to all the disadvantages of a code without its one great compensating feature of unity. We are of opinion that the less we interfere the more successful will be our government, the line of demarcation being necessity; and than this administration paper it is hard to conceive any greater interference. It compels the people to produce a regulating custom where, we speak advisedly, generally they have

none, and it then fixes it for ever.

It is the general and binding nature of the paper we object to. No doubt it is necessary to define how the Government revenue is to be collected from the shareholders by the headman in coparcenary villages, where the land is divided, whether those villages pay direct to Government or pay a fixed rent to a large landholder; but we cannot see that more is necessary, and everything else should be left to be settled by the parties concerned. In a village owned by one man he is the natural arbitrator among the inhabitants, and that his decision should rule in all their concerns, where rights recognized by law are not involved, would appear to be but the legitimate authority attached to property. In a coparcenary village, in which the lands are divided, if the settlement record defined the mode in which the Government revenue or the Talookdar's rent was to be paid through the headman, and the remuneration he was to have for his trouble, it appears to us that in all other matters he is but the representative of the majority, and in case of dispute their votes would be taken; and, if necessary, they can always be taken on any given point by a Government officer without difficulty. Looked at fairly and dispassionately, without any prejudice as to its necessity arising from our revenue education, it must be admitted that this paper is an attempt to arrange and settle by authority all possible differences among the villages beforehand; that it imposes an almost impassable barrier to any healthy change; and, as its whole tendency is to restrict a proprietor's absolute property over his own land, it is a formidable obstacle to the attraction of capital. For these reasons, we think, it would be better to restrain the administration paper to those sections which have reference to the mode in which the Government revenue is to be collected from each sharer where the village pays direct, and the

Talookdar's rent is to be collected when a community pay him a fixed one. In cases where there is only one proprietory right in a village, or where the under-proprietory right consists of individuals holding separate patches of land at fixed rates, we are of opinion that it would be best to omit this paper altogether. Statistical or historical information can be collected without mixing it up with a record of rights, customs, or privileges of

any kind.

We now come to the occupancy rights of cultivators. These are of various kinds. 1st. The hereditary cultivator at fixed rates. He has throughout been recognized in the North Western Provinces, his holding is at fixed rates for the term of the settlement, and is heritable but not transferable\* though 'it is to be 'understood that Government is not opposed to the growth of a 'transferable cultivating title,'t whatever in practice that understanding may mean. This title is also recognized for Bengal, by Act X. of 1839, 'in favour of all those whose rents have 'not been changed from the time of the permanent settlement, 'or who have held for 20 years without change, unless the 'previous change of the rent is proved by the landlord.' It has also been recognized in the Punjab at the settlement of that province, with a somewhat varied basis, but generally the Settlement Officers appear to have made those whom they found to have held the same lands for twelve years at an uniform rate cultivators of this class.

We have cultivators with rights of occupancy at fair 2nd. This title is common to Bengal, the North Western Provinces, the Punjab and Oudh. This title is heritable but not transferable. The word fair rates is variously construed. In the North Western Provinces, before Act X. came into operation, it is rather indefinitely described 'as the established rules of the 'pergunna for lands of the same quality and description, due 'consideration being had, as far as may be required by the 'custom of the district, to the alteration of the species of culture, 'and the caste of the cultivator; and again according to the rate 'payable for land of a similar description in the place adjacent or at rates not exceeding the highest rates paid for the same 'land in any one year, within the period of the three last antece-'dent years.' In Act X. it is declared 'that the rate previous-'ly paid shall be deemed fair and equitable unless the contrary be

+ Ibid.

<sup>\*</sup> Directions to Settlement Officers, para 128.

<sup>1</sup> Sections 3 and 4, Act. X of 1859.

S Directions to Settlement Officers, para 131.

'shown.'\* We are not aware of the Punjab definition of what are fair rates for this class of cultivators, but in Oudh it has been defined by the highest authority as 'what the land will fetch 'in the market.' It is evident that between the first and the last of these definitions there is a very great difference, and as it is competent to every court, in the absence of authoritative decisions of superior courts, to put its own construction on the language used in the Acts and rules made for its guidance, we are quite safe in assuming that the practice is at least as diver-

sified as the definitions.

These are the only cultivators with occupancy titles. The latter title can be acquired by twelve years' possession on the part of the cultivator. † This rule holds good in Bengal and the North Western Provinces where Act X. is in force, but does not, we believe, hold in the Punjab or in Oudh. The operation of such a rule as this is simple. In the eleventh year of their occupancy all, who were not already within the pale, would be turned out, and the whole body of the tenantry are turned out of house and home, to the great inconvenience of their landlords and their own impoverishment and misery, for the sake of securing a right to one or two who happen, through the ignorance or negligence of their landlords, to complete the twelve years without being ousted, but this part of Act X. has no friend, and it is useless to kick a dead lion. Now let us examine, as far as we can, the grounds upon which these occupancy rights have been recorded. In the North Western Provinces they have been recorded and conceded for many years, they have been upheld by our courts, and have the prescriptive force of established well defined law. These tenures are there an undoubted property, whatever may have been their origin; though we strongly suspect that they had then no sounder foundation than they now have in the adjacent province of Oudh. Of the actual state of affairs in Bengal Proper on the publication of Act X. of 1859 we are hardly in a position to speak; but the occupancy clauses of the Act have been attacked with great vigor, and denounced as a complete agrarian revolution in that province. How far that may be just or not we cannot say, and, considering the excitement that has been born there of the indigo question, it would require an intimate acquaintance with the subject as well as an impartial judgment to be able to pronounce upon the point. But we have a good deal of evidence as to the state of the Punjab before the settlement, and it is uniformly to the purport that no such thing as right of occupancy was known under the

Section 5 Act. X of 1859.

<sup>†</sup> Section 6 Act. X. of 1859.

Sikh rule. The present Financial Commissioner says-' Tenant with right of occupancy is also called hereditary cultivator. ' The features of this status, which has been created by our sys-' tem are etc.'\* Another Punjab officer says-' During the mea-'surements I was requested to define the difference between 'hereditary tenants and tenants at will. I made enquiries of ' the Tehseeldars of the Umritsur district, all of whom are Pun-' jabee officials of experience. They replied that the distinction between the two classes was unknown. Practically, however, ' there was good reason to believe that many tenants did enjoy a 'right of continued occupancy. Accordingly tenants who had ' cultivated their fields for more than twelve years consecutively ' provided they lived in the village were registered as hereditary.'+ Again, 'Under Sikh rule the distinction of hereditary cultivation 'was hardly known.'t 'We have created the right of hereditary 'occupancy for our own convenience.' \ 'The distinction be-' tween hereditary and non-hereditary cultivators is a creation of our government. Under the native rule in this part of the Pun-' jab it was altogether unknown. Proprietors had the right to eject ' any tenants whom they disapproved of, however long the latter ' might have resided on the estate.' This officer then goes on to state that notwithstanding this undoubted right on the part of the landlord, instances had come before the settlement courts in which, when the cultivator had been the first to break up the land, he was allowed to sell the right of cultivation. That was however only an incoming tenant paying to save himself the labor of breaking up new land of which there is abundance in Gogaira, and it in no way interfered with the absolute property of the landlord. To give another instance 'The rights of the hereditary cultivators have been entirely created under our rule. Under the Sikhs the proprietor had always the right of ousting a tenant whenever he chose, but this was never 'done unless the cultivator had made himself obnoxious.' others of the Punjab Settlement Reports we find that there is such an anxiety to get the cultivators that no objections whatever are raised to any entries that may be made. Thus 'there ' have been very few if any disputes regarding cultivators with ' rights of possession. The fact is, that in consequence of the 'thinness of the population and the scarceness of cultivators,

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Cust's Code of Proprietors and Tenants rights, page 5.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid, page 10. ‡ Mr. Cust's proposed Tenant Code, page 11.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid, page 19.

Settlement Report Gogaira District, page 31

Settlement Report Lahore District, page 8.

'the proprietors have only been too glad to give up to all their cultivators the right of possession with the object of inducing

'them to remain on the estate.'\*

In other of the Punjab Settlement Reports the rights of hereditary cultivators are only spoken of as rights conceded by us. 'A right of heritable occupancy has been conceded to a large 'proportion of the cultivators. The title is commonly founded on a prescription of from twelve to twenty years.'t Or it is asserted that no difference existed under Sikh rule between the payments exacted from proprietors, hereditary cultivators and tenants at will. 'The hereditary cultivators like the proprietors ' pay according to the village rate, both as regards land and water. Tenants at will in most cases have also engaged to pay 'according to village rates; but their engagements are subject 'to renewal every year ‡' And again, 'the Sikh ruler took the 'same payment and the same proportion of grain from the ' hereditary proprietor or from the hereditary cultivator as from 'the mere tenant at will, and this, not because his demands were so light, but from the fact, that the share of the whole ' produce exacted was so full that it admitted of no distribution according to the measure of their rights's Or the settlement Officer simply confines himself to stating what he had to do. 'With regard to the decision of disputes 'about the right to cultivate a few words will suffice. No period can be fixed, I believe, as entitling tenants to a permanent 'interest in the cultivation; this question can only be decided on viewing the circumstances of each case, or in other words the officer could find no custom to guide him and was obliged to consider what was fair in order to create the right which the authorities had determined to record. In Oudh there are as yet no published reports from which we can quote on this subject, but we are in a position to affirm that no evidence has been found in that province of a cultivator's right of occupancy. In the words of one of the Settlement Officers there 'rights they had none, but wrongs they had plenty.' The investigations of the Settlement Officers in this province all tend to the same story, that although in fact men held the same fields from father to son, they had no right therein. Nothing was more common in the days of the kingdom of Oudh

<sup>·</sup> Settlement Report Goojranwallah District, page 55.

<sup>†</sup> Settlement Report Goordaspore District, page 27. ‡ Settlement Report Umritsur District, page 56.

Settlement Report Ludhiana District, page 20.

Settlement Report Hoshiarpoor District, page 58.

than for arbitrators to be assembled for the purpose of adjudicating on claims to landed property, or shares therein, on arrangements for the mortgage or redemption of proprietory right; but we never heard of this local assembly, whose decrees were mostly enforced only by the public opinion of the place, adjudicating between a landowner and his cultivator, where the question was whether the latter was to be ousted or what rent he was to pay. In short, there can be no doubt, that in those native states recently annexed, where enquiries have been made since men began to doubt the absolute infallibility of the North West revenue system, no trace whatever has been found of a right of occupancy, either at fixed or variable rates, pertaining to men who had no proprietory title.

So far, then, for the right of the matter: we now come to

discuss its expediency.

political economists concur in accepting All modern Mr. Malthus as the discoverer of the true theory of rent, and his definition of it is, 'That portion of the value of the ' whole produce which remains to the owner of the land, after 'all the outgoings belonging to its cultivation, of whatever 'kind, have been paid, including the profits of the capital 'employed, estimated according to the usual and ordinary rate of the profits of agricultural capital at the time being.'\* then proceeds to remark that, 'the causes of the ordinary excess. of this price of raw produce above the cost of production 'may be said to be three: First and mainly, that quality ' of the soil, by which it can be made to yield a greater quantity ' of the necessaries of life than is required for the maintenance 'of the persons employed upon the land; Secondly, that ' quality peculiar to the necessaries of life, when properly distri-'buted, of creating their own demand, or of raising up a number 'of demanders in proportion to the quantity of necessaries produced; 'and thirdly, the comparative scarcity of fertile land, either 'natural or artificial.' + It is not necessary for us to enter on Mr. Malthus' argument to prove these positions, as they are admitted by the best authorities, and the conclusion they lead to is inevitable. For if the first breaker of the soil becomes its proprietor he would naturally choose the most fertile and the best situated, and from the nature of things as soon as his holding was surrounded by others and supply began to create demand, as is the law of the produce of land, and the scarcity of fertile lands began to be felt, both the fact that better cultivation

<sup>\*</sup> Malthus' Pol. Economy 2nd Ed., page 136. † Malthus' Pol. Economy 2nd Ed., page 140.

would be brought to bear upon his land so as to make it yield more, and that inferior lands would be brought into cultivation, as no land can be cultivated unless it supports those engaged upon it, would raise him from cultivator to proprietor and his surplus would be rent. It follows from this that the natural state of an advancing society is to create property in land in the hands of its original cultivators, who then naturally cease to be cultivators and become landlords, for no man will work hard for his bread if he can live without doing so, and as agriculture is the first and oldest of the occupations of civilized man, it is always that in which there is the greatest command of labor. The cultivators of the soil should therefore, by reasoning, be the poorest class of the community, and that they are so in fact there can be no manner of doubt. They are not subject usually, where good systems of agriculture prevail as in England, to the great reverses which fall upon manufacturing laborers, but when circumstances do render them so liable, their utter want of everything makes the visitation far more dreadful, as in the North Western Provinces in 1860. No legislation can alter this. Securing to cultivators occupancy rights certainly has not done so in the North Western Provinces. If a portion of the rent is given by law to the cultivator he will multiply till he brings his holding down to a bare subsistence, or he will be idle and waste his share in bad cultivation. The hereditary cultivators in the North West Provinces are no better off than the tenants at will, either of that or of adjacent provinces. They do not eat better food, they do not present a better physique; and, as they have no benefit and pay less rent, there is a dead loss to the community somewhere. Either they have multiplied until there are too many on the land, and consequently productive labor is wasted by the people not being fully employed; or they do not raise so much produce and the country loses in that way.

The strength of a country is its people so long as they are fed, and the more industrious and fully employed the people are the greater will the country be, and the better off the people themselves. But any thing that binds the people to particular localities prevents that movement in the labor market, which alone seems capable of developing its powers, and the experience alike of the Irish laborer in England and the Indian coolie in the Mauritius and Trinidad shows the difference of the work of those who travel. Why should they not experience the same nearer home? Why should not the eastern Oudh laborer work and save in Trans-Gogra, and the North West man do the same in Central India, but that the occupancy right, which pertains to them, seems some-

thing in their eyes, and they prefer misery in consequence. Still in arguing this way it must not be forgotten that there is a natural and inborn affection planted in human nature for the soil on which a man and his ancestors have lived and toiled, and it is not easy in even well educated and highly civilized countries, far less in this, to induce the people to do the best for the land and for themselves; so that any improvement would be very gradual, and by no means such as need alarm any body. A few years ago, when the anti-corn law league was in full force at home, we remember a comparison drawn in its organ in which it stated that while good land in the Lothians fetched £5 an acre. better land in the vale of Aylesbury fetched only £2-10. It is however well enough known that the Lothian laborers are not worse of than the Buckinghamshire laborers, while the farmers are far better off. Old custom and a dislike of the unpopularity which it would bring deters the landlord from acting, but in the face of a fact of this sort we can come but to the one conclusion, that the Buckinghamshire farmer raised less produce per acre than the Lothian man, and that the country was so much the loser. Mr. Malthus enumerates as the causes of a rise in rents. '1st,—Such an accumulation of capital, compared with the means 'of employing it, as will lower the profits of stock; 2nd, 'Such an increase of population as will lower the corn wages of 3rd, Such agricultural improvements, or 'increase of exertions as will diminish the number of laborers 'necessary to produce a given effect; and 4th, such an increase ' in the price of agricultural produce from increased demand, as, 'while it probably raises the money price of labor, or occasions 'a fall in the value of money, is nevertheless accompanied by a 'diminution either temporary or permanent of the money out-' goings of the farmer, compared with his money returns.' \* The above are simply the tokens of a nation's prosperity. Accumulation of capital, increase of population, improved agriculture, and high prices are the effects of progress; and, if they are the inevitable causes of increased rent, increasing rent must be allowed to be a good thing. In opposition to this are the causes of a fall in rents, namely 'diminished capital diminished population, ' an operose system of cultivation, and a falling price of raw pro-' duce from deficiency of demand.' + Or to quote another authority. 'To make farmers leave off those routine practices to which they ' are so apt to be attached, and become really industrious and enter-' prising, they should, besides having the power to improve their

<sup>\*</sup> Malthus' Pol. Economy, 2nd Ed., page 158. † Malthus' Pol. Economy, 2nd Ed., page 173.

condition, be made to feel, that if they do not make the requisite exertions they will certainly be ruined. To satisfy ourselves that this is necessary we need only contrast farms occupied by tenants at rents considerably below their fair value, with those let at their value. Speaking generally, the condition and culture of the former are very inferior indeed as compared with the latter. The occupiers of the under-rented farms, being able to pay their rents and make a little money without any unusual exertion, move on in the routine system to which they and their fathers have been accustomed; whereas necessity compels the occupiers of higher-rented farms to adopt every device, how novel soever, by which their produce may be increased and the expense of cultivation diminished.'\*

It seems to be a law of our human nature that the soil must be held by idlers so that the world at large may get the full benefit of it. In order that the earth may yield its full fruits, the stimulus of rent must be applied; for as it will yield more than is necessary to pay for its cultivation, the only security to the community that it will all be produced is rent. To pay his rent the cultivator must raise more than enough to feed himself, and that surplus is sold and supports those engaged in other branches of industry, while the rent itself is spent in ways so as to make a demand for more labor of every kind. Rising rents are then clearly an indication of prosperity, and they must be taken by the landlord, for if a law is made by which the cultivator intercepts them, there is one of the most powerful stimulants to exertion on his part at once removed; and the experience of the whole world shows that the faculty of working to gain wealth, or to attain position, is that of the few, and the vast majority of cultivators would not be the better off for an absence or a restriction of rent, but would remain at the old level, only idler, lazier and less useful citizens generally.

If the foregoing be true, and increased rents a sign of national prosperity, it follows that hereditary cultivators at fixed rents are simply an obstruction to good agriculture, and prevent the flow of capital towards land, both by making the land itself an undesirable investment, on account of all these rights cumbering the property, and by discouraging the expenditure of capital among a set of tenants, whose very privileges prevent them exerting themselves to make a return. And the case of hereditary cultivators at fair rents is only somewhat better, even when fair rents are held to be what the land will fetch in the market. The objections to this last tenure are, 1st, that it is

<sup>\*</sup> Treatise on Economical Policy, McCulloch, page 209.

impossible in practice to separate a right of occupancy from an idea that some advantage is to accrue thereby; 2nd, that it perpetuates the interference of a Government Officer to settle what should be a private contract between two parties. It is the business of Government to enforce the performance of a contract between citizens and not to make it for them; and 3rd, because, in Oudh at least, where the last definition is the law, the majority of the cultivators are hereditary, that is, have cultivated the same fields from father to son. This is true of eastern Oudh at any rate, and where the majority cannot be ousted the general rate of rent cannot rise. It is a fiscal officer who has to determine what is the market rate, and he must necessarily admit that to be the market rate which is generally paid. Indeed, in a very short time after the settlement was over, in the natural course of things, a sort of market rate would be established and it would come to be nothing but a fixed rate of rent after all. The tendency of everything in India to become a custom is patent enough, without requiring a law to make it more sure. But in land tenures this tendency is by no means confined to In Mr. Caird's account of the Duke of Cleveland's estate in Durham we find-'It is and always has been very low 'rented. The tenants are very rarely displaced; and some of 'them have held their farms in a regular series from father to 'son since the reign of Elizabeth. And yet, as might have ' been anticipated, the agriculture of the estate has been neg-' lected, the tenants have not made money, and its too beneficent 'proprietor is complained of because he does not reduce the ' present inadequate rental.'\* The disinclination to quarrel with a man's tenantry, and the love of a quiet life operate to keep the proprietor from raising his rents; but it not unfrequently happens that, if the property changes hands and a new landlord does raise the rents, it is followed by a general improvement. 'A 'gentleman expended £20,000 in improving the lands of his ' tenants without charging them a sixpence of additional rent. 'He died, and his successor, being of a different cast, left off ' improving and tried what might be done by doubling the rents; 'and this advance of rent, though considered oppressive in the 'first instance, did more to promote improvement and the in-' terest of all parties than all the benevolence of the preceding The tenants were now compelled to do for them-' proprietor. 'selves what another did for them before.' Our position therefore is, that increased rental is prosperity, and the best security for

<sup>\*</sup> Caird's English Agriculture, page 349. † Davis' Agriculture of South Wales. page 165.

its proper increase is the interest of the proprietor; and, if it is meant that a progressive steady increase should take place, the way to bring it about is to refuse to fix any man's rent, but whenever he makes an agreement with his landlord to keep both parties to it. It follows, as part of this principle, that the landlord should have the power of ejecting a cultivator at pleasure. He will not do so often, and we need not be afraid of it. England the landlord exercises this power, no man being able to hold his land against his will, for if he gives a lease he is held to have consented. In this country the security against a landlord proceeding wholesale against his tenantry is made greater, for the landlord is liable for the Government revenues, and to pay it he must have his land cultivated. The tenant is free to leave if he likes, and any general combination among them would ruin the landlord. We are aware that it will be answered that the cultivator cannot leave, that he is tied down by poverty, by associations, by a terror of going away, and that it is necessary to give him some protection. To this, we answer, that we have already shown that the law as it stands is no protection, that the fact is notorious that the most protected cultivators are no better off than their neighbours, and that if it broke the ties of poverty, associations, and the terror of going away, it would be the greatest of blessings to the land.

What then is to be done? It does not come within the scope of this paper to answer. Indeed any answer to such a question must depend so much upon the circumstances attending the operation of the present law in each province and under each government, that it is the men entrusted with the charge of them who alone can decide. We want the principle admitted, which might then be applied as was found best suited to the

circumstances of each Government.

In the North Western Provinces the occupancy rights are of such old establishment, and have been so thoroughly recognized, that they now constitute property. Here they cannot be taken away; but we think legislation might advance a step and make them transferable. No injustice would be done to any one by that, certainly not to the proprietor, who might himself buy them, and who is most favorably placed to do so, as he could buy the right without ousting the man. At present the right is heritable but not transferable, or it has not been absolutely acknowledged to be so. To the cultivator himself it would be a positive boon, enabling him to sell the right, if he wanted to leave, and emancipate himself from that serf-like attachment which now binds him to the soil. It would relieve the landlord from an incubus which he cannot get rid of otherwise, and which

presses him down at every turn. We believe that if the right were transferable it would be bought up rapidly by the landlords in the North Western Provinces, so soon as they understood its working. Of course the clause giving a man this right after twelve years' occupancy would have to be removed, but we do not propose to say more of a clause which we believe no rational person now stands up for. More than this we think cannot be done for the North Western Provinces, with due regard to justice. In Bengal and in the Punjab the local authorities must be the judges. If the Bengal courts really did not interfere in rent questions before Act X of 1859 was passed, it is certainly not too late to repeal the obnoxious clauses. It is for the Revenue Officers of the Punjab to say whether the right they secured to those whom they were pleased to call hereditary cultivators, should be maintained in the face of their own able Financial Commissioner's conclusions. Their settlement is but for ten years, and it depends upon the safety and expediency of the measure how far it is justifiable. At the end of ten years it is open to Government to revise the whole arrangement, and they should earnestly consider this matter. It may be argued that in the Punjab they created the proprietory title also, and what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. It is no such thing. There is no such law regulating the conduct of either individuals or communities in this world. In the Bible we have the right of the man vindicated who gave the laborers who had worked the whole day and the one who came at the eleventh hour each a penny; and is not the practice consistent with the experience of every man? We gave the proprietory right in the Punjab because it was for our interest to grant it, and we might have withheld the occupancy right to cultivators for the same reason. It is for those on the spot to say whether that should be done now or at the end of the settlement. The Cis Sutlej and Trans Sutlej estates however have been settled for thirty years, and their case might be that of the North Western Provinces.

But in Oudh, where as yet no settlements have been declared, and the Government has only committed itself in the most vague way to maintain an hereditary right of occupancy in the revenue courts during the term of the summary settlement, having forbidden the Settlement Officers to recognise the rights of cultivators at all, (we call them rights because it is the custom, and for want of a better word) it is surely open to Government to deal with this question as may be found best. It is true the Oudh Government refuse to bind the landlord as to the rent, but we have shown that the law is to give fair rents, and the Government have no security how that will be interpreted. Besides we

think we have shown that, if the landlord may not oust his tenant, rent will have a strong tendency to remain stationary. There is no fear of the land falling out of cultivation, and poorer than the cultivators are under protection they cannot be. security of the landlord is the poverty of the cultivator and his local attachment; the security of the cultivator is the absolute necessity it is to the landlord to have his land tilled. What need of more? Why call in the fiscal officer to interfere so unnecessarily? It is impossible for him to estimate all the causes which may alter the value of land in any given locality, and it is not the business of Government to make contracts between private individuals. We do not regulate the prices of commodities, why should we regulate that of land? We would refer people anxious to study this question to Lord Palmerston's speech on the 23rd June in the House of Commons upon Mr. Maguire's motion for a Royal Commission to enquire into the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. He denounces the doctrines, which we here attack, as 'communistic,' 'totally at variance with the whole fabric of social organization, to which, in this 'country, we attach so much value and upon which the interests ' and prosperity of the country depend. Let the owner and the ' tenant settle their own affairs.'

The principle of legislative interference with the rights of property in order to give protection to certain classes is an unsound one, and always leads to more evil than good. Our belief is, that for one case of real oppression rectified, our revenue courts do ten cases of absolute injustice. It is unjust, in the first instance, to interfere to prevent a man doing what he likes with his own, for it directly lessens the market value of his property. It is on this market value that the flow of capital depends, and difficulties in the way of transfer and the creation of subordinate rights operate most strongly to keep land from taking its legitimate place among securities. The common interest on mortgages is 24 per cent. and the European Banks will have nothing to do with land as a security for a loan. Should they be obliged to enter on possession they find all the difficulties we have described in the way of its transfer, and they find themselves bound by all sorts of curious village customs, which give them infinite trouble, and are a source of great loss, while they finally have to submit to have their rents fixed by an officer who has, or may have, his own notions on the subject.

We are of opinion that the rights of the cultivator would be

amply secured by two such rules as these.

Rule 1st.—He cannot be ousted during the term of his lease or in the middle of the agricultural year, unless he is a defaulter.

Rule 2nd.—If he has been allowed to sow a crop without any agreement being made, he is to hold for that year at last year's rent. Beyond that we are of opinion that everything should be left to mutual arrangement, the landlord having the power to let his land to whom and at what rate he pleases, and the cultivator to carry his labor to the market where he can get

the best wages.

That capital may come freely upon the land the right of property in it must be absolute, and its transfer clogged by no difficulties raised up to keep it in certain hands. In England no man can entail his estate now upon unborn generations, and the legislature, to get rid of copyhold tenures, compel the superior to take a sum and give up his rights, or to give a sum and purchase that of the under proprietor. We do not wish the Indian Government to do this, but simply to refuse to create rights in favor of parties who have no title to them, and to enable a man to transfer to another his own property as he pleases, without the interference of a third party to forbid him. Were that done we believe there would be a great improvement in the value of land in general, and the country would be greatly benefitted by an increased production. Old notions would give way before example and opportunity. Money would be borrowed to make masonry wells, a measure by which not only would the produce be greatly increased, but crops, like cotton, tobacco and sugar-cane, be raised on soils where now, for want of capital, the only harvests reaped are such as give but very poor returns.

No one can look at India now without seeing that we are on the eve of a great industrial development. Railways are spreading over the land; tea and coffee plantations covering the slopes of the hills; silk, cotton, and indigo beginning to be raised in localities which, a few years ago, never dreamed of such things. Men are beginning to travel, to see for themselves and think for themselves, and education is telling them that there is 'many a 'thing in heaven and earth beyond the reach of their philosophy.' The signs of progress are all around. It is as if the giant of India, after a sleep of 2000 years, were roused up and about to go forward again, and shall we do anything to stop him, or throw difficulties in his way? No! rather let us help him forward. Let whatever we do be in the right direction, in the way that has made our own country so great. Nations differ, we allow, they have various ideas and feelings which modify the laws which are common to the whole human race, and in India they have been and often must be deferred to. But here the modfication proceeds, in two out of the three subjects of which this paper has treated, from ourselves, and is contrary to our own

home practice and experience, while it has no warrant in what

prevailed here before we took the Government in hand.

Let us cease from amateur legislation then, and make necessity, proved necessity, or at least such a manifest improvement as shall be patent to all men, the basis of our innovations. But let us cease to make laws on the principle of universal benevolence: by doing so we find ourselves taking one man's property to give to another to whom it does no good. We retard the progress of society, and have to fall back on our good intentions to answer a specific charge of injustice.

ART. VII. 1.—Report of John Hawkshaw, F. R. S., to the Egyptian Government.—3rd February 1863.

2.—Report of a Commission appointed by the King of Holland to report on the consequences of the Suez Canal,—1860.

7E have often thought it insufferably provoking when opening a book for information on a subject of present interest to find that a long preliminary treatise on the subject as known to the ancients must be either waded through or skipped before we can learn its recent aspect. We have thought that in most cases it would be better to invert the arrangement, and after interesting the reader by a recital of the subject in its modern bearings, to trace it upwards to the original suggestion. to the first germ which has now received its development We intend to follow this course in our present article and from a vast mass of material accumulated on the subject of the Suez Canal to lay before our readers the substance of two publications, the latest and the most important. One of these is the report of one of the most eminent of our English Engineers on the present state of the works now in progress on the Isthmus of Suez, and on the probability of their being carried to a successful issue; the other is the Report of Commission deputed by the King of Holland to enquire into and report on the probable consequences of the construction of the Canal, should it be successfully accomplished.

Three questions arise in connection with the great undertaking which is now fairly under trial:—I. Is the construction of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez practicable? II. Is it practicable at such a cost as to offer any prospect of remuneration? III. Supposing the Canal to be completed what will be its effects on the commerce of the world? The first of these questions Mr. John Hawkshaw, upon whom the mantles of Stephenson and Brunel have fallen, was requested by the Pacha of Egypt to investigate and report upon. The last the Holland Commission have considered very fully. The answer to the second must be sought from many and various sources,

as well as from the two documents above mentioned.

We have promised to begin at the end and go backwards, and must therefore state at once that Mr. Hawkshaw, after examining the subject in all its bearings and carefully viewing the progress of the works up to the present time, with a statement of their cost before him, pronounces the opinion that, in an engineering point of view, the project is practicable at a cost of ten millions sterling, that is, at a cost which requires a net return of half a million per annum to afford a dividend of five per cent. Into the question of the probable return for the capital to be expended Mr. Hawkshaw does not enter, considering it beyond his commission.

Mr. Hawkshaw's report is admirably brief, clear and decided. We shall endeavour to give its purport in as few words as possible under distinct heads. Should the project be carried out according to the last approved modifications and Mr. Hawkshaw's recent suggestions, the following magnificent works will occupy what is now one of the most sterile and deserted spots on the

globe.

Two jetties projecting from Port Said into the Mediterranean Sea, the eastern jetty 3609 yards in length and the western 2515 yards, forming a canal 437 yards in breadth, will receive the vessels sailing for the east and conduct them into a basin at Port Said, having an area of 875 yards square. From this basin a canal 90 miles in length will convey the vessels to the Port of Suez. This Canal will be formed by excavations through the desert for 423 miles of its course, and for the rest by deepening and embanking where necessary the beds of Lake Menzaleh, Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes. The Canal when excavated will have a breadth varying from 190 to 262½ feet, and a depth of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The depth of excavations will vary from  $29\frac{1}{2}$  to 80 feet. At Suez the vessels will be received into a basin and graving dock now constructing for the railway and steam packet The stone jetties originally contemplated at the entrance traffic. to the Red Sea have been abandoned. It is now proposed to dredge a channel from the mouth of the graving dock into deep water, the portion to be dredged averaging 16½ feet of depth.

'The basin and graving dock and works connected therewith are undertakings wholly unconnected with, and independent of the operations of the Suez Canal Company,' though now rendered auxiliary to them by the Government of Egypt. They were projected as an adjunct to the railway communication and have been undertaken by the Messageries Imperiales who have entered into a contract with the Egyptian Government to complete them for a sum of £ 240,000. 'The works consist of an

extension of the Railway by embankment into the Red Sea and of the construction of a basin and also of a graving dock. The Railway will be laid on the sides of the basin where there will be a sufficient depth of water for the vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company to enter. Thus the passengers and cargo will be delivered and received

directly to and from the Railway and the fuel will be brought alongside. The length of the Railway will be 3 miles. The basin is intended to be 1,476 ft. long, 820 ft. broad, and 23 ft. below the mean level of the sea. The graving dock is to be 393 ft. long, 95 wide at the top, and 75 ft. wide at the bot-

tom, and is to be constructed at the upper end of the basin.

Such is the splendid apparatus by which it is proposed to overcome the interruption presented by the Isthmus of Suez, and connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

But it remains to describe a most important auxiliary work, viz., the construction of a Fresh-water Canal from the Nile, near Cairo to Timsah, and thence to Suez. This work is of a kind with which our Indian readers are perfectly familiar. Although undertaken in connection with the Ship Canal, and primarily intended to afford fresh water to the labourers employed on the Company's works, and to the town of Suez, this work is complete in itself, and might stand alone as a project of Irrigation and Navigation. From above the Barrage, or, as it would be called in the Madras Presidency where such works are most common, the Anicut, of the Nile, it is proposed to lead a channel by Ras-el-Wade to Timsah and thence to Suez. From Cairo to Ras-el-Wade the length of the Canal will be 56 miles, and it is estimated to cost £140,000. From Ras-el-Wade to Timsah the Canal has been already executed. This work comprised about 1,308,000 cubic yards, and has been completed for £28,000. The length of the portion of the canal from Timsah to Suez will be about 50 The estimated cost of this section is £140,000, which is based on the cost of that portion of the work already performed. So important is this canal to the general project that the Company have resolved to concentrate their forces upon the latter portion. When Mr. Hawkshaw visited the works 9,000 men were employed on it, and this number was to be increased as largely as possible in the hope of completing it by May 1863.

The completion of this section would have the following

valuable results:

'This section of the fresh-water canal passes near to and on the north eastern side of the mountain of Généffé, and the material of the mountain, which is calcareous rock, is well

'adapted for building purposes and for the formation of the sea 'jetties. When finished there will be a water communication, ' not only from Généssé, but also from Suez viá Timsah to Port 'Said. It is intended to convey the stone for the jetties at Port 'Said from Généffé along this canal, and hence the importance of its immediate completion. The portion of the western 'jetty at Port Said already executed, has been constructed of stone conveyed by sea from the quarries of Mex, which is 'more costly than if the stone were brought from Généffé. 'A collateral advantage of the completion of this section of 'the fresh-water canal will be, that the inhabitants of Suez and 'the shipping and railway locomotive establishment at that ' place, now dependent on water carried from Cairo, a distance of 90 miles, will be put in immediate connexion with a fresh-'water canal from the Nile.' The upper section of this canal is not yet commenced, the supply of water being drawn from the existing conduits which now reach Ras-el-Wade; but these become dry or nearly so at low Nile, the fresh-water canal therefore cannot be perfect until 'it is put in proper communication with the portion of the Nile above the Barrage, nor indeed until the Barrage, which ' is still incomplete, is finished.'

We have said that this canal though designed as auxiliary to the greater work, is itself an important work of irrigation. The Company have purchased for £80,000 a tongue of land containing about 28,000 acres extending from Abbaceh to Ras-el-Wade, and, as part compensation for their outlay on this work they have the privilege of cultivating as much land on each side of the canal as they can find means to irrigate, paying to Government the same tax upon it as is charged on the other cultivated lands of Egypt. Between Cairo and Abbaceh there appear to be no lands worth cultivating by the Company, but they are of opinion that interest on that portion of the expenditure may be made by disposing of water for irrigation purposes to the adjoining landowners. From Ras-el-Wade to Suez the Company calculate that in 20 years 123,555 acres may be cultivated by means of the

fresh-water canal.

Thus the prospectus is as follows:-

The whole cost of this fresh-water canal is estimated by the International Commissioners at £360,000. Supposing the interest of the first portion, which is to cost £140,000, to be covered by the sale of the water, there remains an expenditure of £220,000 only for the irrigation of 151,555 acres of land. This is about 30s. per acre. We do not know what may be considered a fair

estimate of the rental of such land in Egypt, but the following calculation appears to be a safe one. We find it mentioned by Mr. Hawkshaw that the Ouady estate let out to Arabs, has this year brought to the Company a net revenue of £5,960 (say£6 000). If this estate of 58,000 acres yielded that sum, the whole area of 151,000 acres will yield £32,000 as the interest on the above outlay of £220,000 or about 15 per cent. To those acquainted with the irrigation works of India such an estimate will appear by no means excessive. Indeed in a land so highly productive as Egypt, and in a locality so advantageous as this will be when the works are completed, a water rent of 10s. per acre would, we conceive, be very moderate, and this would raise the return on this outlay to £75,000 per annum. A rental of £75,000 a year would be a handsome dividend on a capital of £220,000; but we must keep in mind that when viewed as a part of the general undertaking, it is but a small portion of the sum of £500,000 required annually to afford a dividend of 5 per cent. on the whole capital of ten millions sterling. But we are anticipating a later portion of our subject.

It has been seen by the above statement that the works are already in progress. By a statement placed by M. Lesseps in Mr. Hawkshaw's hands, it appears that the expenditure to 1st December 1862, amounted to no less than £1,984,000 including the purchase of the Ouady estate. The portions of the

works accomplished up to date are:

1st. The fresh-water canal from Ras-el-Wade to Timsah (£28,000). 2nd. 'As respects the ship canal the Company have, partly by dredging in Lake Menzaleh and partly by ex-'cavating between that Lake and Lake Timsah, opened a water 'communication between the Mediterranean and Timsah sufficient ' for flat-bottomed boats of small draught of water.' 3rd. 'The 'Company have also made a commencement at Port Said, having 'executed a small portion of the western sea jetty.' 4th. 'The rest of the expenditure has been on expenses prelimi-'nary to the formation of the Company, purchases of land 'and houses, plant, interest to shareholders, expenses of manage-'ment in France and Egypt, salaries &c., as shewn in the Appendix.\* On the important heads of the estimated cost of the works when completed the probable time of completion and cost of maintenance Mr. Hawkshaw thus states the result of the investigations through which it is not necessary that we should follow him. 'Having now reviewed the several matters connected with 'the engineering construction and with the maintenance of the conclusions. at the following canal, 1 have arrived

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix, page, 371.

'Firstly.—As to engineering construction there are no works on the canal presenting on their face any unusual difficulty of execution, and there are no contingencies that I can conceive likely to arise that would introduce difficulties insurmountable by engineering skill. Secondly.—As regards the maintenance of the canal, I am of opinion that no obstacles would be met with that would prevent the work when completed being maintained with ease, and without the necessity of incurring any extraordinary or unusual yearly expenses. As regards the cost of construction, the question of estimate will have to be modified in accordance with the observations I have previously made on the points directly affecting it, and it stands as follows:—

\*Total capital proposed to be raised ... 8,000,000
Earthwork saved ... 7,520,000

Add for protective works through Bitter Lakes ... 280,000

Add for pitching bottom and slope of Canal from Red Sea to Bitter Lakes, 500,000

Add further sum probably needed for interest on the capital during construction, 800,000

Total £9,100,000

Looking, however, to the money already expended compared with the work done, and considering the contingencies connect-'ed with the probability of meeting with rock at the Red Sea entrance, and that the deep dredging in the canal, and at the 'Mediterranean entrance may cost more than the estimated 'amount, and also looking to the contingencies incident to an undertaking of such magnitude as the ship canal, I should think it prudent for you to assume that, before it be fully finished and perfected, the expenditure including the additional cost of the modifications I have suggested (should the whole of them be adopted) together with the land purchases and cost of buildings may reach £10,000,000. In this estimate I assume the time within which the canal will be open for traffic will not exceed five years. I have however given no credit for rental that may be derived from the land and dwelling houses of the Company. As regards the cost of maintenance the International Commissioners entered upon that subject in 'detail, and estimated that a yearly expenditure of £62,820 would be sufficient for the purpose. I see no reason to differ from that conclusion.'

Thus then, at the end of five years, if this noble scheme is carried out in its integrity, these magnificent works will be available to the commerce of nations, but will require a return of £562,820 per annum to provide for their maintenance and

furnish a dividend of 5 per cent. to the subscribers.

This then is the view of the subject taken by a person most competent to form a just judgment of the undertaking, viewing it by the light of practical experience gained by the prosecution of the works up to the present time, and viewing it simply as an engineering work without reference either to the pecuniary results, or the political effects of this vast undertaking. We conceive, therefore, that Mr. Hawkshaw's statement will be taken as a safe basis for argument on the future prospects of the Company. Mr. Hawkshaw's Report is dated 3rd February 1863; the accounts upon which it is founded are brought down to the 1st December 1862. The following letter shews that the Report has been considered encouraging by the Directors of the Company, and that the progress of the works has been uninterrupted either by political difficulties, or by pecuniary alarms.

It was published in the City Article of the 'Times,' and relates to the progress of the works of the Suez Caual, with regard to the success of which Englishmen continue so per-

sistently sceptical:-

Sir, -As there has been an absence for some time past of any mention in the 'Times' with reference to the works of the Suez Canal, will you permit me to state that they have not suffered any interruption and continue to be pushed forward with unabated vigour? At the meeting in Paris, on the 15th of July, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps made his annual statement, entering minutely into every detail connected with the affairs of the company, and which have given general satisfaction. funds in hand are sufficiently ample to obviate the necessity for any further call until next year. The able report published by the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers in London, who went out to Egypt at the solicitation of the Egyptian Government, will be read with interest. It confirms what has so often been put forward, that, as regards the engineering construction, there are no works on the canal presenting on their face any unusual difficulty of execution, and that there are no contingencies likely to arise that would introduce difficulties insurmountable by engineering skill. And as regards the maintenance of the canal, the report further states that no obstacles would be met

with that would prevent the work, when completed, being maintained with ease and efficiency, and without the necessity of incurring any extraordinary or unusual yearly expenditure.—I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

DANIEL A. LANGE,

Director and English Representative of the Suez Canal

Company. London, July 28.

It is also announced that the difficulties arising from the question of forced labour have been overcome, and the political bearings of the question adjusted, so as to remove the hindrances which threatened to arrest the progress of the undertaking from causes other than its physical difficulties. We rejoice that it is so, and that the opinions of the advocates and opponents of this great project will be fairly tested, provided the shareholders are willing to risk their money; and we rejoice, too, that if the work should hereafter be arrested and the commerce of nations deprived of this boon, it will not be attributable either to the jealousy of English engineers or the

alarms of English politicians.

We propose in the remainder of this article to suppose Mr. Hawkshaw's views to be borne out by fact; to suppose the capital, ten millions sterling, to have been punctually paid and honestly expended, and that at the end of five years the works have been completed for ten millions sterling, and that it is announced to the world that the Suez Ship Canal is open to the vessels of all nations, and that the Company now look to reap the fruits of their bold adventure. We have shewn above, that to afford them a return of 5 per cent. the works must yield a return of £562,820 per annum. But as the irrigation works will probably have been in progress for some years, we will suppose them to yield sufficient to cover the cost of maintenance of the canal, and strike off the £62,820 per annum under that head, and view £500,000 as the amount to be realised in order to afford a dividend. Whence are the shareholders to receive this amount?

The only answer that can be given, viewing the subject commercially and irrespectively of any guarantee either by the Pacha of Egypt or the Emperor of the French must be, 'from the tolls 'paid by vessels using the canal.' The question then arises what rate of tolls is to be collected and what number of vessels must pass through the canal to yield the required sum. We find that the toll which it is proposed to levy, is 10 francs per ton, or £40 per 100 tons on vessels of all classes irrespectively of the value of the cargo. It will therefore require 1,250,000 tons, or say 1,250 vessels, of one thousand tons

each, to pass through the canal in order to yield the required sum. In other words four vessels of one thousand tons, or their equivalent in larger and smaller vessels, must pass the canal daily (Sundays excepted) in order to raise the tolls to the required amount.

In this calculation so far from overstating the question and placing it in a point of view unfavourable to the projectors we find on turning to their own publications that we have considerably understated it. Before the Chamber of Birmingham in 1857, Mr. Lange speaking in the name of M. Lesseps estimated the annual expenditure on maintenance and interest (on eight millions sterling) at £463,000 per annum and gave the following statement of the anticipations of the Company. 'I would ' however add, he observed, that an average of two ships per day each 2,500 tons burthen, would yield nearly £800,000 per annum, and that while these two ships per day only represent 'an annual tonnage of 1,800,000 tons the actual tonnage that goes round the Cape from all parts of Europe is 3,000,000 If this canal were open at present we estimate that we should have 2,000,000 of this traffic. But, according to ' the Board of Trade returns it appears that the annual increase ' in foreign shipping is 322,000 tons, so that by the time the canal 'is formed six years hence the total increase would amount to '2,000,000 tons, and the probability is that we should have 4,000,000 tons going through the canal instead of 2,000,000. 'I think I have shewn you enough to prove, as far as we can 'possibly see, that the likely returns of the canal will be great.' We take this as a fair statement of the views of those who favour the project as a commercial speculation, only observing that since these words were spoken the six years have passed away, and this delay with some alterations in the plan has added two millions sterling to the capital to be expended, and consequently £100,000 to the interest to be paid annually.

We shall now endeavour from such information as is in our possession to ascertain what are the probabilities of so large a commerce being carried on through the canal as is thus shewn to be necessary to render the enterprise remunerative. In this enquiry we shall follow chiefly the views of the Dutch Commissioners as being free from all suspicion of bias. On the recommendation of his Minister of the Interior the king of Holland, when the canal of Suez became a definite project, issued a com-

mission with the following objects in view:

'1st.—An enquiry into the probable effects on commerce and navigation in general, and on those of the Low Countries in particular, of the construction of the Suez Canal.

'2nd.—An indication of the course and measures to be follow-'ed and adopted in order to preserve and augment as far as 'possible the share of the Netherlands in commerce and na-'vigation.

'3rd.—A suggestion of the steps to be taken on the part of the Government to sustain and promote the efforts of the com-

' mercial classes.'

We consider the report which resulted as particularly adapted to our purpose as being free from all prejudice either from French enthusiasm or English rivalry; while the matter has been treated by the Commissioners with liberality combined with Dutch minuteness. 'A project, they observe, which has been 'accepted with favour by the public can be viewed only from a 'common point; it would be to display selfishness to lose sight 'of this point of view and uselessly to oppose local interests to 'the advancement of the common good.'

We shall not endeavour to carry our readers through the two hundred and fifty pages of the report now before us, for the conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived may be briefly

stated.

They are: (1) 'That with a Screw Steamer of 2,400 tons and 600 horse power the duration of a voyage by the Cape may be calculated at 53 days 9h. 3m. with a consumption of 2,770 tons of coal, and by Suez at 40 days 5h. 10m. with a consumption of 2,151 tons of coal. That although it appears that for navigation by steam to pass the route by the canal deserves the preference it can only be made use of for the transport of letters, passengers and merchandise capable of bearing a very heavy freight. For the transport of the principal products of the Dutch Colonial possessions it cannot be employed in consequence of the expense of fuel and the room which they occupy in the vessels.'

2. That the canal will be little used by sailing vessels. 'We do not hesitate to conclude that for sailing vessels going from the Low Countries to Java and beyond it, and returning thence to the Low Countries the route by Suez offers disadvantages, which are augmented by the difficulties of the passage through the Straits of Gibraltar and Babel-mandeb but especially of the Straits of Gibraltar, where vessels in getting out are often delayed a very long time. The same delays are produced in the Red Sea by calms and contrary winds. These delays cannot be remedied in open sea by means of steam-tugs.'

The calculations from which this conclusion is drawn start from Lizard Point, and are therefore equally applicable to the trade of England and to that of the North of Europe generally,

except inasmuch as the voyage from the Cape to Batavia may be shorter than that to British India. But it is unnecessary to enter further into this question inasmuch as the projectors of the Canal themselves admit that the passage by the Red Sea is little likely to be made by sailing vessels. Thus in one passage in M. Lessep's publications it is observed. charge for passing along the canal had been fixed at a maximum of ten francs per ton. Although the canal would be chiefly 'available for the passage of steam vessels, sailing vessels could 'also take advantage of it.' Again, 'It was not sailing vessels but steamers and screws that they had calculated upon, al-' though sailing vessels at certain periods of the year, from April ' to September, could always make use of the canal.'\* Again, at p. 83. 'Mr. Lange said, sailing vessels would require 'to choose their time-but sailing vessels had not been much ' calculated upon.' It is, in fact, upon five thousand tons per day almost entirely of steam tonnage that the projectors calculate.

Steamers and sailing vessels being thus excluded from the calculation the Commissioners' report is chiefly occupied by the inquiry whether navigation by vessels of a mixed class, that is clipper sailing vessels with auxiliary screws, adopting the passage of the Suez Canal is likely to supersede the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope. The result of very minute calculations on this subject is as follows:

By the Cape—Average length of outward voyage 80 days. By Suez (at the most favourable season) ... ... 62 ,,

Saving 18 days.

Cost of outward voyage and home by the Cape 179.11 per last By Suez ... 228.49 ,,

Difference ... 49.29 per last. (or about £1 per ton.)

Being for 1,039 lasts fr. 51,211.89. At this cost the return cargo is received 18 days earlier. The average value of the cargo is 874,500 Florins. Eighteen days interest is—fr. 4,549.85, showing a difference to the disadvantage of the Canal of Suez of 46,662.04 (about £1,866).

The Commissioners enter into numerous other calculations of the duration and cost of voyages outward by Suez and

<sup>\*</sup> Inquiry into the opinions of the Commercial classes of Great Britain on the Suez Ship Canal (p. 21.)—By M. Lesseps.

home by the Cape, and outward by the Cape and homeward by Suez, and give each for different seasons of the year. We have selected one which we have thought gives the fairest average. The enhanced cost of the voyages by Suez arises of course chiefly from the greater use of steam on this voyage compared with the Cape route.

The general conclusions of the Commissioners from the calcu-

lations they exhibit are as follows:

'lst. That with reference to the expenses of the voyage by 'the Cape of Good Hope common sailing vessels are at a 'disadvantage compared with "Mixed Clippers" following the 'same route if the rates of insurance, and the interest on 'the value of the cargo received 36 days earlier be taken into 'account.

'2nd. That for mixed clippers the route by the Cape of Good Hope is the least expensive. That if a vessel of this class on the outward voyage takes the passage by the Cape and on the homeward that by Suez during the months from March to October, the transport will be accelerated by 18 days and the goods will reach the Low Countries 54 days sooner than by a common sailing vessel at an enhanced cost of fr. 3.04 per last (about 2s. 6d. for two tons).

'3rd. That the expenses of a mixed clipper doubling the Cape outward and returning by Suez, after allowing for the difference of interest on the return cargo are 26 fr. 58c. per last higher than for the same ship doubling the Cape outward and home-

'ward.\*

'4th. That the enhanced expenses of a mixed clipper passing 'through the canal outward and homeward compared with the 'same vessel doubling the Cape on both passages, deduction being 'made of the difference of interest on the home cargo are.

'(a.) Under the most favourable circumstances 44 fr. 90c.

per last, with a saving of 18 days on the return.

(b.) Under less favourable circumstances of 60 fr. 90c. with

gain of only 9 days.

'5th. If a mixed clipper make the outward voyage by the 'Cape and uses the canal only on its return, there will result a 'saving of 18fr. 31c. per last compared with the same vessel 'going and returning by the canal, the return cargo arriving at 'the same time.'

Thus then the decision of the Holland Commissioners is that if the present system of navigation by sailing vessels should be changed as they recommend in favour of "Mixed Clippers,"

The franc is equal to about 10d. or 25 francs = 1£ or 10 Rs.

the route by the Cape would still have the preference over the Suez route for the trade of Northern Europe. And the Commissioners commence the second division of their report in

the following words:

'In summing up the result of the first division of our en-'quiries, we see that it is not exactly true, generally speaking, as has been asserted in so many writings that the cutting of 'the Isthmus of Suez will be to the profit of all countries, 'that the distance which separates them from India will be 'reduced, and that the only difference in this respect between 'the different states will be in proportion to the share taken 'in this enterprize. On the contrary it is evident to us that 'voyages by sailing vessels, outward and homeward, by the 'Canal of Suez do not offer any advantage, but will rather 'entail loss of time and money on comparing the probable 'results of such voyages with those of actual passages by the 'Cape of Good Hope. The advantages of this last route '(by the Cape) will be much augmented when it is traversed by sailing clippers and mixed clippers following the newly 'discovered Nautical Route (referring to a new track recom-'mended by scientific men of Holland for the Cape voyage). 'The route by the Cape will often be the most advantageous 'for the merchant ships of Western Europe and America, making 'for India and especially those destined for countries situated, 'as are our Eastern possessions, to the south of the Equator. 'For these expeditions the route by the Isthmus of Suez will 'have no advantage, or advantage so uncertain that a large 'number of navigations will continue to follow the ancient route ' by the Cape.'

To this conclusion the Commissioners are brought with regard to the trade of Northern Europe, but it must not be thought that they therefore view the project as devoid of consequences most important to the world at large and to the interests of all nations Holland included. On the contrary they consider that it will influence most favourably the commerce of nations in proportion to their proximity to the Isthmus, and that to the countries which border the Mediterranean it will give advantages which render it the duty of the Dutch Government to take every possible precaution to ensure to Holland a fair share of the

benefits which it will bestow.

It is right that we should here state, that while we have given as fair a statement as our limits would allow, of the report of the Dutch Commission, it is the report of a majority only, some of the members drawing other deductions from the statistics which they had before them. The following extract from a

published letter from one of the dissentients to M. Lesseps ex-

presses the views of the minority:

'It would be a great mistake, writes M. Constad, to think that the report of the Dutch Commission is unfavorable to the Canal. On the contrary it contains many passages favourable to the Isthmus of Suez, particularly as regards other countries, and especially China, Japan, India, Egypt, Turkey, Russia, the Ionian Islands, the States of the Mediterranean, Austria, Sardinia, Venice, Trieste, Genoa, Marseilles, the South of France, Algeria, Spain, &c., all of which as shewn in the report

' will have a large share in the benefits of the Canal.

'The Commission again expresses itself very distinctly in many places on the advantages of the Canal to England and the Low Countries, although it thinks we shall need much energy and prudence to secure our share. Farther, the Commission has arrived at very different conclusions as regards navigation by sailing vessels, by mixed vessels, and by steam vessels. One may almost question whether, some years hence, navigation by sails will exist. For myself I think not. In a few years (when the canal is finished) our navigation will be only by steam, and all that is now said regarding navigation by sails will find its reply in the fait accomption of steam. Almost all agree that with steam everything is in favour of the canal of Suez.

'I cannot enter here into all the details of the Commissioners' calculations, which can be more conveniently examined when the French translation, now under preparation, shall have appeared, with the necessary commentaries. It is sufficient for me to tell you that my own private opinion is no way changed, and that I hold to my opinion, that the cutting through the Isthmus of Suez, that great Work of Peace, will be a boon to

'all the nations of the globe.

'It is clear that the advantages of the canal will be in proportion to the geographical position of the different countries. I think too that Holland has reason to apprehend, that she will be one of the nations least benefited by the construction of the canal; but I think that she will derive as much benefit as should content her. We should not be jealous of the gains of others when we ourselves receive a good share.'

The impression which the report of the Dutch Commissioners is calculated to convey, is farther endeavoured to be removed by the authority of M. Larousse, Hydrographer of the (French) Imperial Navy, who taking Point de Galle, instead of Batavia, as one of the bases of his calculations, gives the following as the average duration of the voyages of sailing vessels, a result very different from that of the Dutch Commission:

zard P	oint to	Point .	de Gal	le.	
• • •				106	days.
mmer)	•••	•••	•••	55	,,
ence				51	**
Marse	illes to	Point of	de Gall	e.	••
•••	• • •			109	,,
•••		•••	•••	42	"
	mmer) ence Marse	mmer) ence Marseilles to	mmer) ence Marseilles to Point	mmer)	mmer) 55 ence 51 Marseilles to Point de Galle 109

Difference ... 67

And M. Larousse gives as the result of his calculations from the Dutch statistics, that the passage by Suez will effect a saving on the expenses of a sailing vessel whenever the voyage is shortened by 24 days. Thus widely are opinions on this important point divided, but we have given fairly those of both

parties. Between them experience alone can decide.

But if we must hazard a conjecture; if we should suppose ourselves in the position of a person carefully considering whether he could take part in the work as a mercantile speculation, with a fair prospect of an adequate return for his capital, we think that the result would be against our taking shares. We consider that the work will greatly advance communication with India by steam, but that it would not be safe to calculate on the adoption of the Suez route by any sailing vessels which would have to pass the Straits of Gibraltar as well as the canal and the Straits of Babel Mandeb. That the canal may increase the use of steam in preference to sails we consider to be highly probable, but such a process must be gradual. Such vessels will not be constructed in anticipation of the canal. The success of the work is not so well assured as to lead to this. Of the three millions of tons which M. Lesseps states to be now engaged in the Eastern trade, how small is the proportion of steamers! Of 6,510 vessels constructed in England, from 1851 to 1857, only 1,199 were steamers, giving an average of only 171 a year. In Holland, within the same period, of 1,416 vessels constructed, only 36 were steamers. How slowly then must the navigation of the world change!

Again, it must be remembered that the transport of mails, passengers, and goods of high value, will be by no means accelerated by the Suez canal. They are passed now by the Railway in 36 hours; more than this will be required for the lengthened voyage from Alexandria to Port Said, the passage

through a canal of 90 miles, and time for coaling.

By passengers, except invalids the route by Cairo and Alexandria will always be preferred as affording an agreeable

break in the sea voyage, and the opportunity of visiting two interesting cities, and this without loss of time. The canal will most probably be used by the Peninsular and Oriental Company for many of their vessels, because the heavy expense of stationing vessels to wait for several days on each side of the canal for the Mail expected on the other side may be in a great degree economised; but we much doubt whether the saving will be so great as to allow of any appreciable reduction in the charge for freight on merchandize. The canal dues on a vessel of 2,500 tons will be £1,000, and we do not see how the rates of steam freight can, through its agency, be materially lowered. It is commonly reported, that without the subsidy for the Mails the Peninsular and Oriental Company's vessels would not pay, and it has yet to be proved that the transport by steam of goods only at rates which shall attract merchandize from

the Cape route, can be made remunerative.

Still, the increasing intercourse between India and Europe may be much augmented by cheaper fares resulting from competition, and mixed clippers carrying passengers and goods of high value may prove remunerative when the price of coal is so greatly cheapened at Suez and Aden, as it is likely to be by the Canal, and the Screw Company which tried the Cape route and failed, may be revived. But the most liberal calculation that we can venture upon is to suppose that five years hence the Peninsular and Oriental Company may send weekly vessels both to Calcutta and Bombay, whereas they now send fortnightly, and that the Messageries Imperiales and the Austrian Lloyds Company may have established from Marseilles and from Trieste or Ancona, an aggregate of traffic equal to that of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. Suppose the vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Company to amount to 8,500 tons per week, viz. 3,500 from Southampton and Marseilles, and 5,000 from Calcutta and Bombay; multiplying this by four and twelve it gives 408,000 tons per annum for the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and 816,000 tons for the whole. This at 10 francs a ton gives a return to the canal of £326,400, an amount far short of the required This is on the supposition that every vessel goes through the canal, which we think highly improbable. We do not think that the line by Cairo will be entirely abandoned.

Considering, therefore, that each year's delay beyond the five years will add half a million to the cost of the works; considering too that under the late orders of the Sultan regarding forced labour, the price of labour has been greatly raised. We cannot persuade ourselves that an investment

in the Suez Canal would be a safe speculation, and we think that the fact so much dwelt upon by French writers, that no Englishmen have taken shares, may be attributed rather to English commercial prudence than to national jealousy.

We have endeavoured to view the subject as fairly and dispassionately as we can, and we shall close this part of our sub-

ject by letting M. Lesseps speak for himself:

'The project of cutting through the Isthmus of Suez, ' is opposed on the other side of the channel on commercial and 'political grounds. Considered as a commercial undertaking, ' nearly the whole of the English Press maintains that the 'project is impracticable, and that if executed it will have 'so little practical use that it will not cover its cost. On the other hand the Press and public opinion on the con-' tinent of Europe, and the world generally, are unanimous in an 'opinion diametrically opposite. Of these two views which is 'the right one? If both are sincere, the partisans of neither ' can regret that they should be put to the test of the event—of 'experience-of fact. The undertaking is sufficiently supported 'by those who have faith in its success, and this success if 'obtained, will, by their own admission, benefit those who do 'not believe in it, and from whom we do not ask any kind of ' concurrence or assistance. This test the Universal Company ' claims the right of trying at its own risk and peril, and the 'English nation has too much good sense and justice to wish to ' prevent a Commercial Association from making the experiment. 'England cannot expect that the 25,000 shareholders, who re-' main immoveable in the midst of all the difficulties created at 'every step to discourage and disunite them, should sacrifice their conviction and their interests in a project in which Eng-'land was, and is still free, to join; and which assures to Eng-'land, if it succeed, the full and equal enjoyment of the ' benefits offered to the commerce of the whole world. By these 'remarks I make no pretensions to change a line of conduct 'already adopted, or to alter fixed opinions, I only wished to 'shew that, if the Continent does not think in common with 'a portion of the Press of England, as to the practicability and ' the utility of the Suez Canal, the Continent has on its side 'strong arguments and weighty authorities.

'The shareholders of the Suez Canal are about to open a new route to the commerce of the world, but they will not prevent those who prefer it from passing by the route of the Cape, any more than the shareholders of the Railroads hinder the traffic by ordinary roads. They have the right of not admitting that

'their opponents are more clear-sighted protectors than them-'selves of their own interests. They are happily free, and they 'run no risk of finding themselves interdicted the management 'of their own property, or obliged to hand it over to those who 'profess to give them good advice.'\*

Such arguments are unanswerable, and may well close this portion of our subject; while we await, with the interest which every man of ordinary intelligence must feel, the great decision

of facts.

On the third head of our subject we shall say but few words. The Canal of Suez, though it may not remunerate the projectors, cannot fail to confer vast benefits on commerce and civilization, and as a great work achieved by the principle of private combination, will stand in noble contrast with the useless monuments of despotic authority almost visible from its surface. The Canal of Suez and the Pyramids of Egypt will mark two important epochs in the world's history. But we antirevolutions in of nations. the commerce cipate no We form no pictures of Venice and Genoa rising from their ruins, and we do not think that Lord Macaulay's New Zealander will immediately take his passage by the Suez Canal to sit on the ruins of London bridge. The fact that the Levant and Egypt are nearer to Marseilles than to England, has not deprived England of her share in the Cotton of Egypt, and the Currants of Zante, and we do not anticipate any disastrous effects upon the trade of England, although that of Marseilles should receive, as it doubtless will, a valuable stimulus from its proximity to India and China. There is a vast difference between the commerce of the ancient and the modern world. The spices, the pearls, and the costly silks of India were exchanged for the golden aurei of Rome and the sequins of Venice. The raw cotton, the wool, the jute and the linseed of modern commerce, throw into insignificance the trade which formerly passed by the Red Sea, and raw silk has taken the place of the fabrics which Europe sought in Asia when its own looms produced only the coarsest woollen cloths. We can rejoice in the great benefits which we hope the Canal will produce in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Madagascar, without any fear of England not having its full share in the trade which, we trust, is to civilize these nations.

With regard to the effects of the Canal on the politics of Europe M. Lesseps shall again speak, for his words are distinct

and weighty.

There remains then only the Politics question. It

<sup>\*</sup> Esposé Général des faits. Par M Lesseps.

is the only one which we have now to discuss. Objec-'tion upon objection has been heaped around it. It has been ' said that the Company is not universal, that it has become French; that the concession of the Viceroy of Egypt con-' fers upon it sovereign rights over the territory of the Isthmus; 'that it invests it with the power of erecting fortresses on the line of the Canal; that in consequence, and as following 'upon these privileges, which are inconsistent with the integ-'rity of Turkey, France would be able with ease to possess her-'self of the passage of the Isthmus in the first place, and after-' wards of Egypt herself. Now neither one nor other of these 'suppositions has the slightest foundation; each of them is 'an invention and a chimera. The Company of the Suez Canal, 'to which all people, without distinction, were publicly invited ' to subscribe, and of which the capital, it is true, was to France's ' great honour furnished mostly by her, has remained what it was ' when it was first instituted. It is in the first place Egyptian, because its place of meeting (siège social) is at Alexandria, and 'its operation is in Egypt; it is secondly Universal, because its ' component parts, financial and administrative, as well as its ' object are Universal. The deeds of concession of His Highness ' the Viceroy of Egypt have defined the rights of the Company ' in terms which I shall here transcribe exactly.

'The enjoyment of the public lands (territoires du domain public) which shall be occupied by the Maritime Canal traversing the Isthmus, and by its annexe the fresh-water canal led from the Nile is ceded to an Egyptian Company gratuitously, and free from all imposts and claims for the whole duration of the concession, at the end of which the lands and canals shall

' become the possession of the Egyptian Government.

'The enjoyment of lands hitherto waste, not belonging to private individuals, and which shall be watered and cultivated by the efforts, and at the expense of the Company, is equally made over to them. These lands shall be exempt from imposts for ten years, dating from the time of their being occupied (mises en rapport) according to the Mahomedan Law; they shall then be subjected to the obligations and imposts to which lands similarly circumstanced are subject in other provinces of Egypt.

'I call attention to the word enjoyment employed intentionally and throughout. According to Mussulman Law the property in the land is the attribute of the Sovereign power, which on the other hand cannot dispossess the occupants, or those holding under them, unless for three consecutive years they leave the land uncultivated, and fail to make it produce

'the value of the imposts. In order that the plenitude of 'sovereignty may be preserved intact, it has been expressly ' stipulated that the thing conceded was an enjoyment, and that the lands would be subject to all the obligations, fiscal or other, present or future, common to other parts of the territory of Egypt. Here then is a concession such as is made every day by European Governments without any apprehensions for 'their sovereignty, and such as the Sultan has made in granting to English Companies the Railroads of Rustendje and of 'Smyrna. The right which it is pretended the Company would ' have of erecting fortresses is the most inexplicable of fables, 'and it is to me difficult to conceive how it ever gained belief. 'A power so excessive as that of erecting fortifications on a territory subject to a Government, independent and sovereign, such as that which results from the combination of rights guaranteed by treaties to the Viceroy of Egypt and his sovereign the Sultan, cannot be conceived unless from a clear and posi-' tive text. Either it must be formally stipulated, or it does 'not exist. Now the deeds of concession declare precisely the contrary. The text of Article 4 of the First Deed of the 30th November, 1854 says. 'The canal works shall be executed \* \* The fortifiexclusively at the cost of the Company. cations which the Government shall think fit to establish shall not be at the expense of the Company.' Thus the parts allotted to the two contracting parties are clearly determined; to the Company the cost of the works neces-' sary to establish the passage; to the Government the right and the duty to guard and defend that passage. The company would consider its investiture with such rights as unfortunate and ridi-'culous, as incompatible with its interest and safety. It under-'stands very well that it cannot live in peace and sheltered from political contentions, except under the shadow of the neutrality of the passage which it wishes to create.

'As concerning the neutrality and the free use of the Canal H. H. the Viceroy (Art. 4 of the concession of 5th January 1856) solemnly declares for himself and his successors, under reserve of the ratification of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the Great Maritime Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and the parts dependent thereon, open for ever, as neutral passages to every merchant ship passing from one sea to the other, without any distinction or preference of persons or nations. It appears to us difficult to consecrate in terms more explicit the neutrality of the canal. But if all the guarantees by which the concession is surrounded are not thought sufficient, the company is ready to take part in all the efforts of diplomacy to make

them complete. All that European combination can effect towards this end will be received by the company with joy and gratitude. A London journal, which passes for the organ of the Prime Minister, renews again at this day the old manœuvre against the Suez Canal, which consisted in representing me as the instrument of a secret policy tending to the separation of Egypt from Turkey to the advantage of France; and to the detriment of the interests of Great Britain. In truth the canal could in no way serve to the realisation of such a project, for reasons which have been often given; but in any case why should France be suspected of desiring its accomplishment?

'It is very gratuitously and very falsely that the English 'papers assert that the policy of France has always tended to the separation of Egypt and Turkey. They cite, for example, ' what happened in 1840, in proof that France at that time urged on the Viceroy of Egypt to make himself independent of the ' Porte. This is a mistake. France obtained from the Viceroy 'his consent to arrest the march of his army on Constantino-' ple, and on this condition it was agreed that he should keep 'Syria. More lately it was desired to take this territory from The Government of France has sought to maintain him 'there out of respect to the promises which had been made him; but the interposition of France had not the object of rendering ' him independent of the bonds of vassalage towards the Sultan, 'she had no interest in doing so. The steady policy of France ' for the last fifty years has consisted in assisting Egypt in the development of its resources, and in the march of progress 'and civilization upon which a man of genius had started it; 'to her efforts alone is due the happy stipulation which made ' the Government of Egypt hereditary in the family of Mehemet 'Ali; an arrangement which would certainly not have been brought about by a power whose wish it was to weaken a part of the Ottoman Empire exposed at that time, in consequence of the anarchy and disorder which menaced it, to become the ' prey of the first occupant.

'In reality it is not to the interest of France that the territories bordering upon the Mediterranean, should be broken up
so as to fall into a state of weakness and isolation, for they
would then be accessible to the influence of that political power
which aspires to the command of the sea. Egypt detached
from the Ottoman Empire would be without defence against
the first maritime power. It would be the same, for example,
with Sicily. France has no more interest in detaching Sicily
from Italy than Egypt from Turkey. The whole advantage
of such a separation would be obviously to Great Britain.

And, moreover, it may easily be approved that the Canal of Suez will actually prevent the establishment of any exclusive influence, and consequently of that which the English papers accuse France of being ambitious of. The opening of the Canal of Suez is about to create between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea something analogous to what nature has formed between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea—a Strait. Now it is the existence of the Strait of the Dardanelles; it is the national arrangement to which it has given rise which has saved Turkey, notwithstanding the superior power which she had to resist.

'The common interest of all nations to preserve the freedom of commercial navigation in the Strait of the Dardanelles, guards the independence of Turkey, assures the freedom and

' integrity of her territory.

'It will be the same with Egypt. The Canal of Suez will be a Strait inevitably placed under the protection of all the interests created by it. All the powers will necessarily be jealous to maintain their rights of navigation and commerce. These rights when they have been regulated by special conventions, which like those referring to other Straits will be reckoned among the provisions of the laws of nations, will guarantee Egypt for the future against the establishment of any exclusive foreign influence, and against all foreign occupation and domination.

'The Mahomedan states of the Mediterranean cannot henceforth withdraw themselves from the movement of the civilization and from the superior enlightenment of Europe. The only
means open to them of resisting the action of a single
power, is to give to all the powers an interest in the preservation
of the Empire, so that they may form a counterpoise, and may
neutralise the effects of any policy over ambitious, and too much

' inclined to encroachment.

'It is now seen, according to these considerations, that France would not support the promoters of the Suez Cannal, if she entertained the design which is attributed to her of wishing to exercise any kind of preponderance in Egypt. If she really aspired to any such it is quite an opposite course that she should follow; and the English papers to be consistent with themselves, ought to promote with all their power the execution of the projected Canal, if they wish that Egypt should be safe from any predominant influence, and remain united to the Ottoman Empire.

'Let us now see what should be the principal features of that fresh addition to the conventions concerning Straits which France proposes, which the Company solicits, and which Eng-

'land should necessarily adopt if her opposition is only dictated by the desire of maintaining the integrity of Turkey. It appears to us that the following propositions might be taken as the basis of the convention we speak of:

'1st. To proclaim the entire freedom of the Great Maritime 'Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and free passage for every merchant vessel of whatever nation, on payment of the dues which

' shall be the same for all.

'This neutrality is already made sacred in principle in the deed of concession given by the Viceroy of Egypt, but as this deed of concession binds only the Viceroy and the Company, it would be necessary to make it the subject of an accord between the powers.

'2nd. It should be forbidden to vessels of war to pass through the Canal of Suez, without special authority from the

' local government.

'3rd. It should be formally forbidden to the Company to erect any defensive work, or any fortification, either at the entrance or along the banks of the Canal, or on the lands on the Isthmus, of which it possesses the enjoyment; nor should it be able to establish colonies of cultivators without their becoming subjects of the local government.

'4th. The ships passing through the Canal should not be allowed to disembark troops in the Isthmus, unless in cases of sickness, of scarcity, or disasters, and in this case it should be necessary to obtain the permission of the Viceroy, which should be limited to the accidental circumstances which we

' have just indicated.

'England is the country especially interested in this arrangement, because it is she who may have most frequently to claim

'the benefit of it.
'5th. The lands conceded to the Company should not be utilised except for agricultural purposes, and if it should happen that the Company farm out, or alienate the whole or a part of its lands, it should be bound to do so with a single view to its financial interests, without respect of persons, and without distinction of nations.

'In America the land is made to pay the cost of the great public works. The concession of the lands granted (to the Company) with right of enjoyment, and not with sovereign right (which is quite another thing) is a necessary completion of the concession, and gives to the shareholders a double guarantee of profit. The use to be made of these lands being well defined, the possession of them cannot give umbrage to any one.

'Finally, the enlightened and loyal prince who governs Egypt, who has given so many proofs of his fidelity to the chief of Islamism, to the sovereign of the Empire, is willing to admit to the Isthmus of Suez a garrison of Turkish troops, a condition which has not been imposed on the territories compassed in the boundaries of Egypt by the Hati Sheriff of 1841, nor by the treaties by which the Five Great Powers have guaranteed the relative positions of Turkey and Egypt.

'Such are the principal precautions that may be adopted for dissipating even the pretext for uneasiness; they would estab-

'lish so clearly the sincerity of the Viceroy of Egypt, the unselfishness of France, and the good faith of the Company, that

' no policy could reject them.

'The Company has always implored cappéte de tous ses vœux)
'an international agreement which, by guaranteeing the neutra'lity of the canal, will ensure to it liberty of action, will allow it
'to reach qu'ckly its aim of general utility and will dispel even
'the shadow of a doubt as to its true character.'\* (45 to 47).

The shadow of a doubt as to its true character.'\* (45 to 47). We do not know whether these words of M. Lesseps have dispelled all doubt from the minds of those who watch with suspicion the movements of France in the East, but the House of Commons, in June 1858 resolved, and wisely resolved, that the power and influence of England ought not to be exerted to induce the Sultan to refuse his assent to the project of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez.' It was led to this resolution by the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and the authority of Lord John Russell, and of all nations England has most reason to hope that the work may be brought to a successful issue. Should England adopt a selfish line of policy, and oppose her private interests to the execution of a work of general utility, she would descend from her high position among nations, and undoubtedly such a policy would recoil on herself.

It appears to us that the comparison made by M. Lesseps between the Canal of Suez and the Dardanelles is both striking and true, and that the passage of the canal will necessarily be placed under the protection of the Laws of nations. If so, the words of the First Napoleon, when compelled to abandon the idea of himself executing this great work, 'that the Turkish' Government would one day find in the execution of this project both its preservation and its glory,' may afford another proof of the marvellous penetration of that extraordinary man.

If now in closing our subject we cast a glance up the stream of time, we find that the modern politician and engineer can

<sup>\*</sup> Exposé Général des faits. Par M. Lesseps.

claim no originality of thought in regard to the advantages of connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. But how remarkable is the proof which the modern Suez Canal will afford of the development which the arts received since Herodotus stood by the Suez Canal of ancient days. The ancient canal commenced by Pharoah Necho, and completed, it is believed, by Darius Hystaspes, connected the two seas by means of the Nile. It followed the course, and probably did not exceed the dimensions of the fresh-water canal now proposed as an auxiliary to the larger work of modern days. When the present scheme is completed, the traveller will have the means of placing the one in comparison with the other.

The ancient work was appreciated and improved by the Ptolemies, and by their successors the Romans, at the commencement of their sway, but its disrepair and decay kept pace with

that of the Roman power.

Under the vigorous rule of the earlier Califs its ruin was arrested, but it felt the decline of the Ottoman as it had done that of the Roman vigour, and about the ninth century of our era,

was closed to navigation.

By the aid of European civilization and science, it is hoped to renew the work in vastly increased dimensions and enhanced splendour. May it be hoped, that as it indicated in its decay the decay of Oriental greatness, so in its revival it shall be an illustration, as well as the means of the greater glory which awaits the nations of the East, from their connexion with European civilization? If this should ever be; if M. Lesseps' plan should be as faithfully and successfully carried out as it is clearly enunciated, the man whose skill, perseverance and courage, have brought nations into unity to achieve this great work; who has faced obloquy, suspicion and ridicule, to bring it to a successful issue, will stand forth, even in this age of progress, as one of its greatest benefactors.

#### APPENDIX.

Approximate Statement furnished to me by M. de Lesseps of the Expenses

of the Canal of Suez, up to the 1st December 1862. "The report made to the General Meeting of the Shareholders, on the 1st May 1862, shows the general state of the account of receipts and expenditure up to the 31st of March of that year.

The expenses may be distributed as follows, in rours.  I. Expenses prior to the formation Frances.	ind numbers:- Francs.	- £
of the Company, viz: drawings, travelling expenses, purchase of plant, &c	2,900,000	116,000
II. Land \{ \text{The Ouady Estate 2,000,000 \\ \text{Warehouses at Damietta \\ \text{Ditto at Cairo 200,000 \\ \text{200,000} \end{array}}	2,250,000	90,000

#### APPENDIX .- (Continued.)

III. Furnishing Offices in Paris			Francs.	£
and Alexandria			100,000	4,000
IV. Interest paid to Shareholders			7,350,000	294,000
V. Ordinary expenses of manage-				,
ment in France and Egypt,			3,500,000	140,000
VI. Personal expenses and salaries			, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
of Engineers			1,200,000	48,000
VII. General expenses of works,			-,,	,
plant, Commissariat and				
Transport		•••	22,500,000	900,000
Total expenditure up to 31	lst March		39,800,000	1,592,000
zour expendience up to o				
	Say		40,000,000	1,600,000
At the present rate of carrying on the works, the necessary expen- ses of the Company are about 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a month, which would give from 1st April to 1st De-				
cember			9,600,000	384,000
cember	••• ••• •	•• •••	5,000,000	304,000
Total expenditure to 1st D From which is to be deducted:  I. The cost of land (which is recoverable)*  II. The interest from temporary investments of funds in hand, which is added to the capital of the Company	Francs. 2,250,000 6,500,000		8,750,000	1,984,000 350,000
Leaving the general expenses of				000,000
management, purchases of plant, provisions, carriage, and works of every description up to 1st December 1862, in round numbers, at  The plant is represented in this sum by about  To which may be added the cost	Francs. 8,000,000		41,000,000	
management, purchases of plant, provisions, carriage, and works of every description up to 1st December 1862, in round numbers, at  The plant is represented in this sum by about			<b>41,000,000</b> <b>10,500,000</b>	
management, purchases of plant, provisions, carriage, and works of every description up to 1st December 1862, in round numbers, at  The plant is represented in this sum by about	8,000,000	_		420,000
management, purchases of plant, provisions, carriage, and works of every description up to 1st December 1862, in round numbers, at  The plant is represented in this sum by about  To which may be added the cost of construction of buildings, about  Net expenses in works & general	8,000,000 2,500,000 Deleg		10,500,000 30,500,000 Administrato	1,640,000 420,000 1,220,000

<sup>\*</sup> The Ouady Estate alone, let out to Arabs, has this year brought in to the Company a net revenue of 149,000 francs—£5,96).

#### CRITICAL NOTICE.

#### Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany.

During the last two years, or rather since the changes in 'Dickens' Household Words,' the result of which was the establishment of 'Once a Week;' and 'All the Year Round' in which is incorporated the old 'Household Words,' there has been an extraordinary increase in periodical literature in the mother country; almost every writer of the day now writes his story by instalments, and every kind of article, from a learned disquisition on the most abstruse subject to a highly spiced romance, now finds a place in a monthly or weekly periodical. The wave has passed on carrying all before it, and its ripple has even extended to India, giving an impetus to the literature of this country. One result amongst many is the birth and appearance before the reading public of two new monthly periodicals,—'Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany' published at Bombay, and 'The Punjab Universal Magazine' at Lahore.

Our first feelings when we heard of these additions to our library, were of satisfaction, we anticipated sensible articles on Indian subjects, and thought that Indian periodicals would treat of India and its people; that their manners and customs, social and moral, their feelings, vices and virtues would be discussed with reference to education and progress, that some of these secular topics so all-important to the white as well as the black subject of this Empire would be dwelt upon in these new works, and we expected nought but good could come of such discussion, and welcomed them accordingly, but how deplorably we have been disappointed may be seen by inspecting the table

of contents of any one number.

Our business is now with 'Chesson and Woodhall's Miscellany' only, and in lamenting that it is not what we wish it were, we are bound to state that no promises have been broken. In a review of the past year's work, which is in consonance with the past year's preface, we are informed that the style of the 'Miscellany' will remain unchanged; 'that the Army' (Bombay?) 'complained that they had no organ; the Church also wanted to be heard.'

We must then take this Magazine as we find it, a neat buff colored paper outside covers about one hundred pages of matter, on the first page we have generally a piece of poetry; further on at intervals may be found two or three other pieces, variously entitled according to the taste of the authors 'sonnets,' 'odes,' 'stanzas,' 'idyls' and 'lines:' sometimes to create in us a zest for these side dishes we are informed in a marginal note, that the author's age was only so and so; at other times a melancholy interest is claimed on the ground of the writer having died, soon after writing the 'ode,' we are left to draw our own conclusion as to whether the death was natural, or resulted from the effort of producing the 'contribution.'

ed from the effort of producing the 'contribution.'

We readily grant the truth of the heading 'Original Poetry,' this is patent, and requires no demonstration; but we do not think that originality is always a merit, and for third rate originality we should hail the substitution of selected pieces from our own glorious poets; that care and labour have been bestowed on these pieces, and that there is a fair amount of rhyme in them, we do not deny; but poetry is a wild flower, not a hot house plant, and poetical genius is a gift, not an art. Most of us have tried to write poetry at some time or other, but few have had recourse to type to immortalize

their folly.

We next come to the body of the Magazine, which consists of stories and tales, sometimes worked out to great length throughout many numbers, after the manner of the great novel writers of the day. In producing these stories the authors have certainly good example, but the mantle of Dickens and Thackeray is not on their shoulders, the author of "The Doomed House" cannot think that a nation is awaiting with interest the denouement of his plot, or the writer on 'Amateur Acting' suppose that any one, lay or professional, is looking for the next number to assist his studies in the histrionic art. No! When the real article can be obtained at a less price and with equal punctuality from England, why go to Bombay for an imitation of it? If the quantity produced is sufficient for the home consumption, it will surely suffice for the Indian demand, and if it does not, plenty more can be obtained at a better and cheaper market than the Indian.

At one time we felt almost kindly towards the author of one of these stories, we thought he had justified his good taste by retirement in the middle of his story; but no, after several months of silence this gentleman is to the fore again; the 'Raymond family' still exists, and Calcutta life of the present day is to be handed down to posterity in the record of its history.

The next part of this Magazine consists of romances where all the parties and the plot are in India, semi-Indian we may call them. The authors evidently know that India ought to be their theme, but they seem unable to conquer old predilections, they look back and hanker after the Sodom of love stories while they find India and the mutiny era replete with the requisites for their tales: the result is an unhappy combination of love, pathos, and India, mixed up with Cashmeer scenery, beauteous dark-eyed

daughters, and a ride on the Peshawur course.

In a tale called 'Happy days in Cashmeer,' the writer dates his story from the occupation of Delhi by our Troops during the late mutiny. The King had been taken prisoner, with his surviving sons, his servants and retainers had fled, and the two princesses, the last of the house of Timour, were hiding to escape the vigilance of our soldiers: at last by the aid of a faithful follower they effected their escape to Cashmeer. We are told that once when these girls were walking about Delhi the European sentry was struck dumb by the flashing eyes of the princess our heroine; indeed his hardy manhood instantly obeyed the imperious look of the child as she drew herself up before him with royal bearing, and cast such a piercing look on him 'that he in an instant presented arms,'—a pretty idea enough, but what a lamentable ignorance of Mahomedans is displayed, when a Delhi Princess while walking abroad unveils herself in the public way to a gaping sentry, while, on the other hand, he is knocked all of a heap by the stare of a little black girl.

The above is a fair sample of the ideas that are worked out in this story; characters are drawn with a like want of appreciation of the subject, the feelings, the education, and position of the parties concerned; impossible thoughts are put into native brains, and absurd words into their mouths, while finally the heroine falls in love with and is married off hand to an English Officer whom she meets, while he is on a sporting tour in Cashmeer. There is a beautiful silence upon the matter of religion, we are not told whether he became a Mahomedan, or she a Christian, nor is any mention made of the marriage ceremony.

But though we are contented to waive, poorness of style, looseness of diction, and improbability in the plot, we cannot allow fiction to be pointed against an individual or a class without a passing censure.

At the period at which this story is dated, the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi was perhaps of as genial a nature as any man in India, yet we are told that this official, through an obsequious dread of the Punjab Government declined to drink a peg i. e., a glass of soda water with a little brandy in it! Does the writer really mean us to believe with this? or is it pure ignorance on his part? We will give him the benefit of the doubt, and concede that he seems to know as much of Punjab Civilians as he does of Delhi Princesses. Perhaps the writer did not refer to an individual in the above, but to a class, we assert however that the picture is-as untrue in the one case as in the other. With the same animus we have a picture of the Punjab Government Secretary, a competitioner familiarly entitled a Wala, with the euphonious name of Mr Green Poppy; this gentleman has to write a reprimand to an officer in the Civil establishment, and while doing so, the delinquent's wife casually visits his office, reads the letter just written by the Secretary, and induces him to change the 'wig' into a letter, informing the offender that he has been promoted to a Commissionership; this is explained by the statement that the wealthy connections of the offending civilian had aided Green Poppy when he was in distress; and the lady having obtained what she wanted for her husband retires observing 'I know how to deal with a Wala—the vulgar creatures 'they can never face a lady.' Mr. Secretary Poppy is succeeded by one Blubber, who faints at the sound of a horse galloping up to the office. All this requires no comment we need not add to our extracts, the style speaks for itself, and probably no competitioner would trouble himself to answer such atrocious stuff.

We have shown that the writer of 'Happy Days in Cashmeer' understands neither his own countrymen nor native ladies, the scenery may be well described, and the 'Baboo' faithfully drawn, it would be hard indeed, if the author did not sometimes say a sharp thing or a true word. But taking the

piece altogether, we must give it unqualified condemnation.

The next story on this cross-bred plan of love and India is called the 'Corpora Quadrigemina.' The writer is the fourth of four medical students who studied together and gave themselves the above title. His autobiography tells us that he and one of the others (for two died of dissipation) arrived in India, of course, just before the mutiny of the Bengal army; the friends soon separate and our author finds himself after some hair-breadth escapes attached to the Central India field force; he tells us a great deal of himself and a little of the mutiny, this little is however truthful; but a morbid love-sick vein runs throughout his narrative, and we are curious to see how he extricates himself from his position with two sweethearts, for unlike the author of 'Happy Days in Cashmeer' who tells us

'Tis well to be merry and wise,
'Tis well to be honest and true,
'Be sure you'r off with the old love,

Before you'r on with the new.'
we find that the writer of Corpora Quadrigemina in looking for his lost 'Eva' finds her servant and falls in love with her, on the spot, though her antecedents were not the most spotless that could be conceived; she reciprocates his passion, and we very much fear that the aid of the grim monster death will have to be invoked to set matters straight, and then of course the native will suffer.

It is well remarked by Swift that men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of business, because they are prone to go out of the common road, by reason of the quickness of their imagination; in proof of this,

he desired Lord Bolingbroke to observe that the clerk in his office used an ivory knife with a blunt edge to cut a sheet of paper: 'whereas if he should ' make use of a sharp pen-knife its sharpness would often make it go out of the crease, and disfigure the paper, and so with a writer, and more than all with an Indian writer, the crease must be kept to, we do not want clever writing but faithful life like pictures, that can only emanate from the pen of a calm and discriminating observer of human nature. The reader can judge by the following incident told by him whether the author is qualified

by his knowledge of natives to write of them and their customs.

We will put it in as few words as possible; it has been already stated that the author had lost his Eva; without her all things were dark to him, life was a blank, and after making various plans to discover her, he formed the idea of entering the native town in the garb of a Hindoo Faqueer; so having obtained some 'holy water', and some salmon colored clothing, he disguised himself, proceeded to the bazaar to glean information of his beloved; having sat down there, 'I placed the two baskets of holy water before me, uncovered 'them, and exhibited the bottles of precious liquid packed in the leaves of the banyan; I feared much lest I should betray myself, and therefore determined on a very reserved demeanour and manner of speech, occasionally crying "Allah" in a fervent voice, I attracted notice, and soon disposed of several 'bottles of the Ganges water.'.....At last three Mahomedan troopers approached our hero 'to purchase of the waters of paradise,' he greets them with 'Allah is great, take of the waters my son' &c &c. In the above short extract we have the astounding picture of a Hindoo Faqueer crying out 'Allah' while he displays Ganges water for sale! Why a Hindoo should praise the Moslem God, or a Mahomedan buy Ganges water, or what the water of Paradise is, we are not informed by this tantalizing writer; verily it is a fearful and wonderful jumble of ideas, and we cannot disentangle them.

We have now noticed the two longest contributions to this Magazine, in which has also been published some notes on Knight's Plays of Shakespeare by C. A. D. Gordon, which had already appeared in the 'Lahore Chronicle,' as might be expected, these are eccentric, and Mr. Gordon often comes to grief himself in his attempts to point out errors that he conceives the able author has committed. One or two good articles have appeared, evidently written by a man whose information about the Punjab exceeds his love for it,

but of late we have not noticed any thing from his pen.

Captain Raverty's Dictionary has been again demolished by his able and untiring critic, who takes the opportunity of again refuting the hitherto pet theory, that the Afghans are descended as they themselves assert from the

lost tribes of Israel.

Considering the size of the Magazine, we are surprised at the very few readable articles in it. We cannot buy a cake for the chance of there being one currant in it, and as we said before, we conceive the compilers have committed an error in adopting the line they have; we have shown that their few stories about India are unreliable, and for their instruction we cannot do better than conclude this short notice of their periodical by a quotation from Lord Bacon.

'The opinion of plenty, is among the causes of want; the great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack, which surcharge nevertheless is not to be remedied, by making no more books, but by making more good books, which as the serpent of Moses, may devour the

serpents of the enchanters.



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2. Lectures on Great Men. By the late Frederic Myers, M. A., 1856.

N writing the life of Francis Xavier, Mr. Venn undertook a task for which, by a combination of singular advantages, he was peculiarly fitted. Himself ardently devoted to the furtherance of the Missionary cause, the history of the 'Apostle of the Indies' was a subject congenial to the tastes and pursuits of his whole life. Having held for many years a chief part in the management of the largest Missionary Association in England, he possesses that peculiar technical skill which enables a man to seize on the important details, and to write of the past with a familiar knowledge of the present progress of Missionary work. He has chosen as his subject the life of a man who has occupied a large space in the imagination and memory of Europe, but whose history has not been written fully or accurately since the critical age began. He possesses, as far as the facts he records are concerned, the true historic faculty, indefatigable research, and the determination never to accept at second hand a fact which can be verified by a reference to the original autho-And yet, in spite of all these advantages, any one of which would ordinarily have ensured success,—in spite of the interest of the subject, in spite of literary ability, in spite of mental aptitude and natural sympathy, Mr. Venn has produced a book which is no honour to himself, no credit to the religious party to which he belongs; a book which we trust few

Englishmen will read without indignant feelings of regret and dissent.

It was natural to expect that a life of Xavier, written with research and care, would make us acquainted with many new and valuable facts, and would considerably alter our view of the circumstances and details of his life. The history had to be rescued from monkish mysticisms and from almost mediæval traditions. Handed down to us from the narrative of men to whom India and Japan were fields where the wildest fancy might revel unchecked, it had to be re-written by a man who has as intimate a knowledge as books and letters can give of all the details of Oriental life and manners. The absurd exaggerations, the contemptible miracles with which religious fanaticism and pious fraud had bespattered the story, had all to be cleared away. But we should have expected that the effect of this would have only been to make Xavier more noble, more venerable, more apostolic The stories of his raising the dead, stopping a victorious army by a look, or quelling a storm by a word, are simply ridiculous, and men endure them only on account of the noble and august traits which in former times such exaggerations If in the chiar-oscuro of tradition were invented to depict. men seem more gigantic, in the clear light of accurate narrative they seem more loveable and human. But the effect that Mr. Venn aims at producing is just the reverse of this. He seems to fancy that the reverence in which the name of Xavier is held, is due to these absurd stories which excite our nausea, and that by cutting off fantastic excrescences, he is depriving him of his chief claim to our admiration. He writes of the 16th century as if it had been the 19th—judges Xavier throughout by modern standards, and in the light of a strict and exclusive creed—and makes no allowance for the customs of the age, or the habits of thought and belief in which Xavier had been brought up. Hence arises a singular contrast between his history and his arguments, and while we unhesitatingly accept his facts, we reject, with as little hesitation, the conclusions he draws from them. In his comparison of Xavier's achievements with those of modern Missionaries, a comparison which is drawn in every case to the detriment of the Apostle, Mr. Venn shews a total want of any sense of the ridiculous, and of the true proportion of things. He enumerates Xavier's noble qualities fairly enough, but he does not dwell on them with any enthusiasm, while the whole power of his pen is employed in giving point to unjust suspicions, and in drawing injurious conclusions from very simple acts. He allots so vastly

larger a space to his blame than to his praise, that the latter is quite thrown into the shade, and the unfavourable impression conveyed is, perhaps, stronger than he intended it to be. never was a more candid book, for the reader need never go out of the four corners of it for the facts which refute Mr. Venn's conclusions; but there never was a less fair or less judicial book. And the reason for this is that Mr. Venn can never forget that he is a Protestant and an Evangelical, while Xavier was a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit. Some men though harsh to the creed are gentle to the individual; but Mr. Venn's practice is the reverse of this. On the general question he would no doubt allow that it is possible for a Jesuit to be as holy a man and to live as pure a life as any Evangelical; but when he comes to the actual history of the noblest and purest Jesuit who ever lived, he applies all his skill and research to the end of explaining away his successes, giving unfavourable reasons for his actions and dilating on his errors. The mere fact of his having been a Roman Catholic, and, as such, a believer in the mystic power of the sacraments, and the efficacy of prayers to saints,—or that, as became a founder of the Jesuit Order, he insisted on the duty of obedience to a spiritual head, is constantly brought up in condemnation against him. The book abounds in such cavils at the creed he professed, and the political opinions of his time, but it is sadly deficient in the true Missionary spirit of pride and sympathetic enthusiasm in the noble life, and still more noble heart which spent itself for the conversion of the East.

Contrast with this elaborate and careful work, the sketch of Xavier's life which is contained in the 'Lectures to Great Men' mentioned at the head of this article. It was no part of Mr. Myers's plan, speaking as a country clergyman to a simple country parish, to test his authorities scrupulously, or to present a critically accurate and complete picture in his lecture to his village hearers. But leaving accessories aside, it was his object to reach the heart of his story, to seize on the salient points of Xavier's life, and the grand characteristics of his spirit, and to set forth without exaggeration and without cavil all the admirable traits which may serve for the teaching and example of a This he has done with a success which may well remind us how much greater a power in decyphering character love is than knowledge. He does not shirk the fact of Xavier's having been a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit,—but he treats it with a large catholicity which Mr. Venn would have done well to imitate. He can distinguish between the errors of the man and the errors

of the time, and does not fall into the fallacy of judging the political economy of 1550 by the light of 1860. Though not pretending to any critical research, he rejects the foolish miracles, and prunes away the exaggerations. Having himself a mind somewhat akin to the large charity and enthusiastic self-denial of the man, his lecture, slight as it is, contains a truer presentment of the great Apostle of the Indies than can be found in the

ampler and more learned work of Mr. Venn.

The earliest account of Xavier's life was a short sketch compiled from his letters and published in 1573, twenty-one years after his death. In 1596 a more elaborate biography was written in Latin by Tursellinus, a Jesuit; and in 1682 a Father Bohours wrote a life in French, which was translated into English by a brother of the poet Dryden. It is to these books that we owe such knowledge of the outlines of Xavier's life and deeds as is popularly current. But Mr. Venn points out with great force and justice the unhistoric character of these narratives, their deviations from the authorities on which they profess to be based, and the exaggerations and ignorance with which they are overlaid. He concludes that they must be utterly discarded, and that the only trust worthy basis for writing Xavier's life is to be found in Xavier's own letters. Of these he says:—

'There is, however, one existing portrait, bearing throughout an evident stamp of truthfulness, and enlivened with such vivid colouring, that it is impossible to contemplate it without a satisfactory conviction that we see the very man and are made acquainted with the main facts of his history. That portrait is drawn by Xavier's own hand in a copious collection of original letters. Many of these letters were written to friends in Europe with the avowed intention of putting them in full possession of all that he did and all that happened to him. Other letters were written to fellow-labourers in the same field with himself. So that we are furnished in this collection

with a complete, though not a formal, autobiography.'\*
These letters of Xavier's were wonderfully copious and complete. The rarity of communication, which depended entirely on the annual fleets, gave an elaborate character to their composition, rendering some of them more like annual reports than letters. His anxiety to make known as widely as possible the necessity and the successes of Missionary work, tended, as well as his ardent affection for the friends he had left behind, and from whom

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 3.

he was never absent in spirit, to make his letters frequent, and to fill them with every detail of the new world and the new people he was among. 'When you write to us in India, he says, ' do not write shortly or in a mere perfunctory style; we wish to ' learn from you particulars respecting each of our brethren, what ' they are about, what is their health, what are their thoughts, ' what their hopes, what the fruit of their labours? Do not regard this as a burden, when there is only one opportunity in 'the year for receiving and sending letters to India. Let your 'letters occupy us a full week in reading. We promise to do ' the same with you.'\* We, who live in a busier age, may shudder at the thought of a letter which would take a week to read; but the spirit of home affection and home interest, which breathes in this extract, is the spirit which has saved Anglo-Indians from the inoculation with heathendom, and the moral depravity, by which the last generation were threatened.

These letters have always been treated with great care and respect ('superstitious reverence' as Mr. Venn calls it) by Roman Catholics, and at least three collections of them have been published. The standard edition, according to Mr. Venn, was published at Bologna in 1795, and contains 146 letters. It is on this collection that Mr. Venn's biography

is based.

As might have been expected, these letters commence only with the maturity of Xavier's religious views, and almost with his Mission to India. For an account of his parentage and early life, we must have recourse to the biographers, who tell us that Francis Xavier was born in 1506 A. D. in the Castle of Xavier, in He belonged to an illustrious family of royal descent. We quote the following from Mr. Myers: - Amid the silent 'majesty of the wild pine forests and dark precipitous rocks of his 'Pyrenean home, and under the impressive influences of a reli-'gious household, he grew up an enthusiastic and somewhat ' superstitious boy, contemplative, complying, gentle, but withal of a robust manly cast: studious at times, but also fond of all 'athletic sports, fondest of all excitement, whether of danger or ' pleasure : fitfully idle, ambitious; an uncommon compound. 'All his brothers chose to be soldiers: he would be a scholar, that ' he might thus add to his family distinctions the only ornament ' they wanted, learning.'+

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 4.

<sup>†</sup> Lectures, &c., p. 82.

He went up to the Paris University at eighteen; at twenty he took his degree as Master of Arts, and was appointed to teach Philosophy at one of the Colleges. When he had thus been engaged for a year and a half Ignatius Loyola, then fifteen years older than himself, entered the University; and after five years of gradually increasing attachment and devotion, he formed that memorable connexion with him which gave the final impulse to his religious and Missionary enthusiasm and sent out the Apostle of the Indies to perform his work as a member, second in rank

to the head of the Order of Jesus.

Of this portion of his life Mr. Venn says little. Only one letter of Xavier's, written from Paris, has been preserved, and from it he forms a very singular deduction. He speaks of Xavier's gratitude to Loyola for having rescued him from the 'influence of Protestant teachers.' 'Xavier's early acquaintance ' with Protestant truth seems to have exercised some influence on his future life. In India he was removed from the per-' sonal influence of Ignatius Loyola, and from the more power-'ful associations of Romish superstition; and his mind seems 'at times to have exhibited the more healthy tone of religion 'which he had witnessed among the early friends from whom Loyola had beguiled him. His standard of spiritual religion was ' far higher than that of his associates. He was ever dissatisfied 'that he could not bring his followers up to that standard. ' But he had turned away from Protestant truth, by which alone 'it can be reached.'\*

Thus early in his book does Mr. Venn attempt to shew that whatever was good in Xavier was due to his early Protestant teaching, and that the influence of Loyola on him was solely injurious and tended to lead him astray. But what is his

authority for this statement?

The only one he quotes is Xavier's letter of 1535, in which he says of Loyola, after expressing his gratitude to him for pecuniary assistance, 'the benefit he has conferred of highest value is 'that of fortifying my youthful imprudence against the deploratible dangers arising from my familiarity with men breathing out 'heresy, such as are many of my contemporaries in Paris in these times, who would insidiously undermine faith and morality beneath the specious mask of liberality and superior intelligence.'† If this is all that Xavier wrote on the subject, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Venn has not sufficient grounds

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Xavier, pp. 7, 8, + Ibid, p. 7.

for his statement that Xavier was under Huguenot influences. The words apply just as well to any kind of free-thinking and unbelief. To those who have watched the modern religious controversies, the idea of any close or necessary connection between Protestantism and 'liberality and superior intelligence' will

seem rather incongruous.

Mr. Myers on the other hand attributes Xavier's dangers at Paris to his love of pleasure and gay life; and the presumption is certainly supported by the indebtedness to which Xavier refers in the above-quoted letter. Such gaiety and worldliness of life is often accompanied by doubt and rejection of religious restraints. But to allow this would be to confess that Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order of the Jesuits, could exercise beneficial influence on any one; and Mr. Venn would rather stretch an obscure sentence of Xavier's to bear a meaning which does not seem to belong to it, than make an admission so opposed to all the

prejudices of his party.

In 1534 Loyola and six of his friends, of whom Xavier was one, took vows of renouncing all worldly possessions, and serving the Church in any way the Pope might select. In 1536 Xavier travelled on foot to join Loyola at Venice, and accompanied him Their object then was to visit Jerusalem, thence to Rome. whither Loyola had already made a pilgrimage, but as the war between Germany and the Turks prevented this, they dispersed themselves among the Italian Universities to stir up popular enthusiasm in behalf of Missionary enterprise. Xavier's headquarters were at Bologna for three years, and during this time they found so many followers, that in 1539 Loyola established the Religious Society to which he gave the name of the 'Company of Jesus.' In 1540 Xavier left Rome for Portugal, at the invitation of the King, to commence his great career as a Missionary in the East.

King John the Third of Portugal was thoroughly imbued with the religious and Missionary spirit of the age. He claimed the sole right of trade with all countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, and had received from the Pope a titular sovereignty over them. His commercial stations were scattered along the whole coast of India, and over the Eastern Archipelago. From the Persian Gulf to the Moluccas, in numberless petty stations and famous factories, the Christianity of the West had come in contact with the vast mass of heathendom and ignorance in the East, and at all these points King John had placed large religious establishments for the conversion of the natives. As

yet he had met with little success, and it might be doubted if heathendom had not done more hurt to Christianity than it had received itself. But now, hearing of the zeal and power of the Order which was stirring men's hearts in Italy to a new and spiritual crusade, the King hoped to find in them men better adapted to his purpose than the ordinary priests and monks he had sent out. He applied for the three heads of the Order, Loyola, Xavier, and Lefevre: but as it was clearly injurious to the interests of the rising society that all its chief men should be sent on so distant a mission, it was eventually determined that Xavier alone should go. The King sent him forth with all the prestige and authority which could accompany an honoured servant and a trusted friend. He sent general orders to all officials to assist him in any manner he should require. fill the vacant post of Viceroy, he chose a man personally friendly to Xavier, and devoted to the cause of Missions, Martin Alphonso de Soza. The Pope conferred on him the title of Papal Nuncio, and armed him with all the spiritual powers of the Church. Thus, under royal favour and ecclesiastical patronage, having found the true outlet for his enthusiastic zeal, and looking forward to see the wish of his heart accomplished, on the 7th April 1541, Francis Xavier set forth for the scene of his apostolic labours. On this Mr. Venn remarks :-

'Though Xavier bears the name of a Missionary, how little was there in common between his position and that of a simple Missionary at the present day. It is difficult to conceive more splendid worldly attractions to any enterprise, and greater temporal advantages for its prosecution than those which accompanied the call of Xavier to become the Apostle

of India.'\*

This is an instance of the narrow criticism which characterises the whole of Mr. Venn's work and of his inability to appreciate the changes which three centuries have brought about. The 'temporal advantages' of which he speaks, though peculiar in that day, are now common to everybody. There is not a 'simple Missionary' in the country who does not enjoy the favour of the Governors and the assistance of officials, whenever he applies for it. In Xavier's case a special injunction was required, and with the rarity of communication which then

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Xavier, p. 17.

prevailed, we may easily conceive how such an injunction would be obeyed by an unwilling officer. The Papal Briefs gave him authority over other Missionaries, but could be of no assistance to him on his own Missionary duties; they only imposed upon him a most invidious labour in addition to his special work. So that, as far as regards temporal advantages, the 'simple Missionary' of the present day is infinitely better off than Xavier was.

But, says Mr. Venn, there were 'splendid worldly attractions' to the enterprise. We might meet this by pointing to Loyola's and Lefevre's refusal to go to India, and by denying that any power or dignity in India can be an attraction to a man who has before him a career of European fame. If this is the case in the present, how much more was it in the 16th century, when voyages were dangerous, communication rare, the country unknown and girt with a vague horror, and when only the hopes of rapid and enormous gains—not empty titles could lure men out to India. But we may argue the question on other grounds, which require less knowledge of history. ly attractions are only attractions to vain and worldly-minded men. Mr. Venn allows that personal vanity was not an element in the character of Xavier, and it is almost unnecessary to add that a less worldly-minded man never breathed. the patronage and dignity he received were merely an accident in determining his career, and can have no effect on our judgment of his self-denial and zeal. Xavier going out as Papal Nuncio and friend of the King, was not less apostolic than if he had simply taken his passage in an ordinary ship, for he looked on his position not as it regarded himself, but as it helped to further the work to which he was devoted. No doubt Mr. Venn would allow this; but he could not resist the temptation of a cavil, which, if it implies anything, would seem to hint that a Missionary of the present day is more self-denying and simply noble than Xavier was.

The voyage to India lasted thirteen months, six of which were spent at Mozambique, where the expedition wintered, and it was not till the 6th of May 1542 that Xavier landed at Goa. Here he took up his abode in a Hospital; and it will probably be allowed that, in spite of the 'worldly attractions and temporal advantages' of his position, a simple Missionary of the present day would not be worse lodged than Xavier was. For about six months his whole day was 'spent in receiving confessions,

'in preaching, in catechising the young, and in visiting the asylum for lepers.'\* He also organised a School which had just been established by the pious Viceroy, Martin de Soza, with a view to constitute a Missionary College (or as Mr. Venn calls it a 'Jesuit establishment') in which to train converted natives for

the work of the ministry.

But the atmosphere of Goa was not likely to suit the spirit or satisfy the aims of Francis Xavier. Like all other Portuguese Settlements, 'it consisted of a factory for trade, a garrison of soldiers, the baptised heathen, and the progeny of a mixed race.' No words can describe the horrible state of moral depravity and utter lawlessness into which these settlements had fallen. The soldiers were mostly condemned felons who had been offered the option of India or the gallows. The traders were all of them unscrupulous, avaricious, excited by the accounts of enormous fortunes amassed by others, and determined to collect by whatever means similar wealth in as short a time as possible and return to spend it in Europe. The Natives were for the most part either nominally baptised, or else of the lowest and most degraded races.

Let any one who wishes to judge what Goa was, read the terrible description of its vices in Tavernier's travels, a description which, though written in the 17th century, applies equally well to the

16th.

It was not to the conversion and reformation of such a society as this that Xavier had devoted himself. Important as such work was, it was not what he had crossed the sea to do, yet even from

Goa he can write in these touching terms :-

'The miseries of a long voyage, the dealing with the sins of other people while you are oppressed by your own; a permanent abode among the heathen, and this in a land which is scorched by the rays of the sun; all these things are indeed trials. But if they be endured for the cause of God, they become great comforts, and the sources of many heavenly pleasures. ..... I will indeed cheerfully devote myself to be the constant servant of any who will come over here and devote themselves to work in the vineyard of our common Lord.'t

But Xavier's Missionary zeal was soon to find a more congenial field for itself; and it is very remarkable to note what that

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 25. † *Ibid*, p. 28.

aeld was. The prevalent idea of the day, arising from the aristocratic rank of the patrons of Missionary work, was that the most politic and successful way of converting the heathen was by obtaining access to the King or principal men of the tribe, and securing their conversion, or at least their favour and support, previous to

addressing themselves to the multitude.

Thus Xavier writes before leaving Portugal :- 'Two of the Bishops insist on our departure, grounding their opinion upon-'the hope that, if we go, some of the Kings of India may be 'converted to Christianity.'\* It is difficult to see what there was erroneous in this policy, although, now that the support of a Rajah is not necessary to a Missionary who is protected by the broad shield of British supremacy, it is easy to decry it and to call it, in Mr. Venn's peculiar dialect, a 'reliance on the arm of flesh.' However, prevalent as that opinion was, Xavier did not implicitly give into it, and though, as we shall see, he eventually adopted it and made it the cardinal point of his future operations, still he determined to test it by his own experience, and to make his first attempt on a class who had no political power, and no principal men. Instead of making his first visit to some of the neighbouring Rajahs, whose friendship or conversion would have been politically useful to the Portuguese Settlement, the first object that tempted him away from his ministrations in the Goa Hospital was to visit a miserable tribe of half-civilised fishermen on the south-eastern coast of India opposite Ceylon. A large number of them had been already converted by the labours of Michael Vass, the Vicar-General at Cochin.

But they had no resident Missionaries, and their conversion probably was very partial. They were in a state of great destitution and much oppressed by the incursions of plundering tribes. The Viceroy took great interest in them, and Xavier writes:—'I cannot describe the earnestness with which he commended to 'me this new vineyard in Christ.' So in the end of 1542, after five or six months' residence at Goa, this man, whose position through 'worldly attractions and temporary advantages,' was so much superior to that of a modern 'simple Missionary' set out for perils and privations, for loneliness and untried labour, on

the Fishery Coast.

Even here Mr. Venn is unable to see the lofty self-denial of his conduct. He says:—'Xavier had allied himself with Kings and 'Viceroys in his Missionary character, and he must now suffer the

' penalty by becoming an agent in a pet scheme of Don Alphonso

Soza,'\*

We can only say that the suggestion which is implied here, viz., that the work was not congenial to Xavier's mind, or not his free choice, is not only utterly without foundation, but even absolutely contradicted by the tenor of the letter of which we have already quoted a portion. So again, when Mr. Venn says:—'In a 'political view he was set to secure to the King of Portugal the 'monopoly of a lucrative pearl fishery,'—the states that for which he gives no grounds whatever. On the contrary Xavier writes:—'The Viceroy meditates collecting together in one island all these 'Christians now separated from each other by long intervals, and 'giving them a King to administer justice, and to watch over 'their interests and security.'‡ This scheme was purely a philanthropic one, and tended not to encourage, but to subvert, the

fishery.

It was about the close of 1542 when Xavier arrived at the fishery coast, and his labours there continued with a few intervals till the close of 1544. Of this period Mr. Venn gives us as full and clear a narrative as the inconsecutive and scanty nature of his authorities enable him to give. For the first four months Xavier lived in one of the Christian villages and employed himself in procuring and committing to memory translations of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Ave Maria. Then he commenced his ministrations in the Christian villages, which were about thirty in number. His plan, as described by himself, was to collect all the villagers twice a day, for Christian instruction, to teach them the formulas he had had translated till they all knew them by heart, and when they had been fully instructed, to baptise them. After completing his work in one village, he went on to the next, and thus by the end of 1543, he had gone at least once through all the Christian villages, besides occasional visits to the adjoining heathen villages. At the close of the year he paid a short visit to Goa, and returned with a companion, Francis Mansilla, to whom in 1544 he made over the special care of the fisher Christians. He began now to extend his views to obtaining influence over the 'King of Travancore,' whom Mr. Venn, with much appearance of probability, identifies either with the Rajah

<sup>\*</sup> Sic in orig. It should be "de Soza." Venn, p. 29.

† Venn, p. 32.

† Ibid, p. 31.

of Bijanugur, or his Commander-in-Chief. His visit to the Rajah was prevented by a political difficulty which arose from the seizure of one of his servants by the Portuguese; but Xavier succeeded in establishing most friendly relations with him, and obtaining his protection for the fishermen against the oppression of the 'Batages' (Query, Burkundazes?) whom Mr. Venn considers to have been an army sent by the Rajah to collect 'Peshcash.' On two occasions marauding raids by these Batages had reduced the Christians to great distress; and on the second incursion the Portuguese Governor of Tuticorin was driven from his settlement, and forced to take refuge on an island without provisions or water. On both occasions Xavier made the utmost exertions to rescue them from danger and to succour their distress. On hearing of the first irruption, after trying for eight days to reach the spot by sea against a contrary wind, he went fifty miles on foot, carrying provisions with him; he transported the converts to a safer locality, collected subscriptions for them, and provided boats at all their villages in which they might take refuge from their enemies on the land. The moment he received tidings of the terrible distress of the Portuguese Governor, who had shewn the bitterest enmity to him, Xavier sent supplies with the utmost despatch, and fearing, as he says, 'lest I should add to the grief of a man in misfortune, and by the sight of a man whom he hates increase a calamity already sufficiently great,' he directed Francis Mansilla, in a letter full of the most touching sympathy, to hurry to his assistance.

Towards the end of 1544 the King of Jaffnapatam, the northern portion of Ceylon, crushed by persecution a Mission which had been established in his territories by the Franciscans, and which had obtained many converts, including the King's own son, who, with all the other Christians, was cruelly murdered. The elder brother of the King promised that, if he were placed on the throne, he would become a Christian; and Xavier's sanguine spirit being excited by the hope of opening up a new field for Missionary labour, he left the Fishery Coast for Goa, to persuade the Viceroy to give assistance to this scheme by an armed intervention. He travelled by land round Cape Comorin and through Travancore, preaching in all the villages on his way. It is in his letter describing this journey that the famous passage occurs:—'In the space of more than a single month I have made more than 10,000 Christians.' This passage Mr. Venn believes, and we think justly, to be a later interpolation in the text,—as other letters of Xavier's written about the same time and on the same subject only

mention 'very many' baptisms, and to give statistics was not Xavier's habit. On arriving at Cambay, the Viceroy in the first instance took up the Ceylon project eagerly, but political reasons

soon forced him to drop it.

To a man of Xavier's sanguine temperament this check, fortunate as we may deem it for his fame, was no doubt a disappointment; but it did not affect his plans for the future. He had already made up his mind that he had done all the work among the fishermen which he was specially fitted to do, and he had turned his eyes in other directions. He had found the hindrance arising from the bad character of the Portuguese traders and officers an intolerable evil, and he longed to begin his labours afresh in a country where the taunt could not be thrown in his teeth that his religion could not be worth much if it produced such Christians as the Portuguese. Notwithstanding the number of conversions which had rewarded his labours, he had formed a very poor opinion of the quality of his converts, and had come to the conclusion that, except in the way of education from childhood, the attempt to instil religious truth into the half-brutalised lower classes was futile. He had worked out his experiment for himself, and had resolved in future to try the more educated classes, and work downwards from them to the common people. heard tidings of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, where Princes had embraced the Christian faith. Accordingly he left five Priests on the Fishery Coast to maintain Christian discipline and to carry on the education of the young, and in the summer of 1545 he left India for Macassar.

For this brief detail of Xavier's labours in India, we must thank Mr. Venn, the accuracy of whose facts deserves all praise. If he could have contented himself with pruning away the exaggerations and inventions of later writers, the story still left him to tell, of which we have given the bare outline, would have been a noble picture of heroism and self-denial. But then it would have tended to the glory of a Roman Catholic Priest, whom it was Mr. Venn's special duty to disparage. Accordingly, in order to destroy the grandeur of Xavier's Missionary work and Missionary spirit, he was obliged to fill out his biography with unfair suggestions and injurious conclusions, which we are obliged in our

turn to answer and refute.

First, we will take Mr. Venn's strictures on the amount and nature of his Missionary work. He quotes Xavier's account of his labours in the Christian villages, where, after describing the course of instruction through which he put them preparatory to

baptism, he says:—' How great is the multitude of those who are gathered to the fold of Christ, you may learn from this that it often happens to me that my hands fail through the fatigue of ' baptising, for I have baptised a whole village in a single day; and ' often by repeating so frequently the Creed and other things, my voice and strength have failed me.'\* On this Mr. Venn remarks that there were only thirty Christian villages in all; and that Xavier never learnt the vernacular of the place, at least not so as to speak it with ease. He adds :- 'In Xavier's examinations for baptism, ' there was no questioning to ascertain whether the words were ' understood, no spontaneous enquiry of the converts, nothing beyond the Missionary's imperfect utterance of an unknown 'tongue and the response in a prescribed form;......when all 'these circumstances are taken into consideration, the position of 'Xavier, in the midst of a crowd of natives, with his failing arms and voice through the multitude of his baptisms, sinks from some-'thing which sounded very grand, to that which is very small.'+

Does it indeed seem small? Can Christian charity and purest religious zeal, and philanthropic ardour, and utter self-denial, ever seem small in this world of ours? Grant that the method was wrong and inefficient (though Mr. Venn greatly underrates what may be done through an interpreter, and indeed, in the latter part of the above paragraph, ignores the interpreter's presence altogether) and that after three centuries' practice modern Missionaries have struck out a more effectual plan. Grant that the villages were not numerous, though Mr. Venn omits all mention of the heathen villages, which Xavier certainly visited, and to which his account of baptising a whole village would seem to apply, as in a Christian village many must have been baptised already. Grant even that the results were not lasting. Still, after all deductions, the position of Francis Xavier, royal in descent, the darling of a Court, the idol of a University, now a lonely labourer on a distant and unknown coast—preaching to one of the most degraded tribes of heathen,—cut off for months together from communication with his friends and even from the sound of his own language,—protecting his converts from the oppressions of marauders, and from the violence of the Portuguese traders, going day after day through his monotonous task of teaching the formulas on the repetition of which he deemed, however mistakenly, that eternal life depended,—living in the huts of the

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 35.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid, p. 38.

people as one of themselves,—travelling on foot from place to place—giving up the whole of his fiery zeal and his tender brotherly love with no arrière pensée, or longing look towards any home but the heavenly one,—such a position is in our opinion as grand as any that the human mind can conceive. We are bound to say, though we say it with pain, that the man who can count such a position small must be wanting himself in all knowledge of proportion, and all true appreciation of greatness.

Another part of Xavier's method with which Mr. Venn finds fault is that he habitually baptised infants 'even though their Although Xavier's principles would parents were heathen.' probably not have been opposed to this, yet it is remarkable that none of the extracts from his letters given by Mr. Venn mentions his baptising the infants of heathen parents. One instance of his scrupulousness in performing the ceremony is recorded, where he refused to baptise a Brahmin who seemed to be really converted, but who wished to keep his profession of faith secret. He reports that in the course of a year he had baptised (or 'managed to baptise,' as Mr. Venn writes it) 1,000 children who had died before they could commit sin. This would not be a very extravagant number, even if it included only the infants of the thirty Christian villages on the coast. All therefore that is proved against Xavier is that he baptised infants. A complaint against infant baptism would sound strangely from the pen of an English clergyman. But Mr. Venn manipulates it into a charge by the following artifice. He quotes at length an extract from the Romish 'Annals of the Faith,' published in 1845, which relates how emissaries of the Mission sought out sick children and, pretending to prescribe some medicine and to commiserate the mother, took the opportunity of dropping some water on the forehead of their infants and declaring them baptised. Mr. Venn expressly adds:—'I am unable to say whe-'ther Xavier began this practice',\* and yet he does not scruple to picture 'Xavierand his successors seeking out children likely to die, + or to state that his 'chief comfort was in the baptism of moribund infants,' and that ' such baptisms as Xavier's were not allowed by the primitive Church.' That is to say, he confessedly has not the slightest grounds for supposing that Xavier and his successors acted in this dishonest way; but he is not ashamed to insinuate

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 44.

<sup>†</sup> I bid, p. 44.

<sup>‡</sup> I bid, p. 79.

that he did. It is hardly necessary for us to tell our readers our

opinion of such disingenuousness.

We turn next to Mr. Venn's strictures on Xavier's Missionary spirit. The first is based on a discrepancy observed between the tone in which Xavier wrote his annual letters to Loyola or to the Jesuit Society at Rome, and those written hastily, under the influence of passing events, to his coadjutor Francis Manilla. Both on account of the interesting character of these letters, and the importance of the charge based upon them, we propose to

place large extracts from them before our readers.

In one of his annual letters he writes :—' Vast are the numbers in ' this country who do not become Christians, only because there 'is no one here to bring them over to Christianity. Often does 'it come into my mind to make the circuit of the Universities of ' Europe and especially of Paris, crying out even at the risk of being taken for a mad man to those who have more learning than charity, Alas, what a great multitude of immortal souls are shut out from heaven and plunged into the depths of eternal misery 'through your neglect............God is my witness that I have ' formed the design, since I am myself debarred from returning to Europe, of sending a letter to the Universities of Paris and especially to our Professors Corne and Picard, to shew them how many millions of savages might be brought without any trouble ' to the knowledge of Christ, if only there were a sufficient num-' ber of men who would seek not their own things, but the things 'which are Christ's. Dear brethren, pray the Lord of the har-' vest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest...... 'I have nothing further to write upon these topics, except ' that such is the force and abundance of my joys, which God is wont to bestow upon the workers in this part of his vineyard, who diligently labour for the conversion of the heathen, that ' if there be in life any solid and true happiness, it is here to be ' found...... For truly the man who has once tasted by spiritual perception the sweetness of His gift, must find this life bitter without the light of His countenance.'\*

With this letter Mr. Venn contrasts those written to Mansilla.

The first quoted by him runs thus: -

'God give you patience, which is the first requisite in dealing with this nation. Imagine to yourself that you are in l'urgatory and are washing away the guilt of your evil deeds.'†

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, pp. 46-48. † *Ibid*, p. 49.

From a second we extract this passage :- 'I shall turn my thoughts into another direction, and seriously take in hand a design which has long allured me like a charm, of abandoning 'India, where so many obstacles to the promulgation of the ' religion of Christ are raised from quarters where it was least ' to be expected, and transferring myself to Ethiopia, where I am ' called to publish the Gospel by a hope and probability of sig-' nally advancing the glory of our Lord God, where there are ' no Europeans to resist us by overturning what we build up.'\*

Another letter is quoted entire by Mr. Venn, but we extract

only the parts which affect the present argument :-

Your letters have greatly refreshed me. Again and again 'I beseech you to behave to these men, who are the scum of the ' human race, as good fathers are in the habit of doing to their wicked children. Do not suffer yourself to be east down, how-'ever enormous their wickedness may be, for God Whom they so 'grievously offend does not exterminate them as He might do 'to maintain an equanimity of temper and cast from yourself 'all needless uneasiness.'t

On this subject Mr. Venn remarks:- 'It is impossible not to ' be startled at the inconsistency, to use no stronger term, be-'tween these letters to his fellow-labourer Mansilla, and those 'which Xavier sent to his friends in Europe..... How is Xavier to be acquitted of dishonesty?' ...... He was a man of 'strong impulses, of quick transitions of feeling, liable to pass ' from extravagant hope to unreasonable despair. This we con-'ceive to be the solution of the contradictions in his letters. 'He probably wrote from the impulse of the moment. He lacked ' in fact that stable confidence in the enterprise he had taken in ' hand, which every true Missionary derives from a supreme re-' gard to the Word of God. It is impossible otherwise to recon-'cile his sudden abandonment of India after so short and im-' perfect a trial, with his previous profession of spiritual comfort and success in his work, -or his sublime appeals to men of elearning and science in the Universities of Europe to become ' his associates, with the fact that his chief comfort was the baptism of moribund infants and the dumb show of a crowd of 'adult worshippers.§ And again, in his final summary of

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 50. + Ibid, pp. 51-52.

<sup>‡</sup> *Ibid*, p. 55. § *Ibid*, p. 79.

Xavier's character, he says, 'a want of thorough truthfulness is con-

'spicuous in all his European correspondence.'\*

Nothing can be a greater proof of Mr. Venn's candour than the fact that, though he had already come to such conclusions as to Xavier's work and character, he was not afraid to print the documents which utterly disprove them. On the general charge of inconsistency of character, we shall have more to say. we have already disproved the charges of baptising moribund infants, and of contenting himself with dumb show. Our readers can judge from the extracts we have given what there is in these letters to justify the charge of 'unreasonable despair' and the statement that the tone of the two sets of letters is contradictory. In the first place we may remark that the letters to Europe were written in Dec. 1543 and Jany. 1544, and those to Mansilla in March 1544. A change of feeling might very easily come over a man in the space of three months, but on looking closely into the first and third letter to Mansilla, it becomes very apparent that they are not spontaneous expressions of Xavier's own sentiments, but references to Mansilla's feelings, which Xavier is trying to soothe and repress. The exhortation 'God give you patience' is clearly an answer to Mansilla's impatient letter. The advice to maintain equal equanimity of temper and to cast away needless uneasiness, was obviously called forth by the tone of Mansilla's correspondence, not by the tendency of Xavier's own The fact is that these letters to Mansilla, as quoted by Mr. Venn, contain no expression of Xavier's feelings except a general impression of ill success as to results; nothing in any way at variance with his glory in his vocation, his conviction of its importance, or his peace of mind.

But even if there was such a discrepancy, if the home letters painted all things in glowing colours, while the letters to a fellow-labourer were affected by the heat and burden of the day, would this give rise to even a suspicion of dishonesty in any mind untainted by the odium theologicum? What man has ever lived of high-wrought enthusiastic nature who has not had his moments of deep depression? Who that has ever aimed at an apostolic height has not been deeply wounded by the sense of failure? Where is the tender loving spirit to whom the mere thought of the far distant home has not shed a rose-coloured light over all circumstances of distress and pain? Even we in this present time, in writing to our friends at home, keep silence as

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 257.

to our little troubles and disappointments, and fill our letters not with what is false, but with such truths as are pleasant. The commonest subaltern who prates at mess about the 'cursed 'country' writes to his widowed mother that India is a fine country after all, and that he hopes to do great things, and to make a name there yet. But what is praiseworthy in an ordinary Christian is 'want of thorough truthfulness' in an apostle.

The second stricture on Xavier's Missionary character to which we think it necessary to advert, is made with reference to his plan for an invasion of Ceylon, of which we spoke above. On

this Mr. Venn remarks :-

'See Xavier on the look-out for a hostile and murderous expedition, which he himself had instigated, for the advancement of true religion; in what did his spirit then differ from that of a Mussulman?'\* Now it is impossible to defend Xavier's prudence and common sense with regard to this expedition; but it is very clear that the spirit in which he planned it was not a hostile and murderous one. The prospect he held before himself was the possible conversion of the King of Jaffnapatam,—or else his execution as a just reward for his murder of so many Christians: but not the dragooning of a whole country into Christianity by the offer of conversion or the sword. To quote from his own letters:—

'The Viceroy has given his generals command to restore the elder brother to the throne of Jaffnapatam, and to put to death the King who slew the neophytes, or else to deal with him as I shall determine. Indeed, I confidently hope that, through the intercession of those whom he has made martyrs, he will be brought to acknowledge his crime and blindness, and by salutary penance will at length obtain pardon from God for his atrocious cruelty. In Jaffnapatam and the opposite coast more than 1,00,000 will easily be added to Christianity.'†

These letters breathe the spirit of an unpractical enthusiast, but not of a sanguinary bigot. He was a man who had not sufficient practical clearness of view to foresee the means necessary to his end, not a man who considered that the end justified the

means.

Of the charge of 'inconsistency' which Mr. Venn brings against Xavier, we shall be able to speak more appropriately when we have concluded our sketch of his career. We will only notice

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 79.

<sup>+</sup> I bid, p. 69.

here his remark of astonishment at Xavier's expression that, as soon as he perceived his labours were not at all needed in India, he went on his way to Macassar. On this Mr. Venn says:—

'Xavier's labours not at all needed in India! What then was the meaning of his earnest appeal to the Universities of Europe to send fresh labourers to reap the field white to harvest.'\* Throughout this book Mr. Venn seems to have written in total disregard of the terrible 'tu quoque,' which may be hurled back at every one of his attacks on the character and results of Xavier's Missionary life. In this case he seems to be utterly oblivious of the cavil so often urged against Missionaries, that there is plenty of work for earnest men in the mining and manufacturing districts, and the purlieus of London, without going thousands of miles to seek it. The cavil against modern Missions is unjust, but it is equally unjust when applied to Xavier.

It is indeed refreshing to turn from contrasting Mr. Venn's accurate history with his inaccurate conclusion to the less detailed but more life-like sketch given in Mr. Myers's lectures. We trust our readers will reciprocate the pleasure with which we quote part of his description of Xavier's work on the Fishery Coast:—

part of his description of Xavier's work on the Fishery Coast:-'All about them he finds utterly miserable: themselves, their 'country, their dwellings, their mode of living: no one comfort or visible blessing. His language, however, in writing from among them to Loyola, breathes only of thankfulness and joy and deep delight in the work he was engaged in. He lives just as they do on rice and water; associates with them as one of 'themselves; learns their rude utterances, teaches them little arts, becomes in every way their friend. He gradually preaches ' to them of God-and even of Christ-symbolically chiefly; he ' teaches them letters, and then to read simple words which he ' writes: he gets them to build little Chapels, and interprets the ' Creed and Crucifix to them. All but three hours and a half of the 'twenty-four he wakes and works. Except these hours for sleep the night is given to the improvement of his own soul through ' meditation, and prayer, and discipline: as soon as the day lights ' up the waters, Xavier calls his people to worship: all day he teaches the children and the new converts, visits the sick, goes incland to other villages, and at twilight again summons all to worship and vesper benediction...... A more unweariable man you shall not find under the sun..... This we see, that, little acquainted with the language of the people as he was (and

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 73.

'Xavier never was a good linguist,) he has a marvellous faculty of making an impression on the minds of rude men: that he exercises, if any one ever could or can, a kind of spiritual magnetism over men: that he can infuse his earnest thoughts into others with little help of articulate utterance, and can make his own feelings as it were infectious. I know of no one of whom are recorded such instances of communicative energy as of Xavier: no one who seems to have had so much influence over uncivilised men as he: none who by this alone has so thoroughly entitled himself to the appellation he was known by among his own, the Thaumaturgus or wonder-worker of

' the later ages of the Church.'\*

The attraction which drew Xavier to Macassar was the report that the King of the place had already been baptised, and that there was a general movement in favour of Christianity. His outfit and passage were provided for by a merchant named Deyro, who came to him for confession, and was so wrought upon by his contagious enthusiasm, that he sold his property, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and devoted himself to Xavier's They left Madras in the summer of 1545, and reached Malacca in October. There Xavier learnt that a Missionary had recently sailed, under the protection of soldiers, for Macassar, and he was persuaded to wait for the return of the ship which had conveyed them, and for further tidings of their progress. For three months he remained at Malacca, living, as he had done at Goa, in a hospital, preaching and ministering to the sick. As the expected ship from Macassar did not arrive, he took a passage with the annual fleet which visited the Spice Islands. The voyage of this fleet seems to have been a long one. They visited Amboyna, where they remained three months; then the Moluccas, where they also remained three months; and lastly, they remained three months at the islands of the 'Mauricae'. Returning thence by the same route, they stopped again for three months at the Moluccas, and one month at Amboyna, on their way to Malacca. Thus the stoppages alone occupied thirteen months, and the whole voyage probably not less than eighteen.

None of these islands, however, answered to Xavier's expectations, or supplied the peculiar sphere in which he wished to labour. We have seen that, as the result of his Indian experience, he had resolved to seek for some country in which his work

<sup>\*</sup> Lectures, &c., pp. 95-97.

would not be frustrated by the example of his profligate countrymen, and where he could begin by converting or favourably influencing the King of the place. Amboyna and the Moluccas were both occupied by Portuguese garrisons, and the Mauricae were a tribe more barbarous and brutalised than the fishermen of the Comorin Coast. The scene of labour for which Xavier was peculiarly adapted, was not to be found in their islands.

But, though frustrated in his search for an encouraging field of work, Xavier had not wasted his time during this voyage. At Amboyna there were six or seven Christian villages, and to these he ministered. At the Moluccas he found a Mahomedan ruler who was very favourable to Christianity, and whose brother-in-law, as well as the mother of the former ruler, were converted. He also preached to the garrison at Ternate, and bad a special class of the native wives of the Portuguese soldiers, The islands of the 'Mauricae' or of the Moors (which Mr. Venn identifies with Mortay) were inhabited by cannibals and by natives 'famous for poisoning each other'; a tribe of whom, like our Thugs, exalted murder into a religion. Xavier's friends entreated him to abstain from going among them, and brought him antidotes against poisons, which he rejected. Mr. Venn makes it a charge against him that he did not fix his abode To have done so would have been to commit the a nong them. same folly that distinguished Captain Gardiner's Mission to Patagonia. They did not present the field he sought for. He had made no preparations when he left Malacca with the fleet for remaining behind on a desert island. 'He describes the 'islands as a volcanic formation, very sterile, and having no 'sheep or cattle, only pigs and wild boars. The inhabitants ' were utterly uncivilised, and lived in constant jealousies and Great numbers were destroyed by poison. They had 'no written language, and nearly every island had a different ' dialect'.\*

Yet this did not hinder him from living among the people for three months, while the trading fleet remained at the island, and during this time the danger and strangeness of his position stirred up his enthusiastic spirit to more lofty emotions than usual. He describes them thus:—

'I write these things that you may know how greatly these islands abound in spiritual joys. Truly all these perils and discomforts, encountered for the sake of our Lord, are treasuries

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 114.

filled with heavenly consolations, so that you may believe these islands to have been pre-ordained to destroy the sight of the eyes by weeping tears of joy. I never, indeed, remember myself to have been so penetrated by a flow of perpetual happiness, nor to have borne labour and bodily trials so lightly; although I traversed islands in the midst of enemies and faithless friends, although they be destitute of all remedies for disease, and even of all safeguards for life itself, yet they appear to me to deserve the name of the Isles of divine hope rather than the region of the Moor.'\*

On his return to Malacca, which must have been about the middle of 1547, he remained for some time, teaching and visiting as before, till he found a ship to take him to India, which he reached in January 1548. Why, on his return from the Spice Islands, he did not carry out his original plan of visiting Macassar, is not apparent; and in the absence of all reason stated, we cannot concur with Mr. Venn in attributing it to his 'habitual inconstancy of character.' Probably the reports brought of the success of the Missionary who was sent there were not encouraging; or else the fact of soldiers having been despatched to the island deterred him from again incurring the hindrance of their evil example.

In India Xavier remained for fifteen months, employed in inspecting outposts, visiting again his converts on the Comorin Coast, and setting in working order the machine of religious

discipline and Government.

This work was by no means a slight or unimportant one. About twenty associates of the Jesuit Order had reached him, and more were on their way out; these he had to make acquaintance with, to test and to appoint them, according to their respective fitness of character, either to reside at great centres of trade, in religious charge of a large European population, (such as Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Socotra at the mouth of the Red Sea, Malacca, or Goa itself,) or to superintend distant Missions, such as those on the Comorin Coast and in the Moluccas, or to preside over the great Missionary College at Goa, and its affiliated branches at Cranganore and Ternate. It will be easily understood how difficult such a selection was, and how hard to maintain strict discipline and settled order among a body of men so little homogeneous, and so widely scattered.

Mr. Venn has some judicious remarks on the additional

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 115.

difficulties arising from Xavier's position as Royal Commissioner on the part of the King of Portugal. The authority this gave him over the regular Civil Officials placed him in a kind of antagonism to them, made him feel doubly sensible of the hindrances their coldness or opposition threw in the Missionary's way, and led him to attach an unreasonable value to their assistance. He even went so far as to propose to the King that a scale of rewards should be established for Governors who had gained converts, and a scale of punishments for those who had not. Certainly Xavier shewed little wisdom in his admixture of politics with religion, and we are well pleased to see him shake off this additional responsibility, which was only an incumbrance to him in performing the work to which he was specially devoted.

But when Mr. Venn remarks unfavourably on the tone of authority adopted by Xavier in his directions to his subordinates, he seems to us to miss the whole spirit of the Order to which

Xavier belonged. On this point Mr. Myers says:-

'Loyola's grand assumption is that all things are conquerable assuredly to him who will first conquer himself; and this leads him to consider all virtue as comprised in that which is the mere soldier's,—obelience to his brother-man.' Thus Xavier was only carrying out the principle which had been inculcated on

him by his Chief.\*

But indee I the remarkable point in Xavier's character is not his insistance on the duties of obedience and self-abnegation, but his abstinence from all peremptory orders, and his consideration and forethought for the unexpected difficulties which might arise. In the abstract he is authoritative enough, but in practice he leaves a wide margin for discretion. This Mr. Venn does not fail to see, although with singular inconsistency he seems to forget it. Again, when summing up the results of Xavier's Missionary life in India, he speaks of the one great fault in his system which would have proved fatal to success—namely, that he attempted to carry every thing by authority.' But in another place he forms a truer estimate of his character.

'This peremptory and absolute authority which Xavier assume I, was never pressed in a way to offend the feelings of his brethren. Its exercise is mingled with so much tenderness of affection, and with such expressions of personal humility

<sup>\*</sup> Lectures, &c., p. 86.

' and Christian courtesy, as cannot but excite our admiration at

' the natural magnanimity of the man.'\*

Take, as an instance of this, his orders to Missionaries at outposts not to leave their stations except under a very special necessity, in spite of which he says in his letter of instructions to Father Paul Camerti, whom he left as his locum tenens in India, 'yet if any of them for urgent reasons should without your direction come to you, I would have you receive them kindly, and treat them with the utmost affection, attending to them with all care, whether they need the strengthening and support of their physical or mental constitution; whether they come of their own accord, and upon their own responsibility, or by the persuasion of their companions, to seek the spiritual medicine of penance and correction, or of temporary retreat; whatever offices you can perform for them, see that you behave yourself with parental tenderness, lest they fall away, or suffer some serious evil.'t

If some Missionary in a moment of faint-heartedness were to leave his post at Peshawur or Tinnevelly, and to appear suddenly in London, we doubt if the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, although he does not insist on 'peremptory obedience,' would treat the deserter in quite this spirit; or whether there would not be some parental objurgation mingled with parental

tenderness.

But while the duty of internal arrangement and discipline was occupying all Xavier's energies, his heart had long been given to devoting himself to open up a new Mission in Japan. The way in which his thoughts were turned in this direction was remarkable enough. A native of Japan, named Anger, had fled on board a Portuguese vessel, to escape from the consequences of a family quarrel. The Captain of the vessel, Ferdinand Alvarus, happened to be an intimate friend of Xavier's, and excited in the mind of the Japanese the desire of seeing him, and of being instructed in the Christian Faith. He accompanied Alvarus to Malacca, arriving there at the time when Xavier had gone on his eighteen months' tour among the Spice Islands. After waiting some time in vain for his return, Anger lost patience and set out to return to Japan, but was beaten back by a violent storm, and arrived in Malacca again, to find Xavier there, and to be most kindly received by him. Xavier sent him to the Missionary College of Goa, where he received Christian instruction for

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 125.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid, p. 145.

more than a year. It seems to have been his accounts of his native land, and his anxiety and distress at the thought of the religious darkness of his fellow countrymen that first turned Xavier's thoughts towards Japan. Here was an unexplored country, discovered only six years before, where there were no European traders or soldiers to discredit the Christian name, and to impede the progress of the Gospel. It was a highly civilised and wellgoverned country, on whose rulers Xavier might hope to make that favourable impression which he had learnt to think a necessary preliminary to Missionary enterprise. The Japanese was sanguine as to the readiness of his countrymen to accept the Christian religion. Xavier's enthusiasm caught fire from his, and he entertained no doubt that the impulse was divinely sent. Though he heard before starting that Japan has closed its ports against the Portuguese, his resolution was no ways shaken. wrote:—'By God's help I will go, for there is no better enjoyment 'in this miserable world than to live in peril of death, when ' death is encountered from the sole motive of His love, and a 'desire of pleasing Him and spreading His holy religion. Be-'lieve me, it is sweeter to live in the midst of such peril than ' to be free from it, and at ease.'\*

spirit of apostolic devotion and lofty self-abnega-In this tion, he set out on his perilous mission to the unknown country of Japan. No more now of 'Royal patronage and Ecclesiastical influence'; for he was going to a country where the very names of the King of Portugal and the Pope of Rome had never been heard. No more of 'absolute authority and peremptory orders'; for he was going almost alone, a 'simple Missionary,' to a country where letters could only reach him by accident. His chosen companion for the voyage was Cosmo Turrianus, who had been for many years a roving sea-faring man, and who, having been impressed with religious feelings by seeing the labours of the Missionaries, had lately joined the Society of Jesus. They were also accompanied by the Japanese convert, Paul Anger, and a servant of his, by a layassistant, Fernandez, and a Chinese youth, called Amator. They left India in April 1549 for Malacca, from which place the Governor forwarded them in a Chinese junk, probably on account of the prohibition to the trade of Portuguese vessels. They reached Caugoxima, + a port on the south coast of Kiu-Siu, the most southern island of Japan, in August 1549.

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 175.
† Now too well known as Kagosima.

Their reception by the natives and the Governor of the place was very favourable. Paul Anger's relatives crowded about him, anxious to learn the nature of his new religion, and by no means disposed to reject or despise him on account of his conversion. The Governor received a visit from Xavier most graciously, and his mother requested to have the chief articles of the Christian religion given her in writing. Two Budhist Priests, or Bonzes,' went off to Goa to the Missionary College there, commended by Xavier to his friends with the simple message:—'be careful to treat them kindly and courteously, even as I treated Paul when I was with you.' The singular tolerance of the Japanese, and the simplicity of their Budhist faith, made them peculiarly ready to entertain and accept the new doctrine. Xavier remained at Caugoxima for a year, and during that time he had obtained 100 converts, and had made a deep and lasting

impression on the mind of the country.

The Budhist priests, however, beginning to be jealous of his success, persuaded the Governor to oppose the spread of Christianity by an edict punishing conversion with death. Checked by this order, Xavier and Cosmo left Paul behind among his own people, and proceeded themselves to a town in the kingdom of Amanguchi, a place not now to be found in maps; but the town is identified by the biographers of Xavier with Firando, a seaport on the north-west of the Island of Kiu-Siu. At Frando, Xavier found the people so well disposed to hear the new religion, that he left Cosmo behind and went on alone to Amanguchi. Here again he was well received by the King, who sent for him, and listened to his exposition of the Faith with interest and attention. But Xavier was at this time weaker-handed than probably he had ever been before; and being himself always a bad linguist, and having no interpreter with him, it is not to be wondered at that he failed to attract general attention, and even suffered from popular ridicule. Leaving Amanguchi he crossed over to the chief Island of Niphon, and, after a painful journey of two months, arrived at Miako, which was, as he was told, the residence of the most important King of the country. From Xavier's casually mentioning that the other Kings and rulers held his temporal authority in contempt, and we may gather that this King was the spiritual Emperor of Japan, or Mikado. To him Xavier found it impossible to gain an entrance; and disappointed thus in his hope of gaining over the chief potentate to his side, he judged it best to return to Amanguchi and secure the favourable inclinations of

the King of that place, whose good-will he had already experienced.

On arriving at Amanguchi, Xavier presented to him the letters and gifts which he had brought from the Viceroy and Bishop of Goa, and which he had hoped to present to the Mikado at Miako. The King in return shewed his favour by issuing a proclamation that it should be lawful for Xavier to preach the Christian Faith, and for the Japanese in his kingdom to become converts to it. Xavier was here joined by Cosmo Turrianus again, and his lay-assistant, Fernandez, had become skilful in the language, so that the impediment which had hindered him at first was now removed. Before long he records the conversion of 500 people. Two of these are specially mentioned as being very learned and able men, and one of them joined the

Society of the Jesuits.

While thus engaged, Xavier was invited by the King of Bungo, a province on the east of the Island of Kiu-Siu, to visit him and was warmly received. Soon after he left Amanguchi, a civil war broke out there, which ended in the King committing suicide, and a step brother of the King of Bungo being elected in his place. He was animated by the same friendly spirit towards the Missionaries as his predecessor had been, and promised them his support. The King of Bango was desirous of making a friendly alliance with the King of Portugal; and Xavier persuaded him to send an ambassador to Goa, and prevailed on two Japanese converts to visit Portugal, and arranged for their being sent on to Rome, 'that they might witness the Christian religion in all its magnificence.' Having thus established two flourishing Missions, to which he had conciliated the good-will and approbation of the local rulers, Xavier thought it high time to return to watch over the important interests entrusted to him in India. He sailed in the same ship with the King of Bungo's ambassalor to Goa, and reached India in January 1552, after an absence of two years and eight months.

This Japanese Mission has always been looked on as the great success and the crowning glory of Xavier's life. It is not so much what he accomplished himself, as the door he opened for others, by his bold conception of carrying the Gospel into so distant a country, and his wise selection of the men he took with him and left in charge of the work, and yet what he accomplished himself was no small work to be passed over lightly. He himself records about 700 conversions as having been made

during his stay in the island. It was his wise courtesy and noble presence that gained over the Rulers of Firando, Amanguchi, and Bungo, to be more than patrons, to be almost converts, to his faith. His letters are meagre exceedingly as to his own life and actions, but they tell us enough to paint a noble picture for the eyes of those who can see. Mr. Myers says :- 'A 'strange sight truly was this toiling, travel-worn man: no 'carriage of any kind, nor servant; no state, no pomp, no com-'fort even; literally of apostolic guise. And had you seen him passing wearily and footsore across the dreary and dangerous 'wastes of Japan, you could not but have called to mind, in spite of some strange differences, how the noble prototype of all Mis-' sions minded himself to go afoot from Treas unto Assos ..... 'When persecuted in one city they flee to another, and despite of 'all opposition Xavier keeps preaching, and baptisms follow his ' preachings wherever they halt awhile, and catechisings, public ' disputations, and conversions. He ordains elders in almost every 'city, and writes letters to his converts and fellow-labourers at a 'distance, of which some portions are almost apostolic. 'sanctity does as much as his sermons, and his companions are ' helps-meet for him, displaying the peculiar virtues of the Chris-'tian in the midst of danger and reproach of all kinds; and 'when he leaves the Mission in their hands, as he does shortly, he ' does so with the confidence that the unparalleled efforts and 'successes of the past are but as the first-fruits of the future.'\* That future was indeed as bright a one as any Mission ever enjoyed, and to the present day, when the friends of Missions deplore their ill success, they refer to Japan as an example of what Missionaries under favourable circumstances can effect. Mr. Venn tells us, what from the circumstances is exceedingly natural, that he has searched in vain for any accurate statistics of the numbers of the converts, but undoubtedly they were 'At the close of the 16th century (in 1586) very great. 'a fierce and bloody persecution commenced against Christianity, on the part of the political Emperor (Tycoon) on the old plea of persecutors that the peace of the State was endangered. From 'the great number of influential people said to have been involved, 'it may be inferred that the profession of Christianity had been ' very widely extended; and from the length of time, amounting ' to forty years, for which the struggle was continued, it is evident

' that multitudes firmly held to their adopted faith. In the year

<sup>\*</sup> Lectures, &c., p. 98.

1637 the reigning Emperor discovered, as he affirmed, a traitorous correspondence for dethroning him, between the Native 'Christians and the King of Portugal. He therefore issued orders for the butchery of the remainder of the Christians, esti-' mated at 37,000. This order was barbarously carried into ' effect. Thus the Mission, planted by Xavier, was extinguished

'in blood, after existing for nearly ninety years.' \*

We have not space to quote here any of the noble letters written by Xavier during his stay in Japan, but we trust our readers will be sufficiently interested by the specimens of them we have already given, to look themselves for them in Mr. Venn's pages. But before we leave this important part of Xavier's life, we must notice two cavils, (we can hardly call them charges,) which Mr. Venn brings against his personal success, and the system on

which he based his Mission. The first passage is as follows:—
'We must remember that, though he spent more than two ' years in the study of the language, he was obliged even to the ' last to employ his lay helper as an interpreter. He has himself 'expressed, in emphatic terms, the insufficiency of his personal 'efforts. Looking forward to a visit to China he said :—"I shall " succeed in opening it for others, since I can do nothing myself." 'This single sentence, beautiful in its humility, nevertheless points 'to the simple fact that his personal efforts to evangelise the 'natives were a failure everywhere, but that he led the way for

' others to follow, and encouraged numbers to do so.'t

Now we ask any one if this is a legitimate deduction from Xavier's words. The sentence which Mr. Venn justly calls 'beautiful in its humility' is the natural expression of a mind depreciating its own powers, not the careful and deliberate summing of the work of a life. Besides, it applies to the future, not to the past; and its reference cannot be properly understood without the context. We could hardly have defended such an argument as this from the charge of disingenuousness, if it did not happen that Mr. Venn had placed in close juxtaposition to it two most remarkable proofs of its erroneousness. It is impossible to attribute to want of candour a judgment which clearly arises from some strange intellectual distortion.

The proofs of Xavier's great personal influence that we refer to, are two letters written, one in 1555, and the other about the same date, by the Rulers of Firando and Bungo respectively; the former writes to a Missionary in China, Melchior Nunez:

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 210. + Ibid, p. 208.

'When the Father, Master Francis, had come into this kingdom, he made some Christians, much to my delight, whom I have taken charge of, and kept them from all injuries.'\*

The King of Bungo, who had much more personal knowledge of Xavier than the King of Firando, at which place Xavier had remained so short a time, writes thus to the Viceroy of India:—

'I Yacalandono, King of Bungo, Tacataa, Amanguchi, and the countries of the two seas, Lord of the petty Kings of the Islands of Tosa, Xemenarequa, and Miaygina, do give thee to understand by this letter that Father Francisco Xavier, having been not 'long since in this country, preaching to them of Amanguchi the new law of the Creator of all things, I secretly promised to ' him that, on his return into my kingdom, I would receive from his hands the name and water of holy baptism, however the 'novelty of so unexpected a thing might put me on bad terms with my subjects. Wherefore he also promised me on his side, ' that if God gave him life he would come back to me as speedily 'as he could. And for as much as his return has been longer than I looked for, I have sent thus expressly to know both of ' him and of you the cause of this retardment of his. Where-' fore, my lord, I desire you that he may hasten away to me with 'all the speed that the first season proper for navigation may permit.'

After reading such a letter as this, it is almost laughable to be told that his personal efforts to evangelise the natives were a

failure 'every where.'

In all probability, Mr. Venn draws an exaggerated inference from Xavier's expressions as to his inability to speak the language. Mr. Myers is probably nearer the mark, when he says that Xavier was a bad linguist. Two years is a short time to master an Oriental language in; and from the instances we see everyday in this country, we may easily conceive that Xavier may have had a sufficient smattering of the language to preach written discourses, and to leave a strong personal impression of his errnestness and piety, while yet, on occasions of argument and dispute, he may have required the help of an interpreter.

The second point we have to advert to is Mr. Venn's favourite aversion,—the 'reliance on an arm of flesh.' He says:—'Xavier 'erected a Mission on the treacherous foundations of secular 'support.' That is to say, he nearly converted the King of

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 192. † *Ibid*, p. 204. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 209.

Bungo, and secured his converts against persecution. And again: 'The Mission Xavier planted was extinguished in blood, after 'existing for nearly ninety years; and this through the political 'power on which Xavier leaned in all his Missionary enterprises.'\* Or, in other words, when the remedy Xavier provided had failed, the evil which he provided against occurred. If he had not obtained the support of the Governors, the persecution which destroyed a Church of a hundred thousand souls would have nipped his conversions in the bud. Does Mr. Venn esteem the existence of that Church for ninety years as nothing? Or has he reflected on the terrible ' tu quoque' which impends over every cavil he utters? Do not Missionaries in India rely upon the 'arm of flesh' or, in plain English, on the Civil Government? How many Missionaries, how many converts would remain if we lost India and another Tippoo held it? Or, to take a practical instance, why did the Madagascar Mission, which, as far as regards the Missionaries, had been utterly crushed by persecution, burst into sudden popularity, except because a ruler favourable to Christianity had come into power, and English and French are struggling for political influence there? If trying to convert King Yacatandono, was a sinful reliance on the 'arm of flesh,' by what name are we to describe the crime of trusting in King Radama the Second?

On his return to India in January 1551, Xavier found that his long absence and the difficulty of communicating with him had made room for much dissension and jealousy of authority among the Missionaries, as well as a want of cordiality between them and the Civil Government. The official paymasters had refused or delayed to pay the sums assigned to the Mission by the King of Portugal. The Missionaries had quarrelled, and even gone to law among themselves. Xavier's letters record the dismissal of a priest and a layman, and express the fear that more will have to be dismissed. Paul Camarte, whom Xavier had left in charge of all the Missionaries, had quarrelled with Antony Gomez, who was placed over the Missionary College of Goa. The biographers record that the latter had, contrary to Xavier's instructions, 'turned this College into a Jesuit Novitiate Establishment,' † a sentence which contrasts strangely with Mr. Venn's former censure of Xavier himself (p. 26) for 'having set himself to turn the Missionary College into a Jesuit Establishment.' In every way his plans had been thwarted, and his hopes frustrated,

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 210.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid, p. 216.

and his letters do not conceal the disappointment he felt. He writes:-

'I had hoped on my return from Japan to enjoy some repose after all the fatigues I had undergone. But no! there was no comfort for me. Far from that, I found only grief upon grief, and each in succession more poignant than the preceding. I found law suits arising from a quarrelsome temper. Nothing is stirring around me, but squabbles, disputes, divisions, to the great scandal of the people. Alas! this was not the work I so

earnestly enjoined at my departure for Japan.'\*

We cannot agree with Mr. Venn in considering this trial as decisive of the unadvisability of appointing an absolute Head, with despotic authority over Missions. Xavier's long absence, and the impossibility of exercising any control from Japan, are quite sufficient to account for the result. It would be far more reasonable to argue that discipline in an army was unadvisable, because the officers mutinied against Lord Clive. A system of centralization obviously requires constant communication with outlying posts; and even if Xavier had remained at Goa, he would probably have been baffled by the distance of many of his subordinates. But now that communication is regular and speedy, the conditions under which the experiment of a Missionary Bishop

would be tried are completely altered.

Xavier's stay in India was very brief, for the position of a mere Superintendent of Missions was irksome to him, and he had only returned to his head-quarters to gather strength for a new project, more arduous and more advantageous even than any of those he had planned before. This project was a Mission to China. had been first suggested to him by the reverence that the Japanese entertained for China, and their argument 'how is it, if what 'you preach is true, that the Chinese never heard of it?' probably fostered by the success he had met with in Japan, and the knowledge that China was, like Japan, a well-governed, philosophical country, where his doctrines, could he once attain an entry, would probably be met by reasonable argument and not by violence. Perhaps too the danger and difficulty of the project was no slight attraction to Xavier's enthusiastic and devoted spirit. No European was allowed, under the severest penalties, to enter the Celestial Kingdom. Trade was conducted on the island of Chang-chuen, not far from Canton, where the Chinese met the Portuguese merchants and exchanged their stores. Thus far it

Venn, p. 215.

was easy to get, but to enter the continent seemed an impossibility. But in order to meet this difficulty and render the mission feasible, Xavier proposed to make use of his authority as Royal Commissioner:—that authority, the possession of which, as we have seen, derogates so much in Mr. Venn's estimation from

the worth of his labours as a simple Missionary.

In Xavier's former letters he mentions one James Pereira, a merchant at Malacca, as his best friend in connection with the Mission to Japan. He was determined to make use of his friendship to further the Mission to China. Whether by the express orders of the King, or by virtue of the authority delegated to himself, does not appear, but probably by the latter, he appointed this James Pereira to be Royal Envoy to the King of China, proposing himself thus to obtain admission to the King's presence, under cover of the embassy. He writes to King John of Portugal:—

'We carry with us many precious gifts to the King, which Pereira has bought partly by the royal funds, and partly by his own. We carry also a precious gift, such as I doubt if ever King sent to King within the memory of man, namely, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which, if the King of China knows its value, he will place far above all his treasures however great. I have a good hope that God will look in mercy on that vast nation and people, and will open the eyes of men made in His likeness, that they may know their Maker and Jesus Christ, the

one Saviour of mankind.'\*

With his mind full of such high hopes and visions of noble results, Xavier and Pereira sailed from India in April 1552. But at Malacca a great discouragement awaited him. The Governor of the place laid an embargo on the ship and forbad the embassy to China. Whether Xavier had overstepped the limits of his authority in planning this embassy, or, whether the prohibition was merely the act of personal enmity or political disapprobation, we are unable to tell; but it shews clearly how almost independent was the power of a local Governor in those days, and it justifies Xavier in his constant admonitions to Missionaries to keep on good terms with the authorities. The blow was a sudden and a very bitter one. In Xavier's estimation it was the work of one who had no fear of ecclesiastical censures or the Divine wrath, one who opposed the propagation of the Christian religion and the efforts of pious men' as well as

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 236.

disregarded the pontifical authority under which Xavier acted. Accordingly he presses for his punishment and excommunication in terms which do not bear out Mr. Venn's charge of vindictiveness, but which painfully remind one of the curse pronounced against Meroz, 'because they came not to the help of the Lord, 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' But vindictiveness implies a personal element in the anger, and this was totally wanting to Xavier's wrath. He thinks nothing of the indignity to himself, but a little of the loss to Pereira's trade, and a great deal of the hindrance placed in the way of religion. He writes to Pereira:—

'It is all my fault! on account of my great sins, God has frustrated our Chinese enterprise! God is my witness how sincere was my desire to serve Him and yourself; had not this been so, I should now have felt far more bitter sorrow. May our Lord be your guardian, and the leader and companion of my

' present enterprise.'\*

For Xavier had not been quite overwhelmed by this check, nor were his plans so lightly formed, that when prevented from carrying them out in one way, he abandoned them altogether. He had determined to persevere in his enterprise, and, as he could not enter China in the train of an ambassador, to sail for the island of Chang-chuen and there to look out for any available means of carrying the Gospel into China, despite the cordon of prohibitive laws.

This conduct draws down upon him Mr. Venn's severest censure. 'On the failure of the legation, instead of receiving 'this check with submission as coming from the hand of God, the 'course which Xavier pursued indicated a hasty and angry tem'per, as well as an inordinate self-importance. He obstinately 'determined to carry out the plan, notwithstanding the altered 'circumstances, and to seek an interview with the Emperor of

' China.'+

It is really painful to have to deal with such criticism as this, which no fair-minded man would stoop to except under the influence of party spirit and foregone conclusions. If Xavier, after two years of labour, leaves the Fishery Coast or Japan, or, if he abandons a plan he had formed of visiting Macassar, then he is guilty of inconsistency. If he adheres to a plan and perseveres

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 239. † Ibid, p. 240.

in it in spite of obstacles, then he shews an angry temper and inordinate self-sufficiency. We may safely leave such inconsistent criticism as this to stand or fall by its own merits.

After a wearisome delay at Malacca, Xavier sailed for China in one of James Pereira's trading ships. Conscious of the personal risk he was running, he took no European companion with him, only a single native interpreter. But Pereira's loyal and hearty service could assist him in his journey no further than the island of Chang-chuen, on which the trading ship landed him. From thence he had to devise his own scheme for obtaining admission into that forbidden continent for the conversion of which his heart yearned so eagerly, but which he was never to enter.

On landing at Chang-chuen he was seized with a fever which lasted for fifteen days. Then he recovered, and for three weeks he was busily engaged in trying every scheme for securing a passage to China, and in writing to his friends to inform them of his success and to plan the details of the larger Mission which was to follow at once if he could clear a way. No Portuguese trader would convey him to China. 'The natives were deterred by the terror of a law which threatened with death any one who should abet the entrance of the foreigner into the sacred soil. By an enormous bribe of nearly £300, he persuaded a Chinese merchant to undertake the risk of carrying him merely to the nearest point of the shore, and leaving him alone there. But the Chinaman's heart too failed him when the time came. Xavier's native interpreter deserted him. The fever, lurking in the low swampy island, finding him now at a disadvantage, weary and heart-sick, attacked him again, and could not be shaken off. For three weeks he fought against it, but the struggle ended on the 2nd of December 1552. Lying among strangers, mostly Chinese, in a mean hut scantily thatched, close to the crowded bazaar, the Royal Commissioner and Pontifical Legate and Head of all the Missionaries in India, yet deserted by his only servant, and untended by any friendly hand,—thus was Xavier found in his last moments by some Portuguese merchants whom chance brought that way. They watched by his death-bed, and closed his eyes, and buried him in a coffin in the sand hard by, and when they left the place, they carried the coffin to a mourning populace in Malacca. Thence it was subsequently removed and buried in great state, followed by the Viceroy and all the European population in Goa.

Xavier when he died was forty-six years of age, and had been only twelve years a Missionary. Seeing how much he had done in

that period, what might he not have accomplished if he had spared himself, and had lived to old age! Looking at it in this point of view, it is excusable for any one to regret his China Mission, and even to blame it as ill-considered and foolhardy. Indeed, it is quite clear that the law against the entry of foreigners was very stringently carried out, and that Xavier underrated the difficulties in his way. But still the fact that the Jesuits very soon afterwards did effect an entry into China, and gained an enormous number of converts there, is a proof that the difficulties were not insuperable, and that Xavier's was no diseased enthusiasm. What obstacles could China present to terrify a man who had triumphed over all the hindrances he met in Japan? There was nothing unsound or unpractical about his plans. He went well provided with money and with all his preparations for a party to follow him, completed. He had certainly an unbounded faith in the effect which the preaching of the Gospel would produce, but he did not, like the promoters of the insane and disastrous Patagonian Mission, set out unsupplied with necessities, or expect Providence to work a miracle in his favour. The same fate might have befallen him in Japan or the Cannibal Islands of the Mauricae as in Chang-chuen; we cannot therefore fairly affix any blame of rashness to his Chinese enterprise, or accuse him of having thrown his life away.

Mr. Venn concludes his narrative of Xavier's life with a summary of his character, in which he repeats most of the charges which, in the course of the story, we have taken occasion to answer and disprove. The charge of want of thorough truthfulness in his correspondence, we have shewn to be based on a misunderstanding of his letters to Mansilla, which are not the voluntary effusions of his own spirit, but attempts to relieve the despondency of the other. In the plan to set on the throne of Ceylon a Prince, who was favourable to Christianity, and who was also the rightful heir, we consider him to have shewn a great want of political foresight, but his own letters clearly prove how little he had realised the bloodshed that would follow. So also his advice to the King, to reward and punish his officers according to the number of converts they had made, was highly unwise; but Mr. Venn's statement that he pushed a false principle to an unusual length 'and shewed an unchristian spirit,' is much stronger than the facts will bear out. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than his abstinence from using any of his authority, as Legate, Royal Commissioner, and private friend of the King, towards influencing any of the local Governors, and his entire reliance in practice

(whatever his advice may have been) on personal influence and sheer Missionary labour. When we consider how strongly the opinion prevailed in those days, that it was the duty of a sovereign to put down heresy, Xavier's advice to the King, which applied only to the heathen in Portuguese dominions, will seem very When we remember what was done in England by Cranmer and Mary and Elizabeth, in what way Luther converted the Anabaptists, and Calvin Servetus, how closely the sword followed the creed even to the end of the seventeenth century, we shall see Xavier's character in a still nobler light; for, while he yielded intellectually to the error of the time, his moral instinct prevented him from adopting it in his acts; and thus we must confess him to have been of a higher and purer nature than any of the great men of the day, who, though they all erred in this respect in act as well as in thought, have yet left names which we have learnt to honour and hold dear.

There is another charge which runs through the whole of Mr. Venn's book, and is again repeated in this summary of Xavier's character, and which we feel bound to consider at length. It is the charge of 'impulsiveness and inconsistency, which con-'trast very unfavourably with the patient endurance and perse-'verance of the true Missionary.'\* This charge is brought against him first when he leaves India for the Spice Islands, again when he gives up his plan of visiting the island of Macassar and visits Amboyna instead, and again when he only stops three months on the Cannibal Islands of the Mauricae. Mr. Venn nowhere explains in what he considers the criminality of the inconsistency to He uses the word inconsistency as if it had as definite and unfavourable a meaning as 'dishonesty.' And yet he cannot but know that there are many occasions when consistency is foolish and wrong, and inconsistency the highest praise, so that it is the duty of any one who assumes to sit in judgment on another's character, to shew not that he changed his plans or views, but that the plans or views which he adhered to were better or worse than these which he relinquished.

To do this in Xavier's case is particularly difficult, on account of the meagreness of our information and the singularity of his position as Legate as well as Missionary, and that in the very forefront of Missionary enterprise; the nature of the work was not so well known and had not fallen into such a system of routine then as now. Xavier had to learn every thing for himself, and

that period, what might he not have accomplished if he had spared himself, and had lived to old age! Looking at it in this point of view, it is excusable for any one to regret his China Mission, and even to blame it as ill-considered and foolhardy. Indeed, it is quite clear that the law against the entry of foreigners was very stringently carried out, and that Xavier underrated the difficulties in his way. But still the fact that the Jesuits very soon afterwards did effect an entry into China, and gained an enormous number of converts there, is a proof that the difficulties were not insuperable, and that Xavier's was no diseased enthusiasm. What obstacles could China present to terrify a man who had triumphed over all the hindrances he met in Japan? There was nothing unsound or unpractical about his plans. He went well provided with money and with all his preparations for a party to follow him, completed. He had certainly an unbounded faith in the effect which the preaching of the Gospel-would produce, but he did not, like the promoters of the insane and disastrous Patagonian Mission, set out unsupplied with necessities, or expect Providence to work a miracle in his favour. The same fate might have befallen him in Japan or the Cannibal Islands of the Mauricae as in Chang-chuen; we cannot therefore fairly affix any blame of rashness to his Chinese enterprise, or accuse him of having thrown his life away.

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<sup>\*</sup> Venn p. 257.

to find a field suitable to his great energies and powers. surprising that he should not hit on such a field at first? found his success in India below his expectations, and he felt that he was cramped by the evil example and influence of his countrymen; was it inconsistent to seek another place? He found no suitable opening in the Spice Islands, ought he to have stayed or settled there for his life? He had come to the deliberate conclusion that the place where he could be really useful was a country where there were no mercantile or military European settlers, and where he could obtain the support of the local Governors. The inconsistency, in our opinion, would have been if he had given up his views and had been content with less than this. At last, in Japan, he found what he had been in search of, and his estimate of his own powers was justified by the most astonishing success which has ever encouraged a Missionary Can we fairly regret or blame any former experiments which ended in such a magnificent result?

The fact is that Mr. Venn's argument proves far too much. He himself probably never realised the way in which it could be applied. If it were inconsistency to preach the Gospel to all the villages on the Comorin Coast, and then to leave India for the Spice Islands, to form and then abandon a plan of visiting Macassar, to preach to all the Spice Islands which lay within reach and then to go on to Japan, by what name shall we call the acts of those who preached at Antioch and left it for Cilicia, who formed and then abandoned the plan of visiting Bithynia, who paid so short a visit to Athens, and who, instead of remaining with the patient endurance and perseverance of true Mission-

aries at Corinth, left it again for Jerusalem?

Mr. Venn has missed the chief point in Xavier's character, which gave him 'his famous title of the Apostle to the Indies.' He fails to see how essentially apostolic were Xavier's life and acts.

His energies, his sympathies, and his power of influencing others, were too vast to be confined to any one place. A new country requires settlers, but it also requires pioneers, and Xavier judged correctly of himself that he was peculiarly fitted for the work of a pioneer. 'I can do nothing by myself, but I shall succeed in opening it for others.' In India and the Spice Islands he was no more and certainly no less than any other Missionary; it was as a pioneer that he achieved his great success in Japan, and as a pioneer he would probably have done as much in China, had he been spared for the work.

On the other hand, after allowing for all these drawbacks, Mr. Venn gives Xavier full credit for his affectionate disposition, his energy in his calling, his boldness as a Missionary, his sympathy for his fellow-labourers, his zeal as a peace-maker, and his habits of correspondence. Some persons might compare this moderate estimate of Xavier's qualities to 'damning by faint praise,' but, remembering the foregone conclusions to which Mr. Venn was pledged by his principles and position, we are inclined to be thankful for everything that shews that his honesty and good sense were too strong to be entirely warped even by prejudices. so rooted as his. How strong those prejudices were can be judged by those who read his comparison of Xavier's life with that of other modern Missionaries; a comparison which has already led us to say that Mr. Venn is completely blind to the true proportion of things. He places Xavier (forgetful of his solitary stay on the Cannibal Islands) below the rank of Marsden who, with two European Catechists, began the conversion of the New Zealanders, and who made such good speculations in trade among them that he left the country a very rich man. He places him below Henry Martyn, who did nothing except preach at the Indian Stations where he served as Chaplain, and make one journey to Shiraz: a man who (though of the noblest form of Christianity) converted no one, influenced no one, and of whom Mr. Myers says truly that 'he was more a Missionary in spirit, and 'less a Missionary in act, than any other whom we read of.' even exalts above Xavier the wife of the African Missionary, Dr. Krapf, of whom all that we know, and all that he records. is that she followed her husband in his wanderings with true wifely loyalty. Of such stuff the comparisons of Exeter Hall are made!

But the great point which Mr. Venn takes especial pains to bring out is that Xavier's labour ended in nothing. We wish we could persuade ourselves that there is not a ring of exultation in the sentence where he attributes to Xavier's Roman Catholicism the contradiction between 'Xavier's natural force of character and his spiritual inefficiency—between the expectation that would be formed of his success in any secular pursuit, and his utter failure in the Missionary enterprise.'\* We fear this sounds very much as if the wish had been 'father to the thought'; at any rate we cannot fix the paternity of the thought on any facts stated in Mr. Venn's book.

Mr. Venn's conclusions respecting the number of Xavier's conversions are briefly epitomised as follows:-That on the Comorin Coast the Christians have been so variously estimated from 12,500 to 80,000, (or including Goa and the other settlements up to 300,000) that no certainty can possibly be arrived at, but probably Xavier baptised about 20,000 people.\* That in the Spice Islands also he baptised a large number, but that there are no statistics whatever to go upon there. † That in Japan the Christian Church was very numerous and widely extended, and took such deep root that a bloody persecution, lasting over fifty years, and involving the deaths of more than a hundred thousand people, was required to extirpate it. † Thus, after the closest scrutiny, and after making every possible deduction, we find that the numbers whom Xavier personally converted were greater than those recorded of any other Missionary or Apostle; while the direct results of his influence produced a larger Christian Church than all the Province of Bengal can shew after the unremitting labours of hundreds of Missionaries for half a century. If this was 'utter failure in the Missionary enterprise,' we would ask Mr. Venn what the results are that he calls success.

The fact is that the compilation of statistics is a science in itself, and it is no wonder if the numbers stated in Missionary reports are generally fallacious. They are as much guess work as the report in a despatch of the numbers of the enemy's army, and generally err in the same way. But Mr. Venn fails to see this, and in an elaborate chapter he attempts to prove all Roman Catholic reports of Missionary work to be 'vague, scanty, extra-'vagant, and unsatisfactory,' while all Protestant reports are

' cautious, candid, and multitudinous.' §

We may concede all his charges of exaggeration, and yet totally deny his conclusion, for here, as usual, he supplies the antidote to his own argument, and shews himself totally incapable of judicial fairness. At the very time when he is engaged in proving the vagueness and exaggeration of the Roman Catholic reports, he quotes with approbation, and as a contrast to them, a report drawn up by the Missionaries of Southern India and Ceylon in 1858; in which, after some high-flown and inaccurate generalities, we come to the following statistics of the total results of Missionary labour :-

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 76.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid*, p. 116. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 210. § *Ibid*, p. 317.

(1.) 'More than a hundred thousand persons who have aban-'doned idolatry, and are gathered into congregations, requiring 'Christian instruction.

(2.) 'More than 65,000 who have been baptised into the name of Christ, and have publicly made a profession of their

' Christian discipleship.

(3.) 'More than 15,000 who have been received as communicants.

(4.) 'More than 500 natives who are employed as Christian 'teachers.

(5.) 'More than 41,000 boys in the Mission Schools.

(6.) 'More than 10,000 girls rescued from gross ignorance

and deep degradation, &c.'\*

Of all which we can only say that nothing can be more unsatisfactory and vague. These statistics remind us of nothing so much as the '30,000 converts' whom Dr. Wordsworth asserted to have been lately made in Galway, whereas the Census proved that the total number of Protestants in Galway, old and new,

was only 7,500!

Besides, these criticisms on the numbers of Roman Catholic converts, Mr. Venn is not deterred by the 'terrible tu quoque' from uttering grave strictures on the quality of their Christianity. He quotes the Abbé Dubois' gloomy conclusions as to the results of Missionary work, although he cannot but know that many careful and sincere observers, even many Missionaries themselves have given us unfavourable accounts of the converts made by Protestant Societies. He is not ashamed even to out-Carlyle Carlyle's doctrine of might being right, by declaring that the fact of all the converts being massacred, is a proof that they were not true Christians. 'The presence of 'Christ must depart from a Church before the gates of hell 'can prevail against it.' No doctrines of Jesuit casuistry can be more false or more immoral than this.

The question of the real effect of conversion on the moral and intellectual processes of the native mind is as interesting as it is perplexed and difficult. Ordinary residents in India have not the leisure or the opportunity for observing it on a wide scale; and few Missionaries have at once the independence and the philosophical spirit to treat it without bias. The general opinion is that, politically speaking, all conversions are useful, but that very few are uninfluenced by the hopes of worldly gain. Even among

<sup>\*</sup> Venn, p. 291.

Missionaries themselves, there are few in Upper India who will say that they know more than five or ten converts who seem to them to have been really influenced in life and action by the spiritual truths which have been inculcated on them. But for a worthy discussion of this important topic, we require the observation of such travellers as M. De Tocqueville, or Mr. Senior. Till then, we know no wiser principle than to avoid any argument on the subject, or to say with Xavier:—

'In the presence of a Portuguese take good care not to reprove or condemn the native Christians. On the contrary defend them, praise them, apologise for them on every occasion. Point out to their detractors how short a time it is since they embraced the faith, that they are still in infancy, that if one considers how many helps to a Christian life are wanting to them, how many obstacles are opposed to their Christian advancement,—far from being surprised at the defects of so rude a nation, one

' can only wonder that they are not worse.'\*

We now take our leave of Mr. Venn's book. It has not been a pleasant task to criticise the work of a man who has lived an honoured and useful life, and to have to convict him of uniformly unfair judgment, and of occasional evasions and suppressions which look very like disingenuousness. But we wish to be distinctly understood as using no mere façon de parler when we say that we acquit Mr. Venn of all intentional injustice. His book is a new and melancholy instance of the way in which party spirit may warp the judgment of an upright and honourable man; and of the bitter religious bias which can blind a man unusually devoted to Missionary work to the merits of the greatest and most successful Missionary who has lived in modern times. 'Let the man who has Xavier's sanctity and self-devotion, let him, if he will, fling stones at his statue.'

To obtain a really true and appreciative summary of Xavier's character, we must turn, as usual, to Mr. Myers's Lecture :—

'In Xavier we have a remarkable instance of sanctity and self-sacrifice united with charity and zeal, and this alone is an approximation to the distinctive character of a Christian apostle. Power of endurance, and meekness beyond ordinary men, were also conspicuous in Xavier. The most marvellous self-control was his, enabling him to calm a fiery nature into acquiescence in insult. A uniformly cheerful man was he, always courteous, gentle, and genial. And joined to these singular passive virtues,

'was a peculiar continuous zeal, inspiring without inflaming him,-'manifesting itself rather by a fuller and more living development of the ordinary graces of the Christian character, than by any 'particular or irregular outbreaks; so that you could not say that he was extravagant in any way, at the same time that you could 'not deny that he was altogether extraordinary. For a model of 'severe piety relieved by unceasing charity, of asceticism without 'gloom and yielding gentleness never spoiled by insincerity, I 'know not where to point you in these later ages better than to 'Francis Xavier. A man whose life was passed in spiritual conflicts 'and consolations, in continual contemplation and all the fluctua-'tions of the interior life-full of holy thoughts and emphatically 'a man of prayer—was Francis Xavier: a man upon whom the 'Invisible was more influential than the Visible: with whom you 'can connect no selfish, mean, or mercenary purpose, a man in 'whom is no error of Creed, in whom is no excess but of zeal.\* '..... Severe only to his own sins, and allowing others indulgences 'and excesses which he never tolerated for a moment for himself, of 'singular persuasiveness and of the finest temper, he won men to 'the Faith by his remarkable union of an example of sanctity 'and of a preaching of love. In wisdom of manner the very model 'for a modern Missionary, and indeed in spirit; for Missionary 'enterprise was with Xavier almost as influential an impulse as 'that of discovery was with Columbus. His whole soul was 'absorbed by it; it haunted him sleeping and waking; so that 'those words which had been treasured up as uttered by him in 'sleep before he became a Missionary might well serve for a motto 'to the latest moments of his life: "of sufferings and of labours for "the Cross yet more, O Lord, yet more"! and as signs of an apos-'tle were wrought in him while he lived; -in labours most abun-'dant, in deaths oft; in journeyings often, in perils of robbers, in 'perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils 'in the wilderness, in perils in the waters, in weariness and pain-'fulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings of-'ten, in cold and nakedness, besides those things which came 'upon him daily, the care of all the Churches. I think he has 'well earned the title by which he was canonized after death—"the "Apostle of the Indies," and has made good his claim to be enroll-'ed among the great men of Christendom.'+

It is remarkable that this estimate of Xavier's character based

<sup>\*</sup> Lectures, &c., pp. 102-103. + *Ibid*, p. 113.

on the vague biographical traditions should be accurately within the facts of the case, and that we should be able to quote it now, after testing the history by the severest criticism, without any

change or reservation whatever.

But however noble and august Xavier's character was, we do not think that much practical result or teaching can be got from the actual recorded events and successes of his life. A combination of circumstances placed him beyond the imitation, and only within reach of the admiration, of ordinary men. letters, though numerous in themselves, are often tautological from being written in batches together as the annual 'mailday' drew near; and very large gaps are left in his life about which we have only the most meagre accounts. The narrative of the Japan Mission is especially deficient in the details which alone, at such a distance of time, and under such different conditions, could enable us to argue with confidence on the relation of means to end, and the fitness of the steps taken to ensure success. We have already shewn that Xavier's position as head of the eastern Missions can supply no argument as to the advisability of appointing a Missionary Bishop, the more so as the duty of superintendence and organisation was a clog on Xavier's longing for personal work, and a duty for which his gentleness and sympathy unfitted him. We have also pointed out that Xavier was, and felt himself to be, essentially a pioneer. It is important to keep in mind in how totally different a stage Missionary work was then from what it is now. It had till then only followed humbly in the steps of trade, and the only conversions attempted were among native subjects. Practically speaking, the East was still unknown, the interior of India was not penetrated, Japan had only just been discovered, China was a mere nominis umbra. Under these circumstances 'prospecting' was as important a work as it is for settlers in a new country, and this was the work which Xavier did so well. He opened the way for others; he ran the first risks and underwent the first labours, (alas! he perished in doing this;) he stirred up other devoted and zealous men to follow him; and he created a favourable impression by presenting to the natives the noblest spectacle the world can shew-a combination of the perfect gentleman with the devout Christian. In what way can such work as this serve as model or lesson to modern Missionaries? for the most part, (in India at any rate) are settled quietly at their respective stations, as comfortably as many clergymen in England are; they know nothing of fear and danger; they

follow in the steps of a train of predecessors, and make no new experiment; many of them tacitly agree with Xavier that the conversion of natives over fourteen years of age is an impossibility, or at any rate is highly exceptional; their chief efforts are directed to the education of the young. Xavier's work was in so totally different a sphere from theirs, that no precedents drawn

from the one case can be strictly applicable to the other.

And yet no truly great man can pass away from among us, whose character, rightly studied, does not supply principles which go to the root of all action, and lessons which will suit every condition of life. The great danger of the Indian Missionary is the falling into a habit of routine. The monotony of his life is wearisome. Day after day he preaches in the same town, is met by the same arguments, encounters the same indifference; day after day he teaches the same boys in the same school, and has the same hopes and fears over the dawning intelligence of his scholars, till the terrible recurrence of identity grinds out the life and stamps out the fire of devotion from his work, and to-day is only an irksome repetition of yesterday. He is not even excited by a friendly rivalry, such as the comparison of results in different Regiments or Districts stimulates in Military and Civil Officers. He is often alone at his station, and uncheered either by sympathy or success. To such a man Xavier's untiring energy and inexhaustible enthusiasm should be an example to shame away apathy and to spur him on to the highest endeavours. For Xavier, too, suffered from monotony and routine-work, from solitude and want of success, in his Mission on the Comorin Coast; and yet his projects never were so daring as then, his faith in the certainty of success never so unbounded. The bodily constitution has much to do with high-wrought sanguine spirits; and even putting that aside, all men cannot be Xaviers. But if there were more of his spirit and nature among both Missionaries and Laymen in India, the character and the value of conversions would not be so doubtful as it is, and we should see results in populous Churches, and in improved morality, more resembling those which attended the preaching of the great Apostle of the Indies.

## ART. II .- Schools of Art and Design for India.

THEN the Great Exhibition of 1851 was about to win the wonder of the world, there were few but feared that English Taste would make a sorry show. Men who knew that the productions of Britain would be marked by honesty of work, thought they might be no less marked by a lack of all those qualities as well of form as colour, which cultured Taste alone can plan; or, when both planned and executed, can admire. The fact made good the fear. The public voice, indeed, as heard through the public organs, was slow to make the acknowledgment. Lumbering blocks, which would now-a-days be rated as of lowest worth, were made the subjects of exaggerated praise. While those lighter and more graceful works for which France had long been famed, and which even then were turned out in some, if but the fewest, of the British factories, were voted weak; pretty, indeed, but void of that bulk and weight, which durability was thought to need. It would be invidious to name any special articles, which in 1851 were greeted with a praise which never could be given now. No one who was there, but must remember instances of what is meant; bedsteads so heavy, so shut in, so laden with carvings misapplied, that they suggested nightmare rather than sweet sleep; drinking goblets, modelled after funeral urns; bookcases, bristling with showy stucco flowers and leaves in putty-work, that must have chipped away whenever touched; sideboards, clumsy, heavy, common place; fitly coupled with the dreary bulk, that looked like a sarcophagus, but meant in truth to hold the wine, and not the household skeleton.

The English articles exhibited at Paris in 1855 were very far in advance of those displayed in 1851. Here, however, the report of Mr. Digby Wyatt was far from flattering. He remarks on the extreme inequality of the English, who, in one set of specimens, touched nearly the highest point of refinement, both of idea and execution; and in others sank down into clumsy and heavy common-place, as though Art were too exceptional with us. It is needless to say that, as the English works of 1855 were in advance of those of 1851, the former in their turn were at least as far in the rear of 1862. We shall hereafter enter

more fully into this. Enough now to urge that, if the goods exhibited in 1851 were wrong in Taste, they were at any rate the rightest that the time could shew. That, if the Taste was heavy in the English Courts of the Hyde Park Palace, it was a hundred-fold more heavy in the dwellings of the people. Again, common-place as was the display in 1851, it was vastly better than any thing that could have been brought together in 1841; and, leagues in advance of the first years of the century. In advance of the days, when the Regent reigned; when Wyatt ruled; and Brummell was dictator. In advance of the days, when Christian Churches seemed to claim kinship with old pagan temples; and when a sacrifical fillet was deemed for them a happier symbol than a cross. In advance of the period, when the mawkish tameness of Harley Street and Portland Place, was varied only by the meretricious stucco of Regent Street and the Quadrant. In advance of the age, when they wrought the dull, heavy furniture for those dull, heavy houses. Who but with a shudder must recall the grim sideboard of Egyptian weight; the fell sarcophagus; the stiff, straightbacked, ease-despising chairs; the solemn four-poster with its load of dusty hangings; the curtains, fusty enough, and thick enough to shut out half the light which, through the narrow windows, else had struggled in; the carpets atrocious in colour and bestrewed with roses, and posies, and baskets of flowers that broke through every principle of Art; the wall-papers with their contrasts of colour, and their attempts by shadow and relief at perspective imitation, that were, if it might be, worse even than the carpets.

In 1862, the display of British manufacture, and especially of such as had regard to the wants of daily life, was wonderful. Household furniture, porcelain, glass, carpets, and draperies of every sort, were of such excellence as to call forth the praises of rivals, as of friends. The best of our Continental critics felt that they must bestir themselves if, in Beauty no less than in Wear, the British makers were not to carry off the palm. The great French Economist, M. Chevalier, in his report on the Exhibition says:—'The upward movement is visible above all among the English. The whole world has been struck with the progress which they have made since the last Exhibition, in designs for stuffs and in the distribution of colours, as also in carving and sculpture, and articles of furniture'; and he further anticipates, with patriotic dread, the time when the fresh grown taste of the English worker shall trench on, what he

calls 'the pre-eminence of France in the domain of Taste.' Another French Juror says as to the like subject :- 'It is impossible to ignore the fact that a serious struggle awaits France ' from this quarter.' M. Merimée speaks of the English advance, in terms no less decided :- 'It is our duty,' says he, ' to remind our workmen that defeat is possible, that it may be 'even foreseen at no distant date. English Industry has during ' the last ten years made amazing progress, and we may soon ' be left behind.' A like uneasiness may be traced in the efforts to get up the admirable display of the Fine Arts applied to Industry, which was one of the great features at Paris, in September 1863. The Committee in their preliminary address hope that their work will be of use 'at a time, when men's ' minds are seriously turned to the efforts which rival nations 'now are making in order to snatch from France her supremacy 'in Art, and Art manufactured.' It is of interest with reference to what we shall hereafter say as to the worth of Art training, to observe that, at this Exhibition, great weight was attached to the works of pupils in the Paris Departmental Art Schools. The great hall of the Palace of Industry, in the Champs Elvsées, was filled with the works of the manufacturers; while in the galleries were hung the drawings from no less than fifty of these Schools.

In the International Exhibition of 1862 it must be borne in mind, that these confessedly beautiful works were seen but to poor advantage. With exception of the admirably lighted picture galleries, the Exhibition Building was marvellously illfitted for the purposed end. In lieu of the graceful pile of 1851, was a confused mass of courts, galleries, annexes, with leaking roofs, and useless domes; a structure voted ugly, even as compared with Brompton's other growths. While, for the clear and open nave, with its symmetrical array of courts attached, which was the leading feature of Sir Joseph Paxton's airy edifice was given a nave, which, at first sight, looked like a Lowther Areade from Brobdignag. A nave where a light-house and a life-boat; where Mr. Peter's drag and a pair of monster iron gates; where a jewel case and a wardrobe; where a telescope and a Mersey steel gun; where pyramids of toys, and piles of candles, soap and food blocked the view; and where the outrageous prettiness of 'The Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy' was raised a-top of that still feebler specimen of false elaboration and wax-work imitation- 'The Circassian Slave,' with its peep-show front, and tinted trickeries that might have

better fitted Bartlemy, or Greenwich Fair. So great was the crowding, so close the packing, that the South Kensington 'Moderns' might fitly, with the Elgin 'Antiques,' in Count Platen's lines, have cried:—

Here have ye piled us together, and left us in cruel confusion; Each one pressing his fellow, and each of us shading his brother; None in a fitting abode, in the life-giving play of the sunshine. Here in disorder we lie, like desolate bones in a charnel, Waking, in all that can feel, deep sense of sorrowful yearning For the magnificent days when, all but alive, we were honoured.

Still in spite of over-crowding and of bad arrangement, all judges were of one mind as to the worth of the Art displayed.

From what cause soever springing, then, English Art production has thriven within the last five and twenty years; and during the last decade of such period has bounded forward with A revival so strong must well deserve redoubled force. enquiry; and here, as elsewhere, we shall find that great results have only sprung from great and well-directed efforts. We shall find that the difference between the workers of to-day, and of forty, or even fewer years ago, is simple enough. To-day they strive with study after that artistic fitness of design and ornament, which before was deemed, like Dogberry's clerkship, to come by nature. The one wonder is, that men were content, for so many years, to ignore in Art what they allowed in every matter else. The scholar won his way to fame only after long and careful training. The lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, all had their special education. Strength of material, cheapness of construction, honesty of finish, fitness for the special end,-all were matters which in theory and practice, in the school-room and the shop, were drilled into the craftsman, engineer, mechanic. Beauty, grace, and symmetry of form; fitness, harmony, and relation of colour; these, alone, were not deemed worthy of a thought. There was in Art no training; and there could, in Art, be no assured success. At last men felt the want; became aware that if Art were worthy of praise, Schools wherein Art might be studied should be worthy of support. It is curious to know that the first acknowledged School of Art and Design in Europe is scarcely more than a century old. This earliest attempt was made in 1754, in Saxony, at Meissen; where, in that year, was founded the Kunstgewerbschule, supported by Government, and under control of the painter Dietrich. Here were taught drawing, painting, and modelling; all with special regard to improvement in pattern and design

of the Dresden China, turned out of the Factory, established in 1710 at Meissen, by Augustus I., under care of the celebrated Bötticher. Paris saw its first School of Design in 1767. About the same period was founded a like Institution in Edinburgh; the funds for its support were mainly drawn from lands forfeited in the '45, and hence it was known as 'The Trustees Academy of Drawing'. In England, although nothing was actually attempted in this direction until a very recent period, a proposition to found Schools, wherein students might be taught drawing, with a view to those ornamental designs, 'which are of great use in our manufactories,' was put forth by John Evelyn His plan, set out in a book called 'Sculptura,' was to establish a number of such Schools in all the local centres of industry; all in affiliation to, and having masters appointed by, a grand, central Academy of Art in London. The scheme, judicious as it was, came to nothing; troublous times were again in store; the Art-loving Stuarts went; taste sank to the lowest ebb under rulers who either cared not for it, or who, like the early Hanoverian monarch, hated alike both 'boetry and bainting.' In the middle of last century came Hogarth, with his sturdy soul, and was the first to lead the way to better things. In 1760 was held by the Society of Arts the first exhibition of the works of British painters. In 1768 George III. ratified the proposed constitution of the Royal Academy; and, since that period, Painting, at least, has marched with rapid strides. Still, Evelyn's idea of local Schools of Industrial Art was allowed to lie buried in the pages of an unread book. The first direct attempt at any scientific culture in Art, as applied to manufactures, was not made until some five and twenty years ago. In 1840 certain Schools of Art were founded in London, and in some of the larger provincial towns; and, from their foundation, dates the real growth of a right feeling for ornament among us. So completely was France then allowed to have the lead in all matters of Taste, and especially in the education which made Taste its object, that, by a too literal rendering of the French title 'Ecoles de Dessin,' these fresh Institutions were called 'Schools of Design.' The name produced some misconception; and this, added to the novelty of the purpose, stunted the growth of these early endeavours. For years there was a stout, if passive, resistance to the new-fangled notion that people should be trained to do with certainty and grace, that which, in as lasting fashion, people had been wont to do with no special training at all. Then, when at last the need was on every hand

acknowledged, there sprang up endless difficulties of detail in the mastering of it. The idea might seem simple; the execution was wearisome and slow:—

> On n'execute pas tont ce qui se propose; Et le chemin est long du projet à la chose;

Sure it is, that these Institutions did not 'take' with the public; were looked on as places where dilettanti amateurs might pass a pleasant hour, not as earnest helps in furtherance of Industry and Art. In 1851, the whole number of such Schools did not exceed twenty; and of these, many were weak, struggling,

able to do little more than keep their galleries open.

Rich among the rich results of that 1851 Exhibition was the conviction, which it forced on all, that the greater taste claimed by and for the Continental workers was no mere idle boast. The work of the English makers was smooth, sound, strong; well-fitting, and well-planed. Their drawers were perfect in slide; their tables perfect in strength; their chairs did not creak; their carpets did not fray. Perfection of finish; of polish; of usefulness; of wear. Lack only of design; graceful form; of harmonized colour. Lack of cultured thought and fitting principles of ornament. There was a bald and mawkish lack of ornament, which was bad; or a clumsy, overcrowded mass of it, which was worse. There was general failure; and what, perhaps, was worse than failure, vagueness, and uncertainty. With best intentions, one article was very nearly right in form, or colour; with no less good intentions, another, from the same workshop, was wholly There were laws which ensured a general oneness of sound workmanship; but there was an utter absence of like laws with regard to decoration. Every man produced what was good in his own eyes. There was fair ornament, and fairish ornament, and execrably bad ornament; but there was no acknowledged authority to bind men to one right principle of ornament. In the present day, in the Schools of Art, whereof we are about to speak, this want is felt, and striven to be cured. On the walls of the class-rooms hang large placards, whereon are printed rules with reference to the broad principles of decora-Take, as example, the following, on the application of ornament to metal-works, pottery, and plastic forms in general:-

1. The form should be most carefully adapted to use, being studied for elegance and beauty of line, as well as for capacity,

strength, mobility, &c.

2. In ornamenting the construction, care should be taken to preserve the general form, and to keep the decoration subservient to it by low relief or otherwise; the ornament should be so arranged as to enhance, by its lines, the symmetry of the original form, and assist its constructive strength.

3. If arabesques, or figures in the round are used, they should arise out of the ornamental and constructive form, and not be

merely applied.

4. All projecting parts should have careful consideration to render them as little liable to injury as is consistent with their purpose.

5. It must ever be remembered that repose is required to give value to ornament, which in itself is secondary, and not

principal.

These rules, once laid down, seem so clear, so self-evident, that one wonders why their formal enunciation should ever have been needed. The few, indeed, had always known that the laws of Art, and of the Taste which judges of Art were changeless; beyond the power of caprice to shift, or gusts of feeling to destroy. These laws they knew, like those in Shelley's World of Beauty in the 'Hellas' were:—

Built below the tide of war; Based on the crystalline sea, Of thought and its eternity.

Still, not until the last score years did the many feel that the few were in the right; and that if, for uncertainty, we would have sure results, Art must be made the subject of systematic study; its laws be mastered, and its problems solved, or at least be bravely grappled with. 'Difference of Taste,' said Dr. Johnson nigh a hundred years ago, 'is, in truth, difference of Skill'; and here, as in so many matters else that seemed beyond his sphere, the grand old man was right. Surely, and not slowly now, this truth is winning its way. Once let the many grant the position, and single-hearted act upon it, and we may hope that the better days for Art have dawned; the days, when blind caprice shall no more scathe by idle blame, or still more idle praise. Once allow it, and we may fairly ask the man who ventures an opinion on a work of Art for the grounds of such opinion. Then, in all Art criticism, we shall be entitled to demand such reasons, and such evidence as we should crave-in proof of assertions as to other things or persons; and be free to set aside, as frivolous, both insolent expressions of unsupported opinion, and references to authorities of name however great. Where we can have the

primary authority of Nature, we have a right to it, in preference to any secondary laws of man's production. Allow Johnson's saying to be true, and allow too, perforce, that there can be no degrees of perfect Taste; but that the perfect Taste, which is perfect Knowledge, must be unchanging and unchangeable as Truth. Hear, as to this, the words of one of our most promising of critics, Mr. F. Palgrave:- Good Taste is merely sound 'Knowledge; human feebleness, and our short life can never carry it to infallible law, but, like any other science, it is open to question, examination, and perpetual reference to the one and only standard-Nature. By this, right and wrong ' in Art are tried as surely, as right and wrong in Morality, by ' the standards of conscience and religion. Some points in all 'will always be doubtful; about many we shall doubt long, ' whilst we analyze or wait for experience to test them. By the last thing an honest man, and clear intellect could do, would be to retreat within the complacent egotism of de ' gustibus non est disputandum—' my taste is indisputable."

Real growth, then, in Taste and in Artistic Skill implies such systematic training as every science else demands. The ten years ending with 1862 was a period of real growth. In 1851, when English taste was feeble and uncertain, its special means of education, its Schools of Art, - were crude, callow, fragile, struggling for sheer life. Mark, what they were in 1862, when France was fain to own that England pressed her hard on that field of Taste which, till then, she had been wont to call her Take first, the number of the English Schools of Art; in 1851, there were nineteen or at most twenty in existence; in 1862, —no less than ninety were reported as in perfect working order. In these ninety Schools, no less than 70,000 pupils were taught; and the number of admissions was on the increase. Next, in proof of the great weight which the Home Government sets upon these Schools, look at the number of prizes which it yearly gives. The highest reward of all, is called the National Medallion prize; of these eighty-nine were granted in 1862 against seventy-six in 1860. The number of first class prizes allotted in 1862 amounted to something more than 3,700, against some 2,700 in 1860. In other words, there was in these two years an increase of at least 1,000 prizes; and, as the standard in both years was the same. the growth in artistic knowledge was in like proportion. local authorities are no less well disposed to these Schools; and here, the growth is just as clearly marked. The Local Medals awarded in 1860 were 861; in 1862 they had increased to

1,068. The Government returns are published yearly in May: it is, therefore, impossible to say whether the growth in 1863 was in proportion to that in 1862. There can be small doubt, however, that the returns of May 1864 will be far more flattering than those of any former year. If it be otherwise, the failure will have sprung from no lack of interest, or support on the part of those best fitted to give help. Those speeches of our leading statesmen in the late recess, which have won the greatest notice have been all in furtherance of these Schools. On the 9th September, Lord Stanley gave an eloquent address when distributing the prizes to students of the Preston School of Art. the 22nd October, the Duke of Newcastle laid the first stone of a School of Art at Nottingham, and spoke most strongly in support of such Institutions. On the 26th October, came that Burslem Essay, thoughtful as brilliant, wherewith the Chancellor of the Exchequer inaugurated a School, and Museum of Art in memory of Josiah Wedgwood. While, last in time, but not in interest, was the most valuable address delivered on the 2nd January in the present year, by Sir Stafford Northcote, at the yearly meeting of the Exeter School of Art.

Very worthy of remark it is that in these several speeches the economic worth, no less than the æsthetic good of education in Art, is strongly dwelt upon. These men, with other views so much at variance, are here, without mistake, at one. Beauty, say they all, is no mere accident of things. Beauty is

Truth, and Art its minister.

Art's the witness of what Is
Behind this show. If this world's show were all,
Then imitation would be all in Art;
There Jove's hand gripes us!—For we stand here, we,
If genuine artists, witnessing for God's
Complete, consummate, undivided work;

Beauty is always compatible with Use, at times essential to it; and that statesman best will help the commerce of his land, who fosters best the general conviction of this fact.—'For manufacturing success,' said Lord Stanley, 'a certain training in Art is indispensable. Coarse and cheap goods may, indeed, go into all the markets of the world; resting on their utility and cheapness as the sole and sufficient recommendation. For the production of such we, in England, have great natural and acquired advantages. But for the more refined and not less useful class of fabrics, it is not enough to have good materials and honest workmanship. There must be something to please an educated

eye and Taste; and it is well known that, as regards these, English Taste has, until late years, been a bye-word throughout the Continent; ... I think, therefore, that in promoting Schools of Design, intended for the better culture of Art, we are supplying a real want, and

' a real tendency of our time.'

As to the economic worth of liberal and well-directed outlay on Schools of Art and Design, Sir Stafford Northcote makes some startling statements. In a comparison of the exports of England between the years 1840 and 1862,—a period which synchronizes exactly with the movement for the Schools of Design,-he finds that, while the increase on general productions was from £36,000,000 to £82,000,000, or at the rate of some 127 per cent.; articles upon the production of which Taste was more particularly needed, increased from £2,700,000 to £8,000,000, shewing a total increase of £5,300,000, or at the rate of nearly 200 per cent. 'I think,' says Sir Stafford, 'it is not a little remarkable that during the very time in which ' we have admitted the goods of all other nations, who were 'supposed to be so much our superiors in Taste, to compete freely with us,-while we admitted the goods of France, and of 'all other countries where Art has been for so many years encouraged, to enter into free competition with our own, we, 'nevertheless, have been able to export these particular goods 'in respect of which we have competed with them-goods 'in the production of which Taste enters so freely -able to meet 'our rivals, and to beat them upon open ground.'

Hear next the thoughtful eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, in the Burslem Address: - 'I do not believe it is extravagant to 'say that the pursuit of the element of Beauty, in the business of production, will be found to act with a genial, chastening, and ' refining influence on the commercial spirit; that, up to a certain point, it is in the nature of a preservative against some of the moral dangers that beset trading and manufacturing en-'terprise; and that we are justified in regarding it, not merely 'as an economical benefit, not merely as contributing to our works 'an element of value, not merely as supplying a particular faculty of human nature with its proper food, but as a liberalizing and 'civilizing power, and an instrument, in its own sphere, of mor-'al and social improvement.'-To kindred purport, in another passage, are his words :- 'While all the objects of trade and manufacture admit of fundamental differences, in point of 'fitness or unfitness, probably the greater part of them ad-'mit of fundamental differences also in point of Beauty or of

'Ugliness. Utility is not to be sacrificed for Beauty; but they are generally compatible, often positively helpful to each other; and it may be safely asserted that the periods, when the study of Beauty has been neglected, have been usually marked, not by a more successful pursuit of Utility, but by a general decline in the energies of man: ... Of Imagination, Fancy, Taste, of the higher Cultivation in all its forms, this great nation has abundance. Of Industry, Skill, Perseverance, Mechanical Contrivance, it has a yet larger stock, which overflows our narrow bounds, and floods the world. The one great want is to bring these two groups of qualities harmoniously together.'

Grand, but not new, is the thought thus wedded to such noble words. Not new, because what now our greatest statesmen teach, has been for years the practice of our leading manufacturers. Hence is it, that designs for textile goods, which, in former days, were always brought from abroad, are now so freely framed at home; and framed of quality so good that foreigners are glad to take them in exchange for their own inventions. Readiness of judgment as to design, harmony of colour, and truth of drawing, is indispensable to the man who deals largely in the products of the Lancashire Mills. A Manchester, Bolton, Preston, Rochdale cotton-spinner may be as money-loving as he will, but still the genius of his craft will overcome him. He may deem himself the votary of trade alone, but be he stiffnecked as he may, Art will force him, if but for sordid gain, to bow before her; and what, at first, might be an irksome service, must in the end become a work of love. The man who trains his eye to judge of patterns and designs for calicos, and of fresh forms and models for machines, trains it to judge of colour and of form in the abstract, and in their general combinations. He uses Art, at first, as but the handmaid to his growth in wealth. Art, in the end, makes use of him to spread her glories, and bear witness to her power. This is no idle assertion; facts fully prove it. Ask our leading Academicians, where the greatest of their works have found a resting place; they will say within sight of the mill, and within ear-shot of the foundry. Ask the great dealers, who of late have sprung up as middle-men between artist and purchaser, -ask them, where they find the most open-handed of their castomers; they, too, will tell of mill-owners and contractors, of ship wrights and engineers. In other matters, it would be idle to claim for these men any special refinement. As a rule, they are marked by rough energy, rather than by keen sensibilities; and still they are the willing slaves of Art. They buy largely;

they buy well; and above all, they rightly use that which they buy. None are more ready to shew to strangers the treasures they possess. Of late years, the public have had opportunities of seeing many of the glorious pictures which are scattered through the land, but, it must never be forgotten that Manchester was first to shew the way. In 1856, when the Great Art Treasures Exhibition was first talked of, there were not a few to sneer at the idea. 'What,' said they, 'has' Manchester to do with Art? Let her stick to twist and twills, 'to piece-goods and grey shirtings.' But while some sneered, and some refused to lend their pictures, the staunch promoters stoutly held their course; and, in the end, produced a display which, if not the finest possible, was the noblest that had then been seen; in some respects, better even than that in the South Kensington Galleries of 1862. At any rate, Manchester led the way. It was first to plan, and first to execute; while the finest of the

modern pictures shewn had no long road to travel.

As with masters, so with men. If mill-owners buy good and costly paintings, the men in their employ are no less ready to buy prints as good and costly as their earnings will allow. Since the shadow of American distress has fallen chill upon South Lancashire, small funds have been available for outlays of such sort. But before the evil days the fact was so. The great print publishers-Graves, Gambart, Agnew, Lloyd,—all say that the readiest market for good prints, not exceeding a guinea or guinea and a half in cost, was found in the manufacturing districts; and that the bulk of the purchasers were grimy pale-faced men with paper caps, who found in such Art as fell within their reach, a solace after the rattle, bustle, and unsavoury smells of factory work. Solace they found; but who shall say what richer good they gleaned from tastes so cultured? Not one, but many influences have helped to refine the public mind. Still, strong among such, must surely that of Art be reckoned. The very genius of Art is catholic; it struggles ever to break down mere class distinctions; and to bring. within its sphere the rich and poor, the happy and distressed. The late Prince Consort, in his address to the Executive Committee at Manchester, lays special stress on this influence of Art as creating 'a generous feeling of mutual confidence and good will between the different classes of society.' Shall we, then, be wrong, if we give to Art some credit for the bearing of the mill-hands during the black time which, for so many months, has weighed them down; and which, even now, is not yet wholly overpast? Think how calm, patient, manly, has been the bear-

ing of these folks; how, in a moment, they have been robbed of luxuries, which long previous fortune had gone far to make necessities; how, they have been sunk to bitterest straits, to hunger, cold, and lack of clothing; and how, with scarce a murmur and with never an outbreak, they stood against the storm, which, as we trust, they now have well nigh weathered. Then, think of what, under half the pressure, the fathers of these millhands would have done; aye! did; and that less than fifty Think, of the seething turbulence of the days years ago. when the factory lads were in chronic revolt. When William IV. greeted Dr. Dalton, on his first presentation, with an eager hope that 'Manchester was quiet'; as though the metropolis of cotton were a maddened swirl of sedition, where calm intervals were rather to be hoped than looked for. Think of those days, and of these; of that frenzy and this calm; then say, if the spread of Taste, the refining power of Art, the knowledge of the Beautiful in life, in form, in action, have not wrought much

to bring about the happy change.

One great element in the success of the British Schools of Art should here be noted. To wit that they were called for, as well by the public who bought, as by the artists who produced. For some years previous to 1851, the eye of the purchaser had been in advance of the hand of the producer. Habits of travel; study, more or less close, of works of Art abroad; galleries, more or less complete, of pictures, sculptures, and antiquities at home; societies, more or less well organized, in most of our provincial towns, for furtherance of Science and of Art; all helped to train the public mind. A training feeble, indeed, and common-place, but still of certain worth. Helping, if not to create, at least to make men feel how wrong was most of what was being spawned in name of Art. A worth negative, indeed, but serving to clear, the ground for better culture. As for the hands that wrought, theirs was the bitterer pain; with execution toiling, ever blindly on, far in the rear of conception. The head was in advance of The hand might waste itself in doing; but, for the hand. lack of knowledge, and fit husbandry of strength, there came nought save a doubtful, or a common-place conclusion. So, when the first excitement of the '51, Display was spent, all classes felt that the reality fell far short of the conceived possibility. The public craved a purer and more equal Art in the goods they were asked to purchase. The workers felt that to meet such craving, the principles of Art must be studied with loving care; and not, as things of doubtful bearing, be left to whim or chance, or handled in 'irreverent haste and busy idleness.'

The great movement, therefore, in favour of these Schools of Art came from two great classes of society; from the many who purchased, and from the few who wrought. Thus was insured such union of technical and theoretic training, of idea and execution, as should meet the wants of both. If the theoretic element alone had prevailed, there might have been failure; there would have been, if the technical alone had been considered. But with the double need, there came the wider scheme. Well considered lectures on the laws of Art, and on the history and practice of its several industrial developments, satisfied the wants of some; while collections of casts, models, practical instruction in drawing, perspective, and the laws of form were there to give what others needed. The avowed object of the Schools was to spread abroad right theories of Taste; but with such admixture of professional instruction as might serve to make their use more wide. Still, it must be ever borne in mind that the technical element has always been made subservient to the theoretic; the one being held to be the principal, the other the accessory. The intention of the promoters of these Schools has ever been to train in Art, and not to lay down royal roads for money getting. These Schools do, indeed, furnish to the thoughtful student what may, in the end, be mighty levers of advancement; but they offer no purely technical instruction, and refuse to be made the stepping stones to present gain. They would not, if they could, treat their pupils as though they were apprentices to trade; while all experience has shewn that, for real good, such School teaching of technicalities is an absurdity. Schools of Art may teach the laws of colour, laws of form, laws of decoration and design; they may record the triumphs which have been won and shew what victories are still in store; they may dilate on the several modes whereby former artists won a deathless name; but it is idle to suppose that such teaching can have more than an indirect effect on professional advancement: or that Schools, however good, can turn out artists worthy of the name. All the technical details must be learnt otherwhere. The School of Art is invaluable; but it is so as the help and the supplement to the studio and the burin, the gallery and the shop. Even in a School of Art so purely professional as the Royal Academy, the impossibility of teaching technicalities to a class is now allowed in terms, as for years it has been in practice. The laws of perspective are set forth, opportunities of drawing from casts and from the life are given; good specimens of Art are available for study; but there is and can be no more purely techni-

cal education. Each of the Academicians, in turn, is, or may be, called upon to attend the classes; and under the name of 'Visitor' to give such instruction as he deems proper for the students. Now, with reference to the worth of purely technical instruction in Art, the very highest authority is that of the leading Academicians themselves, as given in their evidence before the recent Royal Academy Commission. Take first Sir Edwin Landseer; his answer to Question 1267 is as follows:—'The students (of the Academy) teach themselves; 'vou cannot teach a man, beyond giving him a preliminary 'education. There are only a few things which can be taught 'in Art; perspective and anatomy are the most essential; and if I were to educate a landscape painter, I would begin ' by giving him a perfect knowledge of the human skeleton.' Again, with reference to the teaching in the Life School, Sir Edwin says:—'The Visitors who are present there do not 'in point of fact teach; they are there as books of reference; when a student has a difficulty, he says:—'May I ask you to 'give your opinion on so and so?' Of the younger men, Millais, in reply to Question 1666, gives utterance to a like belief. But most valuable of all seems to be the opinion, and practice too, of the veteran Mulready; most valuable, because while he lays stress on form and drawing as the main elements of good in class instruction, he is for that very reason held by all to have been the ablest Visitor the Academy ever had; Maclise, another master of form, being the only one that could be ranked with him. Speaking of Mulready's power, Sir Charles Eastlake (Question 540), says :- 'I consider him the best and most judicious teacher the Academy has ever had 'in my recollection. I consider him the best judge of draw-'ing in this country.' In answer to Question 644, Eastlake again says:- 'I have no doubt that, if such a man as Mr. 'Mulready were the constant teacher of Drawing in the Royal ' Academy, the degree of excellence in that department would be 'higher.' So Mr. Redgrave (Question 1038) says:- 'The ' teaching power is quite different from the art power-we have ' both combined in Mr. Mulready.' Sir Edwin Landseer says (Question 1271) of Mulready :- 'His drawings are remarkable for their accuracy; every thing seems to be done on oath by him; he can account for every truth, and he is a good anatomist. So far he is an admirable example for 'students; indeed we have some of his drawings as specimens to give the students an opportunity of drawing ' in the same style.' What then was the practice, in the School,

of this confessedly first of teachers? Take it from his last answer, given on the 9th March 1862, only four months before his death, to the following question from Sir Edmund Head :- 'I ' think that you yourself are in the habit of drawing when you 'attend the Life-school?' Mulready, who for more than half a century had laboured in that School, replied:—'I have from 'the first moment I became a Visitor in the Life-school, drawn 'there as if I were drawing for a prize.' Many a lesson may be called from this reply of one, whom others deemed a Master, but who knew that he was learning to the very last. But what we would here especially advert to is, that all attempt at individual teaching, at helping every member of the class in turn, is boldly scouted as impossible, the only useful training being for the Visitor to set the model; to give, by his own careful work, an example to be followed; and to answer questions, if his opinion should be The system of teaching in the Academy is beyond all doubt capable of improvement; still, while there are a multitude of opinions as to the mode in which the present system should be modified, or what other should be given in its room, there is but one belief as to the hopelessness of giving in the Schools a merely technical training. Holman Hunt finds the Painting School of no real help; Woolner declares that for Sculpture the Academy is of no avail; the Architects all ignore the instruction which the Academy gives in matters pertaining to their own profession. But all—Painters—Sculptors—Architects extol the worth for all of theoretic views of Art, and of that skill in drawing, and knowledge of anatomy and general form, which, by judicious changes, they would seek to render more complete.

On the Continent this principle is still more strongly insisted on; and this both in the Schools for teaching ornamental Art, and in the Academies for furtherance of the Fine Arts proper. Dr. Lyon Playfair, in a most valuable Lecture delivered by him in 1851 on the various Continental Schools of Art and Design, made this the subject of particular remark :- 'In all of the systems,' says he, 'there are differences with regard to the mode of 'giving instruction, but they are almost uniform in the feeling 'that the object of Industrial Schools is only to teach a pupil ' how to become an intelligent manufacturer, without attempt-'ing to make him one. They content themselves with commu-' nicating to him a knowledge of the principles upon which his 'technical art depends; but for its practice he must go to the ' workshops of industry. Some of the Institutions, as, for example, 'the Trade Institute of Berlin, endeavoured at one time to teach ' practice in workshops attached to the Institution; but this plan,

'as might have been anticipated, was found to be of little ad'vantage, and it is now abandoned by almost all the Schools;
'only one or two being still found hovering on the outskirts of
'this error. In addition to the folly of attempting to teach the
'practice of an Art within the confines of an Institution chiefly
'devoted to other objects, it was found to be highly detrimental
'to the progress of the students, who were glad to escape from
'the mental labour of the classes, to the muscular labour of the

workshops.

The aim, then, in such Schools should be to train in Art, and cultivate the Taste; not to put a mere commercial lever in the pupil's hand. They should be looked on, not as substitutes for practical teaching, but as means whereby that may become more sound and thorough. To be of best avail, they should address themselves to the widest possible circle; not cramp their power by undue care of any single branch. Art can flourish only in a cosmos of its own. It needs, beyond the thought to plan, and hand to carry into act, an inner round of brother workers who shall bring the laws of professional criticism to bear; and needs, besides, an outer world of those who, with small technical knowledge, do yet possess a theoretic judgment more or less advanced. That School would, therefore, best fulfil its debt to Art, which best should meet these several needs. Which should, by a theoretic training well supplied, be the truest help in practice to the artist, in whatever field; which should set forth well-fixed rules for the professional critic; and which should teach the public eve to know, to value, and to love the beautiful and true.

Technical teaching alone may, under certain circumstances, be useless, even in a money-getting sense; as, where the skill of the producer is so far ahead of the public Taste, that he can find no market for his works. In such a case, the fewest only will deeide to work for Art alone, and bide their time until the public Taste have caught them up; most will be fain to take up lower ground, and rather float with, than strive to stem the flood of general bad Taste. This, unfortunately is now the case with many of the works of our best English decorators. state of things which existed in 1851 is reversed: the producers have advanced, while the buying public has not made like rapid strides. In the ceramic Art, indeed, in all its branches, from cheapest potter's ware to finest porcelain, public Taste and artistic Production seem to have gone hand in hand; but the like can be said of scarcely any other branch of manufacture. The very best specimens of furniture, of tapestry, of carving,

are just those that find the rarest purchasers. Condemn the cumbrous, false, unreasonable decoration of a pretentious Louis Quinze cabinet, or console table, and the carver will be likely enough to join in the blame; still, until the public eye is educated enough to know and buy the good, the producer is forced to turn out what will sell. In wall papers, especially, the ignorance and want of theoretic training on the part of the public is most The English specimens in the International Exhibition were generally void of originality, or artistic worth; confessedly inferior to what many of the manufacturers had turned out in former years. The fact was, that the public still yearned for the old, flashy style of decoration; and could not understand the quiet well-harmonized papers which more cultured Taste would substitute. Let a man go to any of the leading London decorators, in search of wall papers, and, after his time and patience have been wasted in looking over the execrable specimens which it is presumed that he, as a member of the untrained Public, must admire, let him ask for some thing more artistic; he may see specimens, which in quality are better, and in colour, harmony, and pure design, as good as anything that Paris, or that Brussels could produce. Unfortunately, however, the good designs find no market, while the tawdry and worthless are bought up as soon as offered. Here is but a new rendering of the old story; the man who lives to please, must please to No dealer who lives by his productions, can run utterly counter to the whims and fancies of his customers. In time, no doubt, and indirectly, he may work a slow improvement; but he can only hope to do in years, what might be done at once if the eye of the public had kept pace with the hand of the worker; and if artistic education had given as well its theory to the many, as its technical details to the few. Good work of any kind does, indeed, at every time put forth a bracing influence; and that, irrespective of other special means of training. If good work once gets admittance, insensibly it trains the eye; and makes its owner's growth in Taste to be, if slow, yet sure. One good picture will make a man impatient of the daubs, which once he prized. An engraving in line, by Morghen, or Schiavone; a mezzotint by Cousins, or by Atkinson; a Wedgwood service, in very plainness perfect; a well carved cabinet, which tells of brain as well as hand; a rug well harmonized, and low in tone; draperies, where the patterns have been wrought to suit the hanging of the folds; all, or each of these will, when ownership has proved their worth, make it impossible for a man to live at peace with works of like aim, but lower

purity and excellence, around him. The daubs find their way to the auction room; the foolish mezzotints are banished to the nursery; chairs, carpets, tables, if of ill design, are ousted; and other pictures, prints, and furniture, which more accord with the works whose excellence has wrought this revolution, take their place. If a man, who by any chance gets possession of any superlatively good work, whether of use or ornament, can afford so to educate his Taste, he may in the end come very near the truth; but he will do so, at no small cost of time and Far better would be his position, if, from the first he had known the principles of Art; and not been forced to grasp success through failure. A theoretic education in Art is, then, of highest worth to all; to the artist, lest his mind be narrowed in a struggle after bare professional details; to the critic, lest he give to skilful handling that praise which fertile thought should best deserve; and to the public, lest, save at heavy cost, they fail to know what works are sound, and what on fixed

principles, they should admire.

England, then, like every European country else, at last allows the worth of an artistic education; of a training as well in Art manufacture, as in the Fine Arts proper; of a system wherein theory shall march evenly with execution, and where the Taste of the Purchaser shall keep pace with the Skill of the Worker. It is not a little strange that India has, as yet, done so little in the like direction. From the days of Warren Hastings, the Government of India has founded, or fostered Schools of various aim. The science of the West has been both well and fruitfully set forth in Indian Colleges and Schools. The literature which more than all her laurelled victories, has made Great Britain what she is, has overspread the great peninsula; and forces even those who once were jealous of its growth, to sue that India may have it in yet fuller and more liberal drafts. Medicine and surgery have won their way, and conquered every obstacle of caste and creed. Law, the science no less than the art, wins pupils by the hundred to the lecture rooms of its professors. Civil Engineering, if of more slow development, has yet received from Government its ample meed of care; can boast its special Colleges, and full instructive means. But, while all else is fostered, artistic training is ignored. Art, which underlies and interweaves itself with every study else ;-Art, which, even on commercial grounds, should be a matter of imperial concern ;-Art has, in India, been the very Cinderella of the sisterhood of intellectual aims. In time, no doubt, the kindly fairy will appear; the prince will come; the slipper will be fitted, and Art in India

will win the homage she deserves; meanwhile she is left to drudge and struggle on by dint of mere mechanical contrivance. In Bombay and Madras certain efforts have been made; and, though we have no special information as to what has been done, it is generally understood that some success has come from them. Calcutta, where one might have looked for efforts stronger and more truly aimed, has done absolutely nothing in the way of right artistic training. We say this advisedly; for, as we shall hereafter shew, it would be idle to consider in the light of education the mere empiric skill which a handful of pupils may have gleaned in the so-called Calcutta School of Industrial Art. The School was itself no better than a co-operative store; the head a master tradesman, making profit by the works his pupils could turn out; the pupils-apprentices, freed indeed from articles to bind them for a fitting time to learn their craft; eager only for chance crumbs of knowledge, wherewith they might make silver of their shallow skill.

Very wonderful, is this apathy! Wonderful that Art should be untaught in the land which was its cradle; untaught among peoples, with whom gracefulness of form seems an instinct, and harmony of colour an intuition. Grand must have been the power of those who, before the Parthenon was thought of, and when Phidias was unborn, hewed from the living rock those temples which, in Southern and in Western India, defy the ravages of time, and make contemptible the puny efforts of to-day. Grand, the skill which raised those cities larger, as Macaulay says, and fairer than Saragossa and Toledo, whose ruins still are eloquent of beauty as of wealth. Grand both the power and skill, and exquisite the sense of loveliness which ruled in the days, when in Northern India those marvellous mosaics wakened into life; when the Kutub reared its graceful shaft; and when that Titania of monuments, the peerless Taj, in virgin marble, flushed with gems, sprung like a fairy vision from the plain; a miracle of loveliness,—a thing of beauty, ' won from the void and formless infinite' to be a joy for ever, and a possession to all the generations of the earth. For all the general qualities of early Art, the world has got no nobler works than these. For deep repose of power, India can shew remains exceeded scarcely by the giant forms of ancient Egypt. For unshackled boldness of design, she has works as full of life and vigour as Assyria could carve. While for flowing form and tenderness of outline, she has friezes and mouldings, not unworthy of the noblest days of Greece.

Deep graven, too, were the lessons which those early workers

taught; for, while the old thought has died away, and the old science has been lost, the manual skill still lives. Lives, while all else has perished. Wave after wave of conquest has overspread the land; for centuries the people have been harried, and ground beneath the hoof of this ruthless horde or that; truth, independence, moral strength, and manly bearing are venturing only now, beneath a kindlier rule, to re-appear; yet, in all these gloomy days, the old manual dexterity, and the old love of right colour, and fit form, refused to die. Clinging to life, although benumbed and nerveless; although languishing and helpless to advance. Keeping just such amount of passive vitality as served to copy the old mechanical skill, and to follow out the old mechanical contrivances. Architecture and Sculpture are well nigh extinct; Painting is wholly so; but in all the erdinary manufactures, in all that belongs to the luxuries or wants of daily life, the Hindoo of to-day works, just as worked his forerunner long centuries ago. His tools are just as rude; he has just the same models; is fettered by just the same rules; and produces just the same results. Save in the case of the Greek religious School of Painting, there is no parallel to this; no such instance of an artistic pseudo-life; so utterly powerless to originate, and yet so grimly clinging to its ancient modes. M. Didron, in his wanderings among the monasteries of the Levant, found herein his greatest riddle; go where he would, in every church, and in precisely the same place in every church, he found the same pictures, the same colours, the same stiff figures, the same rigid folds, and the same inscriptions; yet, of these pictures, some dated from the 5th century, while, in some, the paint was scarcely dry upon the canvass. 'The Mareote painter of the 18th century,' says the perplexed traveller, 'continues to do as the Venetian of the 10th, or as the Athonite of the 5th or He afterwards found that in all matters that concerned his Art, the Greek religious Painter is, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, bound implicitly to follow the rules and details set forth in a book, called 'The Painter's Guide,' written in the 11th century by one Paucellinus. What Paucellinus is to the artistmonk in Greece, the oral traditions of his craft are to the Indian worker. He will not even use a tool less rude than what his fathers had. The potter's wheel which now he turns is coarse as in the very childhood of the potter's art. A few weak stakes of bamboo, stuck into the ground, still serve the Dacca weaver for a loom. A blow-pipe, and a pair, or so, of clumsy pincers are all that the worker from Cuttack in silver filagree requires. The rudest knives alone are used for carvings the most delicate,

in ivory or wood. Yet, rough as are the tools, how well-nigh perfect the results. Potter's ware, wrought often of the roughest clay, but of forms as flowing, and as truly fitted to the purposed ends, as any thing that Burslem could produce. Filagree silver, fine as the spider's web, and delicate as any work of Genoa, or Malta. Muslins, soft as silk, transparent as gauze, fine as the beetle's nether wing, such as European skill, with all mechanical appliances can never hope to parallel. Enamels, glowing with colour, as by instinct true; and inlaid work wherein, in cheapest as in costliest wares, true principles of ornament are never misapplied. Carvings in sandal and in harder woods, as cleanly cut as though a lifetime had been spent on each. Carpets, tapestries, embroideries, shawls, of colour so harmonious, and of design so pure, that Belgian, French, and English makers take them as models, and strive, with only scant success, to equal them. Rich lacquer work from British Burmah; and repoussé silver that Cellini might have envied. All beautiful; yet all, but the spasmodic efforts of a nerveless Mere servile copies of models that were fashioned centuries ago; wrought in helpless trust on the traditions, and the maxims of thinking workers long since passed away. There remains much of the old manual skill; there is no trace of the old fertile fancy. In lack of strong effort from without, there can be no advance in Indian Art production. The Hindoo workers of to-day are as hopelessly the slaves of rules whereof the principle is veiled, as were the Artist-monks, whom M. Didron speaks of, slaves of Paucellinus and his Book. Unless the nobler theory be added, they must be mere mechanics to the end of time. Working but not growing; 'continuing,' as Dr. Royle most justly has remarked, 'to venerate Sciences which they know only by name, and to practise Arts of which they know not 'the principles; and this with a skill not only remarkable for ' the early period at which it attained perfection, but also for the ' manner in which it has remained stationary for so many ages.'

In Art, as in Religion, he who, in India, would be of real use, must not be slow to rate at proper worth the fact of an hereditary possession stretching far into the remotest past. In one case and the other, there is less need to create a new, than to awaken from the sleep of centuries all that is of value in the old. The year-worn truths, once again cleared from the dross that clogged them, should be chosen as the common standing ground of all. Of the Orientals, to whom they have come down as precious heritage and of the Children of the West who, while acknowledging the worth of that heritage, would supplement it

by gifts more precious, and by principles yet higher and more full. But, though this stock of inherited truths is of highest worth; and though, if it be ignored, no real growth is possible, still its presence, oftentimes, appears a real hindrance. Assuredly advance more rapid might be made if it were not there. A crop will spring more quickly in a clear, and fallow soil; but. in the end, the gain may be the richer if the soil must first be cleared, the rank weeds rooted out, and the old fruit-bearers made the stocks on which to graft shoots of the yet more fruitful new. A mere Fetish worshipper, who has no real creed at all, may thus more rapidly become a convert to the Christian Faith, but the Brahmin who has inherited a body of religion, dogmatic and ethical, may be a slower convert, but a nobler prize when won. The like in Art. It is comparatively an easy task to teach the theory and practice of any special branch of Art production to a man who has the willing head and ready hand, and has besides no former crotchets of his own to overcome. A hundred-fold more difficult the task where the pupil has, from earliest years, been wedded to empiric modes quite opposite to those now sought to be impressed on him. Most difficult of all, where these empiric modes have served to produce results not wholly bad. Mediocrity in Art, as in every matter else, is of all stumbling blocks the gravest. The man whose works are so bad that all the world cries shame on him, may be forced to better things. But hardly so, will he, who turns out what is 'fairish'-yet not fair; dexterous not thoughtful, and who, by the readiness with which his works are sold, finds that at any rate, they are not in the rear of public Taste.

An Education which would avail itself of all that the old has good to offer, and which would seek to turn to better channels the traditions and the skill of generations is, beyond all others, one most difficult to carry to a fruitful end. Not impossible, indeed, but calling for highest patience, tact, and temper; for thoughtful care and dauntless energy. To qualities less high than these success is here impossible, and unless such be enlisted, it were wiser far to give the matter wholly up. In lack of such, time, labour, money will be spent on what will not alone be failure; will be real harm. For it should be ever borne in mind, that a School of Art, so conducted as to teach any, save the highest lessons and to spread a right knowledge of the principles of Art, will be a hindrance rather than an aid. Under the seal of its authority will be tolerated works which would be scouted else; while the public, taking its standard of

excellence from the productions of what it takes to be an accredited body, will fail of that true pinnacle of excellence to which, with better guides, it might have come. Mr. Redgrave in his admirable Report on Design, published officially among the Records of the 1851 Exhibition, speaks of such attempts as the sources not alone of possible, but even, then, of positive and actual injury. Having spoken, as an Artist must, in highest praise of the arrangement, harmony, and tone, which form the ground work of all Indian ornament, he is forced to dwell upon the harm that has been wrought on Indian Taste by those who, with more zeal than knowledge, close their eyes to the rich artistic glories of the soil, and seek to implant the lispings of an alien, and immeasurably weaker School. 'It is painful,' says he, 'to observe the attempts made to vitiate the sound taste of the native Artists. It has, no doubt, been done by 'those who are unaware of the true knowledge and just princi-'ples evident, more or less, in all the Indian manufactures; but it ' seems not the less necessary to be commented on, since a School 'of Industry is actually in operation at Jubbulpore for teaching 'the reformed Thugs to make carpets in the worst European style, ' and at Bangalore the same teaching seems in operation. It is to ' be hoped that, when the admiration excited by the display of the 'Indian fabrics at the Great Exhibition is re-echoed to the 'land that produced them, this strange error will at once be re-'medied. Even if good, such patterns are not consonant with 'Indian Taste; and it is perhaps fortunate, that they are really 'so extremely bad, that they must fall at once before the better 'knowledge which the European judgment of the merit of Indian 'ornament will call forth and support.'

But even with the fittest means and best aimed efforts all true artistic growth in India must be slow. Not at once will the better works, sprung from a wiser handling of the old traditions, find favour in the eyes of the wealthier classes; the men who call for, and who buy that which the craftsmen make; and until they be trained to know the true thing when they see it, no general advance is possible. Then, as regards the workers, there is sure to be a time of stagnation, and of passive resistance on the part of the human tools, who see their old traditions set at nought. Also, sure to come a time of baldest imitation; a time when the Indian workers are busied in copying the new forms given them; and before they have taken the further step, of fusing and welding the new gains with the old heir-looms; and of creating those new forms of loveliness which, to the wealth of an inherited skill and of an acquired power, add that

final charm which the creative faculty alone can give. In imitation, however, there is no danger, if right theory be superadded. Imitation is bald and baneful only where, in lack of knowledge, men would still produce results. Nor this in Art alone. The mechanic, set to construct a machine, will copy every fault in some similar machine given him for a model; he can avoid those faults, and suggest improvements, only if he have learned the scientific laws which govern such machines. If, in Art a right training be given, there is no fear that the pupil, of average power, who begins with copying, will there also end. A man so trained must strive to improve upon his model; slavish imitation will be of all things the most irksome to him; he will blunder, perhaps, in his attempts at improvement; but still in spite of many a stumble, will make way. Very hopeful are such stumbles, as signs of a new spirit striving at all cost to find an utterance; yet for a time, many will be inclined to consider them with dread; to deem them marks of retrogression rather than of real growth. Nay, possibly enough, there may be real falling off in accuracy of finish and in manual dexterity. The work, which was wrought with so great speed and accuracy when made by one who, human in form, was but a slavish tool; will be wrought more slowly and with less nicety of finish, when that breathing tool becomes a thinking man. A man compelled continually to stop, and doubt, and hesitate as to whether this change will suit, or that proposed adjustment act. There will be loss of finish; but there must be gain of dignity and power. Never was Ruskin more indubitably right, than when, with regard to this loss so nobly counterbalanced, he wrote:—

'You are put to stern choice in this matter. You must 'either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You 'cannot make both. Men were not intended to work with the 'accuracy of tools, to be precise and perfect in all their actions. 'If you will have that precision out of them, and make their 'fingers measure degrees like cog-wheels, and their arms strike 'curves like compasses, you must unhumanize them; all the 'energy of their spirits must be given to make cogs and compasses of themselves. All their attention and strength must 'go to the accomplishment of the mean act. The eye of the 'soul must be bent upon the finger-point, and the soul's force 'must fill up all the invisible nerves that guide it, ten hours a 'day, that it may not err from its steely precision and so soul 'and sight be worn away, so far as its intellectual work in this 'world is concerned: saved only by its Heart, which cannot

'go into the form of cogs and compasses, but expands after the ten hours are over into fireside humanity. On the other hand, if you will make a man of the working creature, you cannot make a tool. Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do any thing worth doing, and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dulness, all his incapability; shame upon shame, failure upon failure, pause after pause; but out comes the whole majesty of him also; and we know the height of it only, when we see the

' clouds settling upon him.'

Few things are stranger than the extent to which Europeans in India ignore the grand traditions of the native Art; and the carelessness with which they look upon its present works. In Europe, the rich design, the tone and harmony of colour which never fail in Indian manufactures, are matters not alone of admiration by the many, but of study by the best; there is not a School of Design in Europe in which they are not prized as specimens of sound ornament, and of right application of true principles. In India the results are admired, perhaps, in a loose desultory fashion; but looked on as happy chances, rather than as skilful handling of well-considered laws. If the matter be deemed worthy a thought at all, the Hindoos of to-day will be spoken of as people singularly void of all the higher qualities of Taste and Artistic sympathy; able to imitate very closely, but without a trace of invention. In proof of the assertion will be instanced, the low tone of household furniture and ornament which undoubtedly exists in Hindoo families, both high and low. Houses, even of the wealthiest, are wretched in construction and tawdry in decoration; the furniture, either scanty to baldness, or as absurdly over-crowded, and in both cases, wholly contemptible in design; the walls staring with whitewash, or still more vilely coloured; if not utterly bare, covered with crudest daubs in oil, or yet more meretricious lithographs, or feeble prints from France. The houses of the lower classes are, of course, examples yet more flagrant of an utter lack of comfort, cleanliness, or taste. Yet, spite of all this open violation of every principle of Art, most sure it is that the old traditions live, and are most widely spread through every corner of the land. Nor. after all, should this inequality be greater matter for surprise in India than it ought to be at home. With all our vaunted, all our real strides in Art, it is wonderful to find how thoroughly ignorant the mass of the people are of its merest rudiments. From the highest to the lowest classes; from the Fine Arts proper to the commonest articles of daily use, the Taste of the English

public is still raw and unfashioned. So raw that few are able to rid themselves of the common grooves of thought, when judging of objects within their sphere of daily observation. While none, save the fewest, are competent to criticize aright the works of peoples having other needs, and other modes of meeting them. These, fashioned for unheard-of ends, puzzle by strangeness; and displease, through their contrast with the well-worn moulds which, if monotonous, have yet, by use, been made familiar.

Take the highest classes and the noblest works. Go to the Royal Academy, and listen to the sapient comments on the pictures there displayed; the rapturous 'Charming—sweetly pretty' of the Impulsia Gushingtons, the 'Exquisitely fine, Sir!' of the Modeloves, at sight of every simpering bit of waxwork prettiness, or foolish imitation. The scarceless silly carps and sneers, wherewith the Fretful Plumes, and Flutters seek to gain a name for shrewdness and discernment. As for the mass, they wait to hear what Tom Taylor tells them in the 'Times'; and praise or blame as he admonishes. They are driven to their opinions by the pushing picture-dealers; just as Lord Foppington, in the play, was forced by the self-asserting tradesman to keep the shoes that pinched him:—

'Your Lordship may please to feel what you think fit; but that shoe does not hurt you. I hope I understand my trade.'

Foppington might limp, but did not dare to contradict so wordy an expert. The public may not care for a picture; yet they pretend a pleasure which they do not feel, because the babbling dealer presses them. A right opinion of a picture is most rare; a hearty, and sincere one rarer still. Sincere, at any rate, was the opinion which Mr. Frith once told us he heard passed upon his picture of the 'Derby Day.' It was at the time when all the world was crushing to see it; and when policemen were needed to keep order in the well-dressed mob. The critics were a couple of stable-lads who forced their way, through silks and crinolines up to the rail placed to protect the picture. feelings were too deep for words; he vented them in one long, low, and plaintive whistle. Tom looked at the canvass; stared at his companion; stared again; and looked again; then with a disappointed growl, he hoarsely whispered:-', Vell Bill, so that's what the Swells calls a Darby Day is it !- Come along ! let's go and have a drain;' Bill must have been related to John Leech's 'Sarah-Jane', who found that Gibson's coloured Venus was so ' Hexackly like our Hemmer.'

Picture buyers are no better, as a rule. A work by Frith, or Phillip, Faed, or Marcus Stone, or Stirling is eagerly snapt up; the name is taken as a warranty of excellence, and gives a rising market value to the canvass. A clever picture, by an unknown man, will probably be never thought of, never asked after in the Octagon Room; doomed to be returned unsold upon the luckless artist's hands.

Then, pictures find buyers from size, often, rather than from excellence; because they cover a certain number of square inches. They must be of this size, or of that. Not over-large; not over-small. Fitting this recess; matching that companion canvass. Any one who haunts the auctions at Christie's, or Foster's, may parallel that sale recorded in the good old Play, of near a century old:—

'There was the divinest Plague of Athen sold yesterday at Langford's, the dead figures so natural, you'd have sworn they'd been alive. Lord Primrose bid five hundred ——six, said my Lady Carmine ——a thousand, said Ingot the Nabob:——Down went the hammer. A rouleau for your bargain, said Sir Jeremy Jingle; and what answer do you think Ingot made him?

'Sir, I would oblige you, but I buy this picture to place in my nursery: 'the children have already got Whittington and the Cat; 'tis just this size, 'and they'll make good companions'

'and they'll make good companions.'
That love of the cheap, and passion for hunting after bargains, which is so great a foe to any wide-spread growth of Taste, works just as prejudicially in England as it can in India. Still, it no more shews a lack of better knowledge of artistic principle in the one hand than the other. Mauchester goods are bought by Hindoos, just as Tottenham Court Road furniture finds folks to purchase it at home; both may be ugly, but still both are cheap; cheap at first, if not the cheapest in the end. No lesson is more hard to learn by any people, whether of East or West, than this, that Beauty has a market worth; is, as Mr. Gladstone said at Burslem, a new element imported into the process of production, and one which, like every other, must be paid for. 'The beautiful object,' continued he, 'will be 'dearer than one perfectly bare and bold; not because Utility is compromised for the sake of Beauty, but because there may 'be more manual labour, and there must be more thought in the 'original design.' There is not a manufacturer of eminence at home, but has been checked in his strivings after a purer Art. by this foolish lust for cheapness. In the potter's Art, Wedgwood and Bentley complain of it; they speak of it as an error common with people not well versed in Art, to 'say that a beautiful object can be manufactured as cheaply as an ugly one.'

From cabinet-makers and house-decorators the like complaint is general. Messrs. Holland and Sons, whose business lies among those who should be free from all such falsely economic ways, are loud as any on the theme: 'Our customers,' say they in a letter to Mr. Digby Wyatt,—' and you are aware our connexion is among the most noble and wealthy,—continually drive at cheap articles, except some few important pieces for the dining-room, library, and drawing-room, and require as much teaching as the present race of draughtsmen or designers.' Until a knowledge of the worth of thoughtful Taste is more broadly acted on at home, we have no right to cast a stone at the artistic capabilities of the natives of India; men who, with simpler

needs, have, as a rule, yet smaller means.

It is scarcely necessary to say that, if the wealthier classes are in England, only just beginning to display the benefit of a wiser system of artistic training, those lower in the social scale shew scarcely any traces of its influence. The old sarcophagus style of furniture finds still its purchasers; and sanguine is the man who, in a lodging-house, would look for anything less Lower still, the lack of even decent Taste becomes more glaring. Among the hard-handed workers, coarseness is the rule. The mill-hands at Manchester, Preston, and some of the Lancashire towns are better than they were; but a 'Rachda' lad, or a Sheffield tyke is as rough a specimen as any thing that India could shew; while the folks in the 'Black Country,'—who live within the shadow of the Works where Wedgwood modelled, and where Minton and Copeland execute their shapes of loveliness—are rude as they were a century ago; less riotous perhaps, but as cheerless in their homes, and as well inclined as ever to heave their 'arf brick' at a stranger.

The old cry, that Hindoos can only copy,—cannot create, is simply absurd. Their fathers could, at any rate, invent those grand designs which all the world admire. They did discover that wondrous treatment of form, and those glorious arrangements of colour, which, as to principles, are problems yet unsolved by our artificers at home. Nor is the skill worn out. The Hindoo of to-day produces ornamental works with ease, such as Europeans can accomplish only after painful thought. One sees this power in cheapest, as in costliest works. Look at the embroidered slippers, which may be bought at Delhi for so small a sum. They are infinitely varied in design, but never fail in perfect harmony and effect; are always refined in colour, and in beauty of line; never violate the true laws of surface decoration; and never offend the eye with those shadings and

foreshortenings, which so often mar such works at home. Here variety is called for; and here variety is never found to lack. In more important works, if there be sameness and imitation, the fault is surely rather in the public who buy, than in the workers If in shawls, for example, the old 'Indian Pine' who produce. pattern is repeated to weariness, it is because the designers in Cashmere are ignorant of the true wants of European purchasers. For so many years, this particular pattern has been bought and praised—in so many feeble repetitions has been copied and tormented into more exaggerated forms at home, that the Indian designers have come to believe that nothing else will sell. Only let them know their error, and they will put forth designs at striking in novelty, as lovely in arrangement. The Paris and the London Exhibitions both proved that, when called upon, India could furnish marvels of original design and combination; rich diapers and geometrical arrangements, floral ornaments, and flowing lines of perfect gracefulness, where one knew not whether most to praise the freshness of the fancy, or the unerring fitness of its carrying out.

In the case of the productions of Cashmere, the first step has just been taken by the present vigorous ruler of that land. The Maharajah finds, that buyers in Europe complain that Cashmere shawls are coarser than was wont; that the ladies call for greater choice of pattern, and find the present fabrics over heavy to be worn with comfort. To meet these wants, the Maharajah loses no time in taking earnest steps. Judges for himself, in a personal tour through his dominions; makes advances to the weavers, for purchase of raw material, of sums equal to a hundred thousand sterling pounds; and publishes a list of stringent rules for regulation of the trade. Here are some few of the more important; worthy, for many reasons, to be noticed; striking at the heart of the alleged needs; doing so in calm

despotic fashion, somewhat new to European minds.

Rule 1 ordains that shawls shall be uniform in size.

Rule 2.—Any shawl badly woven to be destroyed,—the value to be recovered by the proprietor from the weaver. Should the fault lie with the proprietor, he will be punished by the Government.

Rule 3.—A designer to be at liberty to dispose of his designs; but should he attempt to conceal any part of a design which is purchased from him, he shall be severely punished.

Rule 4.—Any person convicted of robbing a firm of a design

will be severely punished.

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Rule 5.—One designer is not at liberty to transfer designs to another; and, as the Government has now relinquished the

tax, it is hoped there will be a considerable improvement in the art.

Rule 6.—Not more than six shawls are to be woven from one

design, or a heavy fine will be inflicted.

Rule 7.—The seller of a design is not to retain a duplicate, or attempt to form another exactly like the one sold; in such case, a fine will be levied equal to one-fourth of its value.

Rule 8.—In future, duty will be levied by measurement of wool and worsted, and not by weight as heretofore. This will induce spinners to produce a finer description of the material.

and will be more profitable to the wearers.

Cashmere, under a nervous rule, now knows the wants of customers; and, knowing, strives to meet them. Elsewhere, in India, such wants are utterly ignored; and Indian art-workers, doubtful as to what they are, refuse to quit the well-worn tracks. They will not cast aside designs which, though old, do still, as experience proves, find customers; nor try the risk of others which, if newer, yet may fail to gain so quick a sale. Take Dacca muslins, for example. As compared with the harsher muslins of Europe, the greater softness of these, together with their superior gracefulness of fold and fall, cause them to be highly prized at home. Still there are, for English purposes, certain wants in Dacca muslins which are well enough known at home; but, which the native weavers do not know, and therefore never strive to remedy. The Jurors in the 1851 Exhibition, thus pass their verdict on these fabrics:—'their cost is relatively high, and 'their finish universally defective; the yarn, too, is uneven and 'frequently overtwisted.' Now, these are plain, sensible objections; easy to be understood, easy to be overcome, if but the Dacca weaver knew of them. As it is, if a specially good piece of muslin be ordered, the weavers pay no attention to the real European needs; strive only to excel in what they have themselves been trained to look on as of special worth. They seek to produce what shall be a marvel of transparency, of fineness, and of lightness. Let them make a ten yard half-piece, that shall weigh little more than three ounces and a half, and they care nought for the rest. Now, though this transparency may have a worth in native estimation, it is, of all qualities, the one which makes the fabric useless for an English lady's wear. Even in Rome, it was not honorable matrons, honest girls, who were the Tela arenarum, or the Ventus textilis, -pellucid webs which must have been so like the finest efforts of the Dacca skill. If the Hindoo weavers only knew the real wants of England, they might revive a demand which now has well nigh died

away. They would give more care to finish; more to preparation of the yarn; and would make a slightly thicker, but a far more useful article. They would, besides, be able to produce the better fabric, at a greatly lower rate; and would not, as at present, waste time on textures fitly named as 'running water,' or as 'morning dew,' for every yard of which a guinea is but reasonable pay.

Until then, Indian workers know what is wanted in the marts of West and East, they must remain mere copyists of the old; their skill be stagnant, and of baldest imitation. Schools of Art and Design alone can meet this want; Central Schools in the larger towns, where both the public and the worker shall be trained in the principles of Taste; and local Schools where the manufactures of the district shall receive especial care.

Allow, then, that the Art worker in India does copy, does imitate, does use the old designs, and seldom frame a new one, but allow, further, that he does so because he thinks, in this manner, best to please his customers; not because he lacks the power to plan aught new. Yet, were it otherwise, England should not be the first to blame for that offence whereof, in Art at least, she is herself the guiltiest. In England, more than any European country else, a work of Art, or of artistic aim, is valued just in so far as it is known, and common, and the fashion. In it, above all other lands, original design, and daring thought in Art, are viewed with suspicion, jealousy, and doubt. In furniture, unless a man will pay the heaviest cost for a new design, he must put up with one of, at most, some half-dozen stereotyped styles of decoration. A new scroll, or a happy moulding, ventured on by some of the better houses, is repeated until all the world is weary of it. The master tradesmen, who take no pride in their calling, and their men, who know more of beershops than of galleries, are by this constant copying saved a world of pains. The one need not think; the others need not draw; but neither can speak of slavish copying as a fault peculiar to Hindoos. In jewellery and silver-work the like; if a man want forks, or spoons, he is looked on as unreasonable. if he ask for anything more fresh in pattern than the timehonoured 'fiddle,' 'thread,' or 'Queen's.' In the Fine Arts proper, this rage for copying and for repetition of a work once praised is more injurious still. How often was Bailey called upon to reproduce his 'Eve'? As to Painting, the case is worse. An artist can scarcely gain a true success, but he is deluged with commissions for other works of kindred import. Danby paints a grand evening effect, and is doomed for ever to

exaggerate the blaze of western skies. Let grand old Linnell limn a harvest field that glows beneath a burnished sunset, all alive with flame; half the picture-buying world strives for a specimen of like effect, and, for years, the Linnell family are at work, on what the public craves, not what the artists' powers might better like to give. 'Sherry! Sir,' involves 'Did you ring?', and, if the artist be, as here, too strong to give way wholly to the public cry, other and weaker hands will do what he declines; doing with coarseness, what his tender handling could alone make bearable. Mr. Cope presents a stronger case; years ago he painted a baby; the public praised, the critics were friendly, and poor Mr. Cope has been cooped in the nursery from that day to this. 'Baby's Turn' might be borne with, as the first of its kind; but, when it gave birth to a line of babies. busied in most infantine pursuits, the case became 'most tolerable and not to be endured.' It is pleasant to think that, if the public has been bored, the artist has been bored no less. The Terrible Baby must have been in Mr. Cope's mind, when, in his answer to Question 1798, he said before the Royal Academy Commission :-

'An artist, when he exhibits in the Academy, does not exhibit to please its members, but to please some portion of the public outside, and in that way his works are influenced. The majority of works on commission are painted for merchants in Lancashire. They like a particular class of Art, and they select the painter whom they most approve of, and with whose works they have the greatest sympathy.'

Natives of India are not, then, copyists above other men and mannerists; nor are they lower than others in power to master all the truest principles of Art. Needs but, to call forth the originality that is in them, and the feeling for form which seems their heritage. Needs, therefore, to train the workers, so that they may feel why this work ought to be preferred to that. Needs too, to train the public, that they may know the good work when they see it; and may spend their cash on things chaste not flashy, on thought rather than on finish. education, in the highest sense, and true development, is called for; mere instruction will not do, nor weak attempts to transplant fancies raised in other climes. Here, doubtless, is the real difficulty. It is not hard to find a teacher competent, in any School of Art, to give instruction in all technical detail. Not hard to find men qualified to lecture on the principles, the history, and the biography of Art. But, it is well nigh an impossibility to meet with any one man fit to do both. Fit to give professional students such amount of detail as can, judiciously,

be taught in any School; and, at the same time, fit to give to those who attend the classes from other than hopes of professional advancement a wider range, and views more deep and generous of the meaning of the laws of Art, pure and applied. In Europe, every where, this difficulty is acknowledged. England, the Masters of the several Schools of Art are picked men; capable, if any could be so, of giving both a technical and an extra-technical education to the pupils in their care. Yet, in all the English Schools of Art, other aid is constantly called in; and men of the stamp of Redgrave, Richard Westmacott, and Digby Wyatt are asked to supplement, by further lectures, the sound, though still, at times, too technical instruction of the Schools. This was one of the many rocks on which was wrecked the old Calcutta School of Industrial Art; and on this must split, if not by timely care prevented, the new School, which is suggested as to accomplish that wherein the old one A School of Art which looks to mere professional infailed. struction, fails of its noblest end; it may teach a handful of craftsmen, but it leaves the people where it was. It stunts, too, the growth of the pupils to whom it most devotes its powers. It turns out artistic mechanics, never real Artists, in whatever grade. It may give that neat style of handling which is of certain worth; but it fails to impart-nay, never seems to feel, the want of that inventive theory, in lack of which no real growth is possible.

It would be hardly possible to conceive of any known principle whereon a School of Art should be conducted, which was not set at nought in the original Calcutta School of Industrial Art. This Institution was founded in the spring of 1854 by a private Society: the avowed objects being to encourage a taste for the 'Arts, with more particular reference to their practical application to provide employment for the East Indian 'and native students of the Christian Schools; and to stimulate 'and improve the indigenous manufactures of this country.'

Of the promoters, none had any practical knowledge of the working of like Institutions at home. The School was founded in haste; with no endowment, other than the gifts and subscriptions of a Society, above all others fluctuating. Government aid was early asked for, and was ungrudgingly afforded; at first a small donation, afterwards an annual grant equivalent to £720 was sanctioned. This grant continues, while all else has died away. There are now no subscriptions; donations are unknown; and the sum received in the shape of schooling fees, which never averaged £50 a year, is scarcely now enough to pay

the cost of a collecting clerk. There never was a responsible Director. Of the Teachers, some drew small pay; some, no pay at all; but each might make what gain he could from the works his pupils could turn out. The end, of course, was failure; the public grant, indeed, staves off utter extinction, and serves to prolong a useless life. The School is, however, soon to be closed as a private, aided Institution; to be re-opened as a purely Governmental School; and, with more full appliances, to enter on a

wholly new career.

Did space allow, one might say much of the curious features on this Road to Ruin. Of the Teacher of modelling, and virtual Head, who at first gave his services gratuitously, from simple love of Art; who, after a very few months' experience applied for, and got some £360 a year; who had besides a private workshop, -dignified by the title of Atelier, -where all the labour was supplied by the Institution, and where all the profits were his own. Of the Teacher of wood-engraving, who, as his pupils could not draw, was compelled to 'do most of the work himself'; and, of whose pupils, another Report gravely records that, considering they had small knowledge of drawing, and no knowledge of perspective, they evinced 'a marvellous aptitude for the Art.' Or, of the photographic Teacher, who, with no salary, was 'allowed to make what he could out of the work of the department.' The Modeller had his Atelier; the Engraver, his Burin; the Photographer, his Chamber of Horrors; and for a while there was a certain commercial success. There was, certainly, no attempt 'to improve the indigenous manufactures of the country;' but a few half-educated lads were able, in these several branches, to earn an average of seventeen rupees a month. The market be-Renaissance garlands and festoons, said, by the vendor, to be of work 'equal to that of Paris,' were turned out by the hundred weight; were encrusted on walls; were wreathed round niches, regardless of fitness, and in violation of every law of ornamentation. The buyers, who knew no better, praised; the seller, who kept the Atelier, thrived; but true Art waned. The Engraver, who did 'most of the work himself,' found a field unoccupied, and market ready for his cuts. He, also, thrived; but easy must have been the man who did not feel that Art had suffered. As his assistants were wholly ignorant of perspective, and well nigh wholly so of drawing, of the simplest kind, there could be no great room for wonder that the engravings were what they were; utterly void of accuracy; with no delicacy of handling, without effectiveness of light and shade, without a trace of half-tints; senseless black and white, such as even better paper,

and less careless printing never could have made endurable. The three thousand photographs, which are reported as, in one year, to have met with purchasers, were doubtless of some service to the energetic gentleman who was left to make 'what he could out of the work;' but no one, even in Calcutta, ever thought that Art was thereby benefited; or 'the indigenous manufactures stimulated and improved.' The latter generous aim was, from the first, avowedly postponed. To raise, in every class, the tone of feeling as to Art, was never even mentioned as a noble end; and much less, in an Institution so conducted, was it ever tried. In lack of such attempt, the School, with an economy as good as it was actually bad, must still have failed. To do its perfect work, to prove a social lever of undoubted power, the first steps should have been to improve the public Taste; to spread a knowledge of, and feeling for, true Art; and not alone to give increased skill to workmen, well nigh perfect from

the first, in mere hereditary handicraft.

The idea of a new School which, with direct support of Government, should supersede the aided failure, had its rise as follows:— The old School fell from bad to worse. No one was satisfied. Public interest, at no time keen, died utterly so soon as even the first weak gleams of promise had been darkened. Every thing connected with the Institution pined and dwindled. There was but the sorriest gathering of pupils. Of those who did come, few but grudged the monthly fee of one rupee. They used to come for one month; promise to pay in the second; and, failing to do so, vanish in the third. The one fixed element was the public grant; that came with wonted regularity, and gave an air of faded respectability to what was else so ricketty and puny. At last even this stay was in danger. Government shared the general suspicion; felt that its money was scarcely bearing seemly fruit; threatened its withdrawal. The threat was serious; forced the Committee into action. In 1862, on submitting their usual application for continuance of the grant, they pledged themselves, within six months, to submit a definite scheme for the more beneficial conduct of the School. The Committee, as is the nature of such bodies, appointed a Sub-Committee to enquire more fully into the needs, and fittest modes of meeting them. The Sub-Committee, partaking of the evanescent character of the whole affair, eventually resolved itself into a single Member. The Report of that one Survivor,— Captain Lees—was, in due course, made. A very interesting document, artistic in its few, but sufficient touches. Tracing, from its birth, the School's spasmodic strugglings for life; freely

acknowledging its failure; shewing, too, a very just perception

of the many causes which combined to work its fall.

The suggested changes, so far as they go, are founded on right principles. With slight modifications, they have been ratified by the general Committee; approved by the Government of Bengal; and sanctioned by that of India. The new scheme provides for the transfer to Government of the School; together with 'the whole of the collections, apparatus, and materials belonging to the Institution.' Considering the state of the School; and considering that the property thus spoken of, is comprised in a few worn tools, a few soiled drawing copies, and a few, not absolutely well selected, casts, the gift was at best a doubtful one. Had gain, or rapid good results been looked for, Government might fairly have refused the transfer; in view of present consequences, might have turned the back, not only on the sorry proffered casts, but on the real glories of Hellenic Art; on Dionysus of the Parthenon, and on the marvels of the Frieze; with seemly caution might have cried:—

Timeo Danaös, et dona ferentes.

But, by acceptance, Government has clearly shewn that it appreciates the principle involved; and, implicitly, binds itself to foster that which it thus acknowledges to have so strong an influence for good.

The new scheme provides for the appointment of an Educa-

tional Staff of three persons only, namely :-

(1). A Principal, on a monthly salary of 700 Rupees. This gentleman is to be chosen and sent from England, by 'Mr. Redgrave, or other person of European reputation'. It is expected that this officer will be 'in such a position that the Go-vernment may henceforth rely on his knowledge and judgment to superintend the general working, and advise the Government on all matters connected therewith. He is further to be capable of undertaking the instruction in certain of the higher branches, and of delivering occasional lectures to the students on the principles and application of ornamented Art.'

(2). A Head Master, on a monthly salary of 300 rupees. The Committee recommend that the present Teacher should be retained; and deem him competent to teach elementary drawing,

wood-engraving, and lithography.

(3). A Teacher of modelling and pottery, on a monthly salary

of 60 rupees.

For actual education, a monthly aggregate of 1,060 rupees is thus provided. The Committee further recommend a monthly grant of 100 rupees, for purchase of Specimens, and Books of Art; a sum ludicrously inadequate, in face of the known costliness of all such works. For Scholarships, the very insufficient sum of 105 rupees is given; to be divided among six recipients of five rupees, three of ten rupees, and three of fifteen rupees a month; each tenable only for one year. Contingent charges are rated, as at thirty rupees; house rent, as at 150 rupees; and office establishment with servants, as at fifty rupees a month. The total monthly cost of the amended scheme is estimated at 1,495 rupees. The former grant-in-aid was of 720 rupees. The Committee, therefore, value total support against partial help at 775 rupees a month; and consider that certain failure may be converted into possible success, at an increased outlay of some

106 per cent.

Whether the sum suggested is enough to carry out the purposed scheme may well be deemed a matter of doubt. It is assuredly less by 355 rupees a month, than that recommended by the Sub-Committee; while the sum named by the latter was avowedly fixed with a view, less to the exigencies of the School, than to the possibility that Government might hesitate about a larger ontlay; 'it will be more prudent', so run the words, 'for the Committee to confine their recommendations within these outlines at present.' The liberality of Government cannot be called in question; it freely took charge of the School, with its responsibilities; and, without a question, sanctioned the sum named as sufficient for its prosperous conduct. If that sum be inadequate, the want is, of judgment on the part of the Committee; not by any means, of generous sympathy on that of Government. By granting all that it was asked to grant, Government implied a wish to do all that such grant was then deemed able to accomplish; implied, besides, its readiness to make yet further grants when once the greater need should have been proved to it.

All question as to the sufficiency or non-sufficiency of the sanctioned grant depends upon the nature of the end intended. If the School were meant to be of merely local worth, the grant is large enough; not so, if it is to exercise an influence in places beyond its own immediate circle. Large enough, if the intention were to give a special training to a few; not so, if the object be to raise the general tone of taste and feeling, among men of every class. Not large enough, if the Institution is to be the centre whence shall radiate right principles of Art, to be a guide and rule, as well for those who purchase as for those who make. It were idle, herein, to affect a doubt. That general advancement

was the aim, is sure. Else, what more feeble than, by such a scheme of small reforms, to strive at perpetuating what has worked so little good. Better, far better, let the puny bantling die, than seek to prolong a life which has not been of use to any. Of no use, to the people at large, whose wider wants it never strove to meet. Of no use to the handful of lads, to whom its special lessons were addressed. Of no use to these, if the machinery had been a hundred-fold more perfect than it either ever was, or is ever like to be. Giving to its pupils what, in lack of a sympathising public, is, and must be, a hindrance rather than an aid. Sending them adrift, their education over, with a modicum of culture, with a certain sum of manual skill; but without the means of turning to account the culture, or of rendering available the skill. So far refined by education, as to shrink from the old associations of the class from whence they Yet doomed, in penury, to be for ever members of that Unable to find a market for their better works, because the monied men are still untrained to know the right; still wedded to the ancient forms of ugliness and error.

If the School be meant—and meant it clearly is,—to be of more than local benefit, the scheme falls very short of what is called for. The sums asked for, and, by consequence, those sanctioned, are, in many cases, far below what would be needed to ensure success. It is an evil plea, to urge that a sum inadequate was asked for, simply to prevent the risk of a refusal; that a grant, even though too small for fullest use, was better than no grant at all. It is not better; will be infinitely worse. No failure, but has an influence for ill beyond its own immediate circle. The experiment of an ill-paid, ill-managed School has already been made; already failed. The men who before were ready with good-will and support, and money have been dis-

couraged. They will not readily again come forward.

Where was indifference, is now mistrust. Tact only, and fine handling can set right the harm that has been done. Fresh failure, or that half success which would be bad as failure, must drive back for years the possibility of any real growth. Better to risk refusal at the first, than loss and disappointment in the end. Besides, no well considered scheme of education ever yet was known, in India, to fail for lack of funds. It is hard to frame plans, which recommend to themselves to all, and give fair promise of success; hard to meet with men fit to work them; but with the men, and with the plans, the readiness of Government, to grant the necessary funds, can always be relied on.

Within its bounds, the scheme proposed is sound; we do but cavil at the narrowness of these. There is provision only for the pupils in a single School; nor is their any inducement in the shape of Free Admissions, or sufficient inducement in the way of Scholarships, to render certain any real increase even here. Next, there are no suggested means for the growth of an appreciative love of Art, among the wealthier classes. While lastly, there is no hint of any wider, if yet undeveloped scheme, whereby the higher culture may be spread throughout the land; no mention of a cherished hope, that a day may come when with the main School shall be connected Local Institutions in the several manufacturing centres, all combined in one great system, for the fur-

therance of trade and culture, industry and taste.

As to the first of these suggested wants it may be urged, that the genius of the day is contrary to such attempts. That, education should not be petted, and pampered by too lavish grants of free admissions, stipends, and the like. That, education, as a hardy plant, should be trained in the open air of work-o'-day life; not forced, as an exotic, in the stoves of patronage. This is one of those half truths, which at whiles work so much mis-The tree may be hardy, and grow bravely without support when once well rooted and acclimatized; but it will be none the worse in strength, and vastly quicker in development, if the seed be sown in fitting soil, and if the years of early growth, be years of outlay, watchfulness, and care. No one would wish to go back to the days when no payment was ever asked of any pupil in a Government School, and when the majority were bribed to come by stipends, given with open hand, without regard to conduct, progress, diligence, or zeal. But it does seem right that, on the first launch of a new branch of special education, regard should be had to the days when the system of general education, which now prevails in India, was in its infancy; right, that there should be meted to the special system of to-day, that liberal aid which, less than thirty years ago, was given in its first weak stages to the general system which since then has thriven so well. No one but knows, vaguely it may be, of the help which Government afforded in those early days when English Education in India was a foreign graft that struggled for a doubtful life. Few, but have heard what pains were taken to persuade fathers that their sons would not come to any harm at School; what care was taken that no prejudice should be ruffled; how many and how large the Scholarships; how small the fees; how rarely even they exacted. It is, however, worth while here to shew, from actual records, what amount of

pecuniary aid was, at that time, deemed expedient. To no finer record can we turn than to Lord Auckland's celebrated Minute of November 1839,—a Minute which stands out glorious, among the proverbially great State Papers of India; a Minute, which supersedes every effort made before, and which contains the earliest hints and germs of every subsequent development. other matters, this Minute deals with the question of pecuniary rewards. Stipends, regardless of merit, are abolished. Scholarships, the reward of merit, are recommended in their place. Poverty alone was to be no plea for aid. Poverty wedded to desert, was declared to be worthy of the State's best care. are dealing,' wrote his Lordship, 'with a poor people, to the vast ' majority of whom the means of livelihood is a much more ' pressing object than facilities for any better description, or wider 'range of knowledge. Our hold over the people is very im-' perfect, and our power of offering motives to stimulate their 'zeal of very limited extent.' As to the number and moneyworth of the Scholarships to be created, Lord Auckland's views are liberal and clear. 'In consequence of the very general pover-'tv of students. I would fix the ratio on a high scale, say at one-' fourth of the number of pupils, if that number should afford 'proof of peculiar capacity and industry.' And again:—'The ' amount ought, from the commencement, to be enough for the ' decent subsistence of a Native student; and there might be ' some small increase admitted after a year or two, as an incen-' tive to continued effort.'

This is no place to enter into details more close; enough to say that, with some slight changes, Lord Auckland's liberal views were carried out. Scholarships of forty rupees a month to Senior, and of twelve rupees to Junior Scholars were freely granted to those whose merits claimed them; and the proportion of one in four was never deemed too large. It was felt that, if it were intended that the infant scheme should thrive, the fostering hand of Government must be widely stretched. Now, it is most clear, that such arguments for pecuniary aid, as were strong in behalf of a general education, must be trebly strong in support of one that is special. Special too, not as is Law, or Medicine, or Civil Engineering, where careful study cannot fail to lead to honourable subsistence. This, is a special education where the end is doubtful still; where the students, will either be of smallest means, who look to carrying on ancestral trades with wider skill; or, if of higher social position, will need, at first, to be induced, by every lawful means, to study, what it may be long before they dream of turning to pecuniary gain. If the pupils are very

poor, Scholarships must be given to enable them to come and live in decency. If they lack the spur of poverty, still pecuniary meeds have always proved, in India, of force enough to fill the class rooms. If, as is hoped, students should be won to the Calcutta Central School from Dacca, Benares, Patna, and other seats of manufacture,—students who, when they return to their homes, may spread the culture they themselves have gained, the need of aid of such kind is more pressing still. It might, indeed, be here a question whether Lord Auckland's fullest theory might not most usefully be brought to practice. Whether, besides the general Scholarships awarded to deserving students in the Central School, certain of the Local Committees of Education might not be authorized to nominate to one or more Local Scholarships, to be held only in the Calcutta Institution.

What has been said of pecuniary aid, applies no less to pecuniary privilege. Until the new scheme is in active work, and until its benefits have been brought home to the public sense, it seems most impolitic to insist on the payment of a schooling It were needless to dwell on the facilities given to fee by all. poor students in the Austrian, French, and Belgian Schools of Art; but in England, the principle of Free Instruction in these Schools has been fully acted on. Very recently, indeed, an inclination has been displayed to limit the Free Admissions; and the result has been to call forth so much ill-feeling, that a return to the old system is probable. If Free Admisson to Schools of Art be advisable in Europe, where students are less poor, and where the benefits derived are beyond discussion, surely it must be far more so in India, where to poverty is added doubt. No general Free Admission, as of right, is here advocated; the evils of irregular attendance, and weakened discipline, must ever be a bar to that. It should be accorded as a boon; to those alone whose conduct seems to merit such a boon. Some authority, whether the Director of Public Instruction, or the Local Committees, or the Principal of the Calcutta School, or any of these, should be at liberty to recommend certain pupils for this privi-A privilege, to be forfeited at once in case of irregular attendance, ill behaviour, or failure to make reasonable progress. If schooling fees be rigorously levied from all, the total sum received will, for a long while, be most insignificant. At small cost to itself, the Government might gracefully accord what would be a real benefit to many, and would vastly help the general chances of success. So soon as the numbers do increase so greatly, as to make the fees a matter of importance, the active

aid may gradually be withdrawn. Time enough, then, to levy fees in payment of instruction, the worth of which will thus, by that surest test, have been allowed. This is one of those cases in which, the great objection to a system of quite Free Education in Government Schools, can have no existence. There is, as yet, no privately supported School of Art and Design; there can be, therefore, no 'unequal competition'; no unfairly weighted race

between the public and the private drag.

Regard, then, had to the danger of fresh failure; regard, to the principle so widely acted on at home; and, more than all, regard, to the general poverty of those who should be won to the benches of the contemplated School; it does seem that the inducements held out in the sanctioned scheme are weak and insufficient. The grant for Scholarships should be increased; and, if meritorious candidates appear, Lord Auckland's ratio of one-fourth might well be acted on. Orders for Free Tuition should, with lavish hand, be given to lads who come with good credentials; lads who, by their conduct, shew that they appreciate the

gift bestowed.

Next, as to the want of any suggestion, in the scheme proposed, for the spread of an appreciative love of Art among the general community; and especially among those wealthier classes who, by judicious purchases, may lend the best assistance to the scheme. Here, doubtless, is a difficulty. We cannot find in India, as we do at home, a public which, so far as many of its members are concerned, craves for and welcomes heartily the better work. In India a double labour must be undergone. To teach the workers, and to leave the buying public where it is, would simply be to offer stones for bread; to crush the workers, and to starve the scheme. Of nothing are folks more jealous, than of interference with their old domestic ways, and plans, and decorations. What they are used to, that they like; and brook change, only when the gain is made most plain to them. This, true every where, applies with double force to India. Here, to the force of habit, is added that of All change is looked on with mistrust, as the superstition. possible veil to some concealed stratagem. As general education spreads, this religious horror of all change will fade away. One cannot think that those who have been educated in English Colleges and Schools, remain in much subjection to it. One might therefore hope that the attempt to inculcate more fitting theories of Art should prevail more readily among such, than among the less enlightened of their countrymen. The latter present the double front of habit and of superstition.

The former, rid of one great obstacle to progress, are hampered only by inveterate habit. Still, even this one bar needs greatest care and diligence to move. The new works must be long before they win their way to general recognition. It were idle to hope that even the most intelligent Native, in furnishing a house, should avoid the time-honored forms of decoration, and purchase, in their stead, shapes and combinations wholly strange; avowing, that he does so, just because a School of Art declares one right, the other wrong. With all the spread of better culture at home, people have not yet arrived at this. The quite best works are often those which are the slowest to find purchasers; the public is only clambering still to reach their higher level.

Never can one too strongly insist on it, that national growth in artistic feeling is possible only where theory goes evenly with practice; and where the public is kept educated to appreciate the efforts of the workers. The highest training aims at both; and is successful so far as it can compass both. Look, for example, in the Fine Arts proper, at our British School of Painting. No one will say that this School would have held its present place if he, whom all acknowledge as its Founder, had not been able to write as well as paint: if the Pictures of Reynolds had not been coupled with his grand Discourses. With the pencil Gainsborough might run him close; but with both pen and pencil was Sir Joshua pre-eminent. The Portraits did much for Art: but the Lectures did far more. The few were refined by the sight; the fewest by the ownership of his pictures. The whole educated world was swayed and moulded by his Discourses. It may be doubted which of these two was at any time the instrument of greater good; sure, now, it is that, while the subtlest colours of his brush have fled, the clear, keen touches of his pen remain. Time has paled the dainty triumphs of the Master's skill; the thoughtful sentences, which taught a nation Art, live still, and teach still. Heat, cold, a thousand accidents, may cause the rest to fade; but these,

Like crystal faithful to the graving steel.

While, however, the Committee wholly overlooks the wider field which must be cultured, if the central plot is meant to bear its richest harvest, it does suggest that, for the pupils in the School proposed, some Theoretic might, with gain, be added to mere Technical Instruction. It expresses an opinion that the new Principal should, over and above the duties of general supervision, and of such instruction in higher branches as would fall to his

share, be able to deliver 'occasional Lectures, to the students, on the principles and application of ornamental Art.' Leaving, for the present, the question of limiting such Lectures to students in the School, it is still conceived that the hope entertained may possibly be too sanguine. To organize a quite new Institution; to teach, practically, the higher branches; and, besides, to compose and deliver well-considered Lectures on the principles, and application of Art; would probably be a work beyond the power of any, whom this scheme is likely to tempt from home. To do such a work thoroughly, powers of the very highest order would be needed. The hoped-for Crichton must be a good administrator; a clever Artist; a man of extensive reading; an easy writer; a fluent speaker. Unselfish, too, he must be; willing to forego every prospect which such powers must open out at home, and bind himself to drudge in India, on a pittance of 700 rupees a month. The Committee seems unaware that in the English Schools of Art, such Paragons are rare. Be the staff most fully furnished, still the course is supplemented by Lectures from gentlemen, unconnected with the School. No doubt there are men in England who do superintend, do teach, do lecture; and who do all well: but who can dream that men like Wilson of Glasgow, Scott of Newcastle, Raimbach of Birmingham, and the rest, are likely to be tempted by anything that India has to offer. And if they were, even they would be crippled. What is possible at home, where the general plan is well laid down; and, by able assistants, nobly carried out, would be impossible in India; for years, at any rate. Impossible, until the whole machinery of the School is in working order; impossible, until the staff of assistants is more able, and more fully furnished; impossible, until careful enquiry, and calm consideration of the wants, both of School and Country, has shewn what system should most gainfully be followed. Most unlikely is it that any man who would accept the post of Principal, should be able both to teach practically, and to lecture ably. Most impolitic it would be to press him even if he could, and would. The work of general supervision, and of practical instruction in higher branches, would be quite as much as any man could fairly carry through. Let him do thus much well, and he will have scant time to prepare, or to deliver Lectures; Lectures, at least, such as would benefit his hearers, and do credit to himself. Whoso attempted both, would fail in both. He would be a compromise between the Professor, and the technical Instructor; doing, indifferently, the work of each. Like the Bat in the fable, neither perfeet Bird, nor perfect Mouse; a halting Lecturer, an inept Artist; avowing himself, now this, now that, to suit his hearers:-

Je suis Oiseau, voyez mes ailes; Vive la gent qui fend les airs! \* \* \* \* Je suis Souris, vivent les rats Jupiter confond les chats!

Still, Lectures should be given by some one; and Lectures addressed less to the professional aspirants in the School, than to the general public whence are to come the future patrons of the higher culture. The question is, where to find an audience of the class required. The Lecturer, of course, must be appointed for the special work. Now, as has before been said, the prospects of success in any such movement must vary greatly with the previous general culture of the class addressed. They will be increased in proportion as the opposing element of superstition is removed; increased, therefore, among those who have already been trained, to some extent, in European modes of thought and feeling. On such, then, should the first experiment be made. In the Presidency College of Calcutta are now enrolled more than four hundred students. Young men of every rank are gathered here; ancestral wealth finds here, like ancient family, its representatives; poor Scholars too, there are who struggle after, and will gain, the highest prizes which professional careers can give. Not from Bengal alone, but from every part of India are drawn these throngs of students to the class-rooms of the great Calcutta Col-The local Colleges and Schools are robbed of their best pupils; does a student shew promise, in whatever branch, straightway he leaves the country School, betakes him to the Presidency College, where, with wider means of instruction, he can measure strength with more vigorous competitors, men whom to beat is glory, and by whom to be beaten, is no shame. Then, bear in mind, the overpowering love which every Hindoo has for his place of birth; of all these throngs of students, every one looks forward to the day when he can go back and settle in his own The rich men may go there so soon as their academical career is finished; the less rich may wait, and toil in their several professions for years, or until they have the wished-for wealth; but soon or late, mediately or immediately, each hopes to make his home in age, that which was his home in youth. Is not this the very kind of audience that should most be court-Here are crowds of young men all one day likely, as well from higher general culture, as from their means, hereditary or acquired, to exercise a real influence on the mass of their country folk; and to exercise it, most of all, on the dwellers in their native districts; by whom, when they do return, they will be looked on with feelings not unmixed with reverence and awe. It is impossible to imagine any body of persons, by whom the higher theories of Art could be more usefully received; or any, in whom the good seed, duly planted, might be looked to bring forth richer harvest.

The Lectures on Art, at the Presidency College, might be fixed, like those on Law, so as to clash with none of the settled hours, and subjects of study. The Lectures in the general department commence daily at 10-30 A. M.; law students attend on certain mornings in the week at 9 A. M. The earliness of the hour has never proved any hindrance to a full attendance of the Law Classes. It is sure that, if two Lectures a week were delivered on Art, and kindred subjects, and the hour of meeting fixed at nine, or half past, there would be no interference with the work in the general scheme; and no objections would be raised on account of the earliness of the hour. also, might arise the question of requiring an admission fee: if one were levied at all it should, at first, not exceed one rupee a month; but, probably it would be more politic to open the doors freely to all actual students of the College, exacting a small fee only from students not in any wise connected with the institution. A certain number of prizes, in the form of Books, and Specimens of Art, should annually be awarded to those who had been most regular in attendance, and who had made the greatest progress.

The Lectures should be most comprehensive; treating of the general principles and history of Art, discussing its literature, and dealing with the several theories which heretofore have been propounded. The work should be entrusted to some gentleman with special qualifications for the post, who would be placed on the Professorial staff of the College, and might be designated, 'Professor of the History and Theory of Art.' In addition to his two weekly Lectures at the Presidency College, the new Professor of Art might be asked to deliver once a week at the School of Art a more colloquial Address on some subject having reference to the technical instruction and business of the week. The Professor of Art might also be considered as ex-officio Visitor of the School of Art; might be asked to confer with the Principal of that Institution on matters of common interest; and in unison with him to suggest to Government, at whiles, such changes as time and experience might prove it useful to adopt. It being always borne in mind that the grand aim should be to improve the Art and Taste of the whole country, and not of the metropolis alone, or of any other district. in mind, therefore, that the Calcutta School of Art should be

viewed merely as the germ whence other Schools are to be developed; the nursing mother of kindred Institutions which hereafter shall be founded in all the leading marts of local industry.

With a well selected, zealous Principal, and with an able Professor of Art to lecture in the Presidency College, and, as Visitor, to give some portion of his time and counsel to the School, there should be good reason to hope that the old loss may be made up, and the real gain, once dreamt of, become a reality. One great element of success would be, that at first there should be given, both to Principal and Professor, a certain freedom of action; a liberty to foster the development of the scheme in such form as experience might prove to be the best. If, at first, this free action be grudgingly bestowed; if there be an endless correspondence when this charge is adopted, or that practice stopped; or if the infant scheme be sucked into the frothy whirlpool of bureaueratic influence, there must be failure. In England, even, all education in Art is still tentative; feeling cautiously its doubtful way. Men, who for years, have given their best energies to the work. are still of many minds, as to how the good which all desire may best be got at. Government at home felt its powerlessness to decide, were men, more to the matter trained, were still unsettled: did, therefore, the one thing as to which there could be no dispute, gave, in the onset, liberal grants. Then, having further exercised a careful judgment, in the appointment of the best men, it gave those men the fittest spur to action in a sense of responsibility and personal interest. There was in the early days of Art-training at home, no attempt to cripple the powers of able teachers by thrusting them into any Procrustean bed of rules and systems. The ruling Powers were wise enough to feel that regulations, which might be very useful in the continental Schools of Art, might, also, be most baneful if forced upon the growing Schools at home. Money, therefore, was given; Teachers were given; and, together with the fullest encouragement, was given also, Freedom of Development. What the growth has been, all know; what it would have been with treatment less enlightened, most men may suspect.

We have nothing, here, to do with the changes which are impending on the British Schools of Art. These Schools are now some twenty years of age; they have gained a sure hold upon the public sense; are vigorous, thriving; and the Government of to-day thinks that its helping arm might fairly, in some measure, now be shortened. There are grave doubts as to the expediency of this; there has been hot discussion on the question, during the recess; and, in the coming Session, the matter is sure to be so warmly argued, that it is still possible the old

system of liberal grants may be upheld. Here, in India, however, such questions affect us not. We have, here, a right to ask, at the hands of Government, for such consideration on behalf of the infant system of to-day, as, twenty years ago, was offered by the English Government to the sister system in its infancy at home. In India do, what England did; what England does; and what she only, after years of fostering care, threatens to do less fully, simply because such artificial culture now is needless. Endow liberally; choose the best men to work out the general scheme; give those men the fullest confidence; free them from needless checks on action; and there is good hope that Schools of Art may be as rife with benefit in India, as they have ever proved to be at home. That the work is noble, one which deserves a Government's best favour, and a People's heartiest sympathy, will hardly now be questioned. All Europe is of one mind here; and England, latest in the field, has

bravely still made up for past shortcomings.

When one thinks how cultured are the men who now in India have the power to unclose the public purse, one cannot think that there should be the slightest hesitation as to granting freely for so grand an end. With persons of Taste so acknowledged, all arguments on behalf of Taste are needless. Fairly to state the need to such, implies on their part, an eagerness to meet it. But were things other than they are; were the Powers that be as grasping, as they are generous, one might, with triumph, point to the wondrous oneness here of all the great Financiers at home. One might turn, from the Chancellor that is, to him that is most like to be; and shew how the measured eloquence of Gladstone, and the startling figures of Sir Stafford Northcote on this one theme coincide. Coincide, in extolling the general worth of well-conducted Schools of Art; the worth to Trade, no less than Taste; the worth economic, no less than the worth æsthetic; the worth to the nation, no less than to certain of its members. The Age which has seen Trade freed from its fetters, is that which most has striven to improve its products. Trade may be left to regulate itself; but, within just bounds, to guard the rights of toil, to train the manufacturer, and to strive to raise the standard of the works produced, are aims which no wise Government would willingly forego. 'The same spirit of policy,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'which has taken from the producer the 'enjoyment of preferences, paralyzing to him, and most costly ' to the community at large, has offered him the aids of knowledge and instruction, by whatever means, whether of precept or ' example, public authority could command.'

W. GRAPEL.

ART. III.—The Relations of Landlord and Tenant in India—A series of Articles contributed to the "Friend of India," with Additions and an Appendix,—Serampore Press, 1863.

THAT the Legislature should exercise the right of fixing the amount of rent to be received and paid by landlord and tenant in Bengal; and of making terms so imposed binding on both, as contracting parties, must seem to any one who regards the matter merely by the light of English experience, a strange and anomalous proceeding, if not an unwarrantable interference with the rights of property. That there should be many different opinions on the subject among those, whose experience embraces also the state of things in India, is very natural, considering the many difficulties that the Law of Land has offered in most countries, the importance of this law to the progress of a country, and the many mistakes on the subject that have been made in all countries by Administrators, Legislators, Politicians, and, not least of all, Writers. Look, for instance, at Mr. Mill. A writer of the most profound thought and most studious care, he is yet singularly wrong in his treatment of the Cottier System in Ireland. It is not that his reasoning is bad; but that his data are erroneous; and right Logic applied to wrong data will evolve erroneous conclusions as assuredly as will wrong Logic applied to right data. It was with good cause that the late Archbishop Whateley so strongly insisted upon the necessity of looking closely in all argument at the fundamental points of discus-The essence lies in these, lies at the bottom, and not in the mode of argument adopted to evolve deductions from assumptions. Why is it that often in reading a book, a pamphlet, or an article, though unable to combat a single argument used therein, we cannot go with the writer, and will not be convinced of his conclusions? Simply because his arguments may be irresistible, but he has started with wrong data, and therefore his conclusions are wrong. He has commenced by telling us something as a fact which we have assumed to be true on his assertions,—perhaps not having leisure or opportunity to ascertain otherwise; but which, had we examined into it, we

should assuredly have rejected together with all the inferences deduced therefrom. In this way all theories are dangerous. An acute Reasoner or Politician assumes that something A is the cause of something else B, and proceeds to devise remedies and propound cures, which he vainly expects to be all-effective. Now had he assumed that A is one of the causes of B, he might have been right; but his inferences would have been different. Mill assumed that the cause of Ireland with equal if not greater advantages being so much behind England and Scotland, was the Cottier System. Another distinguished writer assumed that it was the want of an Encumbered Estates Court. One thought that the law of the tenant,—the other that the law of the landlord needed improvement. Each was right so far, but each was wrong in thinking that he alone had found the only cause of stagnation or decline. Both were causes, but neither was the sole cause; and there are other causes beside both. Famine and Emigration have well nigh obliterated the Cottier System. The Encumbered Estates Court has been at work for many years. Both events have worked much good, as a comparison of Ireland now and Ireland sixty years ago will prove; but other causes must be found out and removed, before the entire work of renovation be finished. The incidental mention by Mr. Mill in his Political Economy of Ireland and India together, connected with the subject of land, has led us to illustrate our argument by a reference to the former country.

The writer of the pamphlet before us on the Relations of Landlord and Tenant in India shares much of the feeling which would naturally belong to one whose experience had lain in Great Britain. This with two or three erroneous assumptions has led him, in spite of clear reasoning and no contemptible acumen, into several errors, although on the whole his pamphlet is no useless addition to writings too few in number, on a subject which is of very considerable importance. Speaking of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793, he calls those Regulations by which Government raised the Zemindars into independent landholders a gift to the tenants-at-will of the Govern-Again he calls it a boon, and in many places he speaks of the Zemindars as co-recipients of the Government bounty. That this language is quite suitable, and that this is the proper light to regard the settlement of the position of the Zemindars of 1793, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. As Dr. Trench has so clearly and beautifully pointed out, a word often records and perpetuates an historic fact. The Persian termination dar means a holder, or keeper, or manager; in fact, one to whom some-

thing is entrusted by a third party; khazanadar no more means the owner of the treasure; nor killadar, the owner of a fort; nor cohbdar, the owner of the mace; nor abdar the owner of the water; nor Sherishtadar the owner of the Sherishta, than Zemindar means the owner of the land. All these words mean that the person denominated by the termination dar holds or keeps, or manages for another; whether it be the treasure, or the fort, or the mace, or the water, or the land: and the Zemindar was the holder or manager of the land for the State; the proprietary right vesting in the State and no one else. That Government then gave up the proprietary right and made a present of it to those who were before but agents, was a great boon, a great gift, and is very properly spoken of as such. But when, after speaking of the measure in these appropriate terms, he further on applies the word 'compact' to the very same measure; and denominates certain Regulations of Government acknowledging and defining the position of the ryot as violations of the compact of 1793 made with the Zemindars, we are forced to cry 'stop' and ask 'what compact?' Surely the boon, the gift of 1793 was no compact. A compact is a stipulation. Dr. Johnson defines a compact to be a contract, a mutual agreement, and this implies an equivalent; implies that the contracting parties are to do something mutually for each other, there is to be a quid pro quo. A moment's consideration will shew that this term cannot be applied to that Act of 1793 whereby Government gave all and received nothing. This is the very assumption of a fact to which we referred above. Allow the word 'compact' to be substituted for 'boon,' 'gift,' and we must perforce allow all the inferences that follow. We agree with all the writer said in the first few pages. How is it, then, that we cannot agree with his deductions? Because he has shifted his premises, as logicians say, and this is a fallacious mode of argument. Had he adhered to the original word boon, gift, he could scarcely talk of a 'breach of boon,' or 'a breach of gift'; but by substituting the word compact he gets a phrase, 'breach of compact,' which has an important sound when applied to the acts of Government. When, by a semblance of reasoning, this phrase has been evolved, one fancies that a new light has been thrown on the legislation of the Indian Government, and once deceived into allowing the correctness of this phrase, you cannot help admitting all that follows. It is the point of the wedge, which once inserted, forces open the block, and disperses all preconceived notions; by talking thus fast and loose, and dealing at random with the meaning of words, the acts of any Government can be shewn up in an

To make a successful democrat, no point of odious light. education is more useful than the study of logical fallacies. The skilful use of them will make a great sensation writer; and the unintentional use of them will lead the best men with the best motives into an erroneous line of conduct. Conscious of starting with right intentions from facts which they themselves could vouch for, with stern integrity they throw themselves into the line of conduct suggested by their own conclusions from these facts. But the conclusions have been fallaciously deduced; and the conduct is wrong. We have touched so therefore far upon this point, not because the fallacy in the pamphlet before us is likely to do any harm, but because it is easy to imagine a state of things in which it might have done harm. If the Zemindars as a body were dissatisfied with Government, the notion that Government had committed a breach of its compact with them would increase that dissatisfaction; and after the train of argument by means of which that notion was originally struck out, had been forgotten, the idea would remain and produce evil results, not unlikely, in the minds of men who never heard or cared to hear the arguments from which it originated. We have heard of a nation going to war for an idea: we do not wish to hear of another rising into rebellion for a misconception. The notion that Government has committed a breach of compact with the Zemindars is erroneous for the very simple reason, that no compact was ever made or ever existed 'Falsehood,' says Colton, 'is never so successful, as when she baits her hook with truth: and no opinions so fatally mislead us as those that ' are not wholly wrong, as no watches so effectually deceive the wearer, as those that are sometimes right.' Now we are very far from supposing that the writer of the pages we criticise, even suspected that he was writing any thing but what was wholly We have however said enough to shew that fallacies will creep in with the most honest reasoners if unskilled: and once let fallacies creep in, the amount of mischief they will do, is in no wise to be measured by the amount of the deviation from correct views in the first instance.

As then Government has committed no breach of compact with the Zemindars, because no compact ever existed; let us see in the next place if Government promised any thing in 1793, which it has not given, or which it took back by legislating for the improvement of the condition of the ryot; in fact, whether by so legislating Government broke its promise made in 1793. In the first place every Government, as a broad principle, has the undoubted right of legislating for the

benefit of all classes of the community, and of easing the yoke borne by any class at the expense of another class, if the interests of the entire community require it. Whether they do or do not require it, is a question of fact or expediency to be dealt with in each particular case, but in no wise affecting the general question of right. On this ground alone, had Government afterwards discovered that the measure of 1793 bore hard on one class, or caused an unequal division of rights, the readjustment of the balance would have been a perfectly warrantable exercise of that power which all Governments possess, and the non-exercise of which at the proper time on some occasions has led to the subversion of the Governments themselves; just as the safety valve of a steam engine if it refuse the work and relieve the pent-up steam within, will be involved in one common ruin with the machinery of which it was the governor. Not only then would the measures so mistakenly denominated a breach of compact, where no compact existed, have been defensible on these grounds; but measures of such a kind in certain contingencies may be easily conceived to have become a necessitv.

But the conduct of the Indian Government in legislating for the improvement of the condition of the Bengal ryot after the Code of 1793 became law, is capable of being defended on grounds, which are still plainer and stronger, and which can be brought home to the comprehension of the most ordinary abilities. Section 8, Article 7 of Regulation I. of 1793 runs as follows:—

'To prevent any mis-construction of the foregoing articles, the Governor-General in Council thinks it necessary to make the following declarations to the Zemindars, independent Talook-dars, and other actual proprietors of land.

'First.—It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil: and no Zemindar, independent Talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment, which they have respectively agreed to pay.'

Here then in the plainest language, in the good substantial prose of the Old Regulations, is a reservation made by Government, when conferring the boon or gift of proprietorship on the Zemindars of 1793. It says as plain as may be, 'the ownership

'and proprietary right in the soil belonged to the ruling power.
'That ownership and right we confer on you, Zemindars; but do
'not misunderstand, make no mistake about the matter; we
'most particularly reserve any right which we could have had as
'proprietors to protect the welfare or improve the condition of the
'cultivators of the soil.' Every Zemindar therefore who accepted
the boon conferred by the Code of 1793, accepted it subject to
this reservation, and when Government in the exercise of the
right thus reserved subsequently legislated for the improvement
of the ryot, neither the Zemindars of 1793, nor their descendants, nor any who derived their rights from them, have reason
to utter a single complaint on the ground that legislation was
resorted to. The expediency of what was done is altogether
another question; and must be considered separately and apart.

Section 52 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, upon which the author has laid such stress, and which empowers 'the proprietor' of the land to let the remaining lands of his estate in whatever 'manner he may think proper,' must be received subject to the above reservation. It is clear that this will at once overthrow all conclusions deduced without regard to the right reserved by

Government.

It is argued that the only class of ryots protected by the Code of 1793 were the khoodkast ryots then in existence, and the author regrets that the aid of a village schoolmaster had not been called in by the framers of Act X. There are some who would not be surprised to see the elevation of this latter functionary to the rank of a Member of the Legislature in the course of time, and under present tendencies which they are pleased to deprecate; but while we dissent from these, we do not see why a definition of the term 'khoodkast' should have been required in framing the law of 1859, in which the word never occurs; the discussion of its meaning here is therefore a little out of place. We cannot agree with the writer in thinking that the 'khoodkast' ryots referred to in Regulation VIII. of 1793 are only such 'khoodkast' ryots as were then in existence, exclusive of any that might be created afterwards. The term is surely applicable to 'khoodkast' ryots then existing and those subsequently created. This will greatly extend the class of protected ryots created by the Code of 1793 in express terms. But all ryots were impliedly protected ryots by the application of the reservation pointed out before; and Government had an undoubted right to make them so in express terms whenever it saw fit to do so.

The writer has taken great pains to shew what in the estimation of the village pedagogue should be the terms of a 'khood'kast' lease; but it is a well known fact that the leases directed by Regulation VIII. of 1793 to be granted to ryots were never given, and this part of the law became a dead letter. In districts where the ryots have cultivated their lands for long periods without removing the experience of any officer engag. ed in trying rent cases will shew that in nine-tenths of the holdings of this kind no pottahs or leases are forthcoming. The village schoolmaster may doubtless preserve and impart an oral tradition of what 'khoodkast' leases used to be; but in the absence of such leases, in most cases, the present usage of the country, founded on the experience of more than half a century, is a much safer guide for the Legislator. The Code of 1793 made a great change in the state of things which existed under former rulers; and this change must naturally have worked downwards. If the Sudder Judge of 1846 or 1849, or the legislator of 1859, found that, as an effect of the working of this change, a usage had sprung up different from anything legislated for in 1793, and established by the use of half a century, who will say, that it was not right to act on such usage, rather than on an obsolete conception of existing rights?

Another point argued in this pamphlet is that the phrase 'discretionary power to grant leases and to fix the rents,' occurring in Regulation XLIV. of 1793, applied to the Zemindar, meant that he was to have the power of granting what leases, and fixing what rents, he pleased. This phrase, too, must be accepted subject to the reservation we have alluded to, which, as a sort of general exception, must be applicable to the entire Code of 1793, as the general exceptions in the Penal Code, though not repeated with every Section of this Code, are yet applicable throughout. Again, the meaning argued for would have been expressed by absolute power better than by 'discretionary power.' The very use of this latter phrase implies that some discretion is allowed, and it is obvious that this was the intention of Government in

the present case.

The Pergunnah Rate, says the writer in another place, from 1812 to 1845, was close upon the rate the land would have brought as yearly rent if let to the highest bidder in the open market. Now we will hereafter shew what an open market for land means in India. As no statistics have been laid before us to prove the above assertion, we are unable to judge of the merits of the reasoning by which the conclusion has been deduced. To prove it would, we opine, be a matter of no little difficulty. If the writer means that the Pergunnah rate fixed or existing in 1793 continued unchanged down to 1845, then the assertion amounts

to this, that there was no progress in all these years. If it is meant that the Pergunnah rate varied at intervals from causes originating in the advancement of the country, the Pergunnah rate was a market rate in the sense the writer uses the expression. The former inference will scarcely be credited on a mere assertion. If the latter inference be correct, there is no reason why the Pergunnah rate should have stopped short in 1845, and not have kept up with the market. In a pamphlet that professes to instruct the Legislature in the way of amending the law, we could wish to see such important asseverations supported by adequate and convincing proof. This off-hand way of assuming as granted some of the most important points connected with the subject, is an illogical and deceptive mode of argument—deceptive to the writer as well as to a majority of his readers.

The writer professes to test Act X. by Political Economy. We think this part of the Pamphlet is a failure. We will take his deductions in order. He asserts that Act X. is fast leading to a universal creation of idle middlemen in consequence of the rent of the protected class of ryots being fixed by the working of the Act below the market value of the land, or the rent at which the land can be sublet. Now we do not know what the experience of the writer has been in the interior, or what opportunity he has had for forming this opinion. This deduction is drawn from a premiss which he takes for granted, viz., 'that the "khoodkast' holding is generally now enough to support two 'families instead of one, and as soon as that occurs the 'khoodkast' ' ryot now sublets the whole or a sufficient portion of the land, and lives in idleness on the difference between the rent he re-'ceives and the rent he pays.' If he keep and cultivate any portion, he cannot be said to live in idleness. The force therefore of the distribution, 'the whole or a sufficient portion,' does not appear. The first part of the above assertion, that the holding has become enough to support two families, we know from experience to be correct enough, adding the words 'to support two familes in the manner of life which prevailed fifty years ago.' But the same experience tells us that the increase has been devoted to additional comforts,-luxuries, we might almost say, in the sense Adam Smith uses the word,—to tamashas, shadees, sradhs, and other forms of expenditure by which the Bengal peasant indicates his prosperity. Again, the quantity of gold and silver ornaments in the possession of the women has increased during the tranquillity of more than half a century. The events of the antecedent period must have left few of these

luxuries in the country,—but that they are by no means scarce now, any officer who has tried half a dozen dacoity cases knows right well. This is an indication of prosperity that does not from the peculiar manner of the people meet the eye openly. That, as a universal rule, the ryot sublets his land and lives in idleness on the difference between the rent he receives and the rent he pays, we deny. Our experience has been to the contrary. Occasional cases of this may happen, but it has on tendency to become a rule. This statement, on which is founded the inference that Act X. is leading fast to a universal creation of idle middlemen, should of all points have been most clearly proved before taking its place among the writer's data. That the subletting of land in Bengal is no new thing, no habit that has sprung up since Act X. became law, is proved by the existence of the words koorpha, petao, &c., in the Bengalee language denoting this mode of tenure. The ootbundee tenure in Nuddea is something similar—the name being often applied to under-leases for a yearly term. Now the enhanced rates decreed under Act X. have in many instances exceeded the old ootbundee rates; and though there have been loud complaints that the enhanced rents are too high for the ryot to pay, we have never heard that they were too low as rent for the landlord to receive, especially now that the High Court has decreed one rupee per beegha. With respect to the term 'unconditional holding' applied to the right-of-occupancy ryot's jot, we certainly consider the terms as quite inapplicable to a holding the rent of which can always under the law be enhanced to the limit of the market rate, and from which the ryot can be ejected if he fail to pay that rent.

In what we have just written, we have considered, in the course of argument, the objection that Act X. depresses rent or at least the rent of the protected ryot below the market value. The writer argues also that the tendency of the law is to raise other rents above the market value. Now this assertion is so strange, that we will give it in the words of the author. It runs thus:—

'But Act X. of 1859, by its mistaken philanthropy to occu'pancy ryots, has added an unnatural and injurious element, and
'has thus raised the market rate of land rent for non-occupancy
'tenants higher than it would otherwise have been. The occupan'cy ryots, who have been thus secured a large margin from their
'occupancy holdings, compete with the non-occupancy ryots for
'any land in the thickly peopled parts of the country that becomes
'vacant, and, having an exceptional profit secured to them from
'one holding, are able to offer terms for the new holdings beyond
'what the non-occupancy ryot can afford to pay.'

Now they must want the land for one of two purposes, either to relet it, or to cultivate it, and so make a profit by speculation. It cannot be to relet it, as the rent which they have offered, and at which they have taken the land, is by the terms of the proposition so high as to put the land above the reach of non-occupancy tenants, who would otherwise have taken it. They must therefore have taken the land to cultivate it, and thereby make a Now let us instance a case and apply the unerring law of Political Economy, viz., that every man in the ordinary business transactions of life will do what is for his own interest. A is an occupancy ryot and has a holding at fifteen rupees a year which he can relet to B, a non-occupancy ryot for twenty-five rupees. The total value of the crops produced, after allowing for all out-goings, is thirty rupees, by which B makes an annual profit of five rupees. A similar holding is put up for competition in the market. A, by reason of the exceptional profit secured to him from his own holding, sublet to B, can offer twenty-six rupees rent for this holding, which B cannot afford to pay; A therefore gets the land, cultivates it, and makes four rupees profit,—the value of the crop, after deducting for outgoings being thirty rupees, as we have supposed both holdings alike. A therefore gets ten rupees from B, equal to the difference of the rent paid by A to his landlord and the rent paid by B to A, and makes four rupees profit on the land he himself rents and cultivates, total fourteen rupees. Now if A had cultivated his own holding, he would have realised fifteen rupees, the difference between the rent he has to pay, and the value of the crop after deducting for outgoings. A therefore loses one rupee and has beside all the risk arising from subletting to B, and not being paid by him,—and this rupee goes into the pocket of the landlord of the second holding, thereby benefiting one of the class by the very effect by which it is argued they are injured. may therefore conclude most indubitably that the writer's inferences are erroneous. Had he thoroughly comprehended the principles of Political Economy, he would never have spoken of any competition in the market for a reproductive commodity raising the market rate above what it would otherwise have been, i. e., above its natural market value. If it were a non-reproductive article, an article of consumption, such a result might be conceived as likely to take place. If a limited supply of some valued wine, or article of apparel or ornament were brought into Calcutta, and every person wished to become a purchaser, while the quantity imported was enough to suffice for only one-fourth of the community; if some very large beads were brought to the coast of Africa by a vessel trading for gold or ivory, and became

a particular object of desire to the natives bartering with the traders, while there was only a small quantity of the coveted article among the cargo; -in either of these cases it would be easy to imagine the market rate of the wine or beads being raised to the denizens of the City of Palaces, or the subjects of the King of Dahomey. In both cases the article is required for use or consumption, and not for reproduction. But land in the case before us is supposed to be a reproductive article. We use the word in this sense,—that he who invests in it, does so expecting to realise profit on his investment, i. e., interest on his money. Now, if there is a market for land, no one will invest unless his investment bring him in the ordinary rate of interest on his money, which he can realise by other investments. If the profit to be derived from investment in land be universally high, capital will be attracted and will flow in, till by the working of the wellknown rule, the profits of land investment fall to a level with the profits of other investment. The demand for land will meanwhile have given the opportunity of raising rents to the landlord, and thus the class in behalf of whom the writer is arguing would be benefited by the very operation of which he complains.

Further on it is stated that Act X. has created a fear in the mind of English grantees of waste lands, that at some future time Government may, by a similar measure, transfer their rights as landlords to their tenants, and that when they might wish to take in more of their land for the cultivation of tea, coffee, or cotton, they will find that the Legislature has conferred such rights upon ryots whom they may have permitted to settle and clear the jungle on favourable terms, that the landlords will be unable to evict them and take the land into their own hands. They will therefore, it is said, prefer that the land should remain jungle, till they require it, to allowing any ryots to settle upon it, and in this manner a wide field of prosperity is unnaturally elosed by Act X. Now, if it be a result of the working of Act X. that ryots will not be permitted to settle and clear lands, from which, when cleared and rendered capable of productive cultivation, they may be summarily ejected or forced into the condition of day-labourers, we must say that we cannot understand how a wide field of prosperity is closed for the community at large, though it may be so for a small portion whose prosperity ought not to be desired by themselves, and will not be consulted by the Legislature, at the expense of the rest of the community. But if such a fear really exist among the grantees of waste lands, we think that the provisions of Section 7 of Act X. ought to be quite sufficient to dispel it. No law can ever be passed by the Indian

Legislature, unless under circumstances created by a revolution or something like it, which will have the effect of annulling written contracts made under the guarantee of this Section, in which antioccupation clauses have been inserted. Waste lands are granted in a manner very different from that in which the rights of proprietorship of land was conferred on the Zemindars of 1793. The title conferred is quite different. There is no reservation, no general exception like that which we have shewn to be contained in the Code of 1793. We have shewn that not the slightest imputation of bad faith can be made against the conduct of the Indian Government in passing Act X. Why therefore should bad faith be suspected for the future? Such a fear is as ground-

less as the arguments used to warrant it.

Further on it is argued, 'the rise of prices has of late been so ' great that, except where a landowner had a paramount motive ' for keeping his rents low, as a wish to get his ryots to grow 'Indigo, he naturally would not let his rents stay at their form-'er low rates, while he saw his tenants-at-will making large profits ' from his land.' Yet the Indigo districts are those where the Enhancement law has been worked more than in any other part of the country subject to the provisions of Act X. 'He therefore, of course', continues the writer, 'gives them notice of 'enhancement all round. From that day he gets no more rent, 'high or low.' This last is a most sweeping assertion. In some cases, those who are served with enhancement notices do not pay any more rent till the question of enhancement is settled, but we are from experience in a position to say that in the vast majority of cases the old rent is either paid and accepted; or if not accepted, as frequently happens, lodged as a deposit in the Collector's Court under the provisions of Act VI. of 1861 (B.C.).

In the fourth Chapter the writer contends that 'the occupancy clauses of Act X. create impediments to the natural progress of Society by the creation of new and obstructive rights, throwing a fairly developed Landlord system back into an early stage of peasant property which, under a rule of law and order, cannot but ultimately grow again into the very system we are now destroying, but will only attain that partial development after a lapse of time, the waste of which the fast growing necessities of India cannot afford.' We are entirely at a loss to understand in what acceptation of the terms the rights conferred by the occupation Clauses of Act X. can be denominated rights of peasant property. The High Court has ruled that all the right the occupancy-ryot has is the right of refusal. At a fair and equitable rent he has the first offer. If he will not give this rent, or if he fall into arrears for a single

year and be unable to pay up within fifteen days after a decree has been obtained against him, go he must. Surely such a right as this cannot be termed a right of property. 'The idea of property,' says Mill, 'does not necessarily imply that there should be 'no rent, any more than that there should be no taxes. It merely 'implies that the rent should be a fixed charge, not liable to be 'raised against the possessor by his own improvements or by the ' will—of—a landlord.' The rent of the right-of-occupancy ryot is not a fixed charge, inasmuch as it is liable to be enhanced whenever the progress of the country makes it inadequate as the landlord's share of the surplus accruing after the deduction for outgoings. (This rent is not, however, liable to be raised against the possessor of the land by his own improvements, for by Section 17 of Act X., in order to enhance, it must be proved that the value of the produce or the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot; nor yet by the will of his landlord, for the enhancement will be tried in a competent Court if the tenant thinks he is asked more than is fair. But the argument remains the same, as the rent is not fixed). Therefore the inference that Act X. retards improvement by creating a peasant right is erroneous. But the proposition 'Act X. retards improvement by creating 'rights of peasant property' is a deduction from two premises. It assumes that Act X. does create such a right, which we have shewn to be false, and also that such a right retards improve-The latter premiss is contained in these words of the writer:—' As the improvement of the soil is better attained by 'landlord than by peasant ownership'. Now this is one of the strongest cases in the whole pamphlet of the fallacy referred to at the beginning of this article,—setting down as an ascertained fact a proposition which admits of considerable discussion, about which many opinions prevail, and which few of those acquainted with the subject are prepared to concede; and upon a premiss so assumed proceeding to build up inferences, which rest solely on the truth of the premiss. There are few Indian readers of the pamphlet before us, who, when they read the words 'as the improvement of the soil is better attained by landlord than by 'peasant ownership,' are prepared from previously formed opinions to concede or disallow the truth of the words; fewer still who will care or who have leisure to consider the subject so as to be able to form an opinion, and very many who, having some preconceived notions against Act X., and delighted to find their notions confirmed by the statement of an instructed writer, will never stop to consider the words at all, will unheedingly accept

their introduction, and hurry on to the conclusion that Act X. retards improvement, because it creates rights of peasant proper. Now that the improvement of the soil is better attained by landlord than by peasant ownership, is a proposition so far from being universally true or admitted as such that writers have been found and those no mean authorities, who have asserted just the opposite to be true. Mill writes:—(vol. I. p. 307, third edition.) 'The advantage however of small properties in land is one of 'the most disputed questions in the range of political economy'; and the pages that follow this remark contain a mass of facts on the subject collected from Switzerland, Norway, Germany, Belgium, the Channel Islands, and France, which, in the eyes of those who care to read them, will render somewhat doubtful the assumption made so unhesitatingly by the writer. After a most careful and elaborate disquisition on the subject, Mr. sums up in these words 'as the result of this enquiry into the 'direct operation and indirect influences of peasant properties, 'I conceive it to be established that there is no necessary connex-'ion between this form of landed property and an imperfect state ' of the arts of production; that it is favourable in quite as many 'respects as it is unfavourable to the most effective use of the 'powers of the soil; that no other existing state of agricultural economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelli-' gence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends on the whole so much to discourage an improvident increase of 'their numbers; and that no existing state therefore is on the ' whole so favourable to their moral and their physical welfare. 'Compared with the English system of cultivation, by hired labour, it must be regarded as eminently beneficial to the labour-'ing class.' Now this is not a statement made without consideration, not a proposition assumed without adequate proof; but the calm and deliberate judgment of a deep thinker and a careful writer upon a mass of facts collected from various and diverse If by peasant property the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, the prudence of a peasant population can be elicited into healthy action, or can at all be promoted, surely such an agricultural economy must be good for Bengal, the peasantry of which are wanting in precisely these virtues. If moral as well as physical welfare be induced by such a state of things, it must be the state of all others fitted for the country, where morality and physique alike require improvement. If Political Economy, a science founded and built upon the habits of a race far different from those that people our Indian Empire, is to be a test for, or is to be applied at all to, legislation for India, the

Legislator, having read the above words of one of the greatest Political Economists, involving a deduction directly the reverse of what the writer before us has, without a word of comment, argument, or proof, assumed as granted, might well exclaim 'Eureka! I have at length discovered the remedy for India's 'ills! I have found out the Elixir to give vitality to its progress:—

'Non usitata nec tenui ferar

'Penna biformis per liquidum æthera;-'

and certainly his fame would be spread in lands unknown to the friend of Mæcænas.

Whether Political Economy, meaning by the term the science as it exists and is taught in Europe, can fairly or advantageously be applied to Indian Administration, we have some doubts; but that a science of Political Economy, which takes its date and forms its inferences from the state of society we find here, ought to be so studied and applied, we are very certain. And just now when the theory that India is best governed by a man of much experience of England, and as little as possible of India, has so far become exploded, that her Governor-General and her Minister of Finance have been chosen for their Indian experience, we may safely ask the question, where such a science is to be cradled and reared, if not with those the best part of whose life, and the years of whose prime are spent in collecting the very data from which the necessary inferences can be deduced. condemn Act X. and to carp at its framers is easy, but common sense will admit that they had the best means of judging of the wisdom of the measure they advocated. Calumny itself cannot accuse them of looking to personal advantage, and it remains to accuse their ability, discernment, or want of foresight. It will be seen hereafter that we are far from regarding the Act as faultless; but we claim, as wishing to argue fairly and be fairly argued with, that it be not condemned on illogical reasoning and assumptions directly contrary to the ordinary economic teachings of science.

If we can credit Mr. Mill that peasant proprietorship has its advantages as an agricultural economy, and if the deductions of European Science are in place when applied to the analysis of Act X., we can claim for that measure some of the above advantages. We denied above that the right of occupancy conferred by the Act could be called a right of peasant property, because the rent was not a fixed rent; but though on this account the term property will not apply, the rent, being incapable of being changed except at recurring periods marked by the general prosperity of

the country, is to such an extent a fixed rent, that the tenant or occupier of the land knows that it cannot be changed from year to year, and that when once it has been fixed at one of these recurring periods, it will remain unchanged for some time to The fixing of the rent in this way has then all the advantage of a long lease without many of its disadvantages. For instance, there can be no renewal fine, and the terms of the renewal do not depend upon the arbitrary will of the landlord, but on certain principles affecting the country at large, and affecting all the members of the class concerned in an equal degree. This undoubtedly brings the occupancy holding very near to the peasant property, and may account for writers not observing the distinction between them. The knowledge that his rent is fixed for a time and cannot be arbitrarily raised at the will or at the need of his landlord, is then certainly an element, which ought to stimulate the industry and thrift of the right-of-occupancy tenant. But there are other points, which possess this element in a still higher degree. The tenant has so far a right of property under the Act, that so long as he pays his rent, he knows he cannot be dispossessed. The former point was one of encouragement. This latter works on his fears. Surely the knowledge that, if he give himself up to sloth, he may lose all prospective advantages, and be evicted, ought to stir him up to exertion, and that this will be no indolent exertion, at least just after the refixing of his rent, and until progress widen the margin between total value of produce and outgoings, will be evident on considering how little, by the decision of the High Court, lies between the remainder after deducting the value of the outgoings from the total value of the produce, and the limit of rent. This is a spur to industry admirably fitted for the character of the Bengal ryot, and one which we should like to see well tested before it be thrown aside. Again, Act X. embodies a Tenant Right Law, fair to landlord and tenant ;-a Tenant Right Law, which the agitators at the Monster Meetings in Ireland ten years ago would have deemed sufficient to satisfy the claims of those for whom they agitated. Section 17 says :-

'No ryot having a right of occupancy shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him except on some

one of the following grounds, namely :-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;lstly. \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

'2ndly.—That the value of the produce or the productive power of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot.'

Therefore if the ryot improve the land by his own labour, or if having capital, original or accumulated, he invest it in his farm, improving and making the land more productive; all the benefit of such improvements will go into his own pocket; and he is protected against his landlord, who can neither turn him out and let the land thus improved at a higher rent to another, nor raise the rent on a tenant to whose labour or capital or both the increased value of the land is safely attributable. Now we have known of English farmers, and Scotch farmers, and Irish farmers in the north of Ireland, where the thrifty descendants of the Scotch Colonists of King James's time remain settled to this day; who had some little money of their own, and above all had their strong arms, both of which they were right willing to employ in improving their holdings, if they had some guarantee that the benefit resulting from such improvements would be secured to them. But they had only a lease of their lands, and they knew that, at the expiry of their lease, the increased value of the land which was due to their toil or their little capital would benefit them in no wise; but would go into the pocket of the landlord in the shape of a fine on a new lease, or a higher rent for the holding. And their murmurings would be met by the same answer always: 'You ' had the advantage of your improvements, while you were in 'possession.' It requires very little knowledge of such matters for the most casual reader to understand that during a lease of ten or twenty or even thirty years, it would be almost impossible to recover the principal and interest of capital laid out on improvements, many of which could scarcely shew any reproductive return till after the losses of several years. We are well aware that there were many great and noble exceptions to this state of things; there were many landlords, who, in a more enlightened spirit, shared the expense of improvements by allowing a deduction from the rent, or assisting with a gross sum, or who, at the expiration of a lease, would allow a valuation for improvements, or allow the tenant to have a renewal on favourable terms, or to sell his good-will to another. But all these were exceptions, and only made the injustice and hardship felt still more deeply by the victims of a griping landlord, or of the unscrupulous agent of an We are also aware that things in these respects have improved much of late, and landlords have come to see their own real interests in a clearer light. But we have seen these facts discussed and complained of in the public papers and in the farmer's cottage, and in the presence of Monster Meetings convened by Democrats who, to carry the people with them for their own

purposes, were but too glad to have some real hardship of the peasantry to gloat over and enlarge upon, who were astute enough to cover the cry of sedition with that of 'Tenant-Right; but whose pretext would have been taken away, and their mouth stopped, whose ignorant listeners would have been kept from the mistake of confounding their fancied with their real wrongs, and would have returned home contented and happy,-had the provisions contained in Clause 2, Section 17 of Act X. been made a law for them. If the knowledge that the tenant will derive the sole benefit accruing from his labour, industry, frugality, and abstinence, must, as all Political Economists are agreed, be eminently effective in educing these virtues in an agricultural class, and if of all agricultural classes, the want of these virtues is most noticeable in the Bengalee ryot, then the provision we are discussing is one admirably suited for those for whom it is meant. We said above that this provision is fair to the landlord as well as to the tenant. It is fair to the landlord, because it takes from him nothing that he has a right to keep, while it leaves him all that is justly his, viz., all the increase of the value of land derivable from the progress and prosperity of the country at large. All political economists are agreed that this increase goes of right to the landlord. Again, if the landlord be a capitalist, or if he save, and improve his property by the outlay of his capital or savings, and thereby make the land productive, he can obtain an immediate return, for he is entitled to enhance his rents up to the limit of the increase of the value of the produce or productive powers of the land brought about otherwise then by the agency, or at the expense of the ryot. Now, just as much as the want of industry, frugality, and abstinence is deplored in the Bengalee ryot, so much is the want of a spirit of improvement and the careless disregard of all but present returns deplored in the Bengalee zemindar; and the provisions of this law are calculated to remedy the one as well as the other evil. But we must wait for results. Four years will not change the habits, manners, propensities, and tendencies of any class. We must wait till a new generation spring up, whom the teaching of the law and the circumstances created by the law shall have schooled and influenced; who will have been brought up amid a new state of things; who will have learned thrift and abstinence-we use the word as Senior uses it in his admirable little work on Political Economy-amid the very difficulties into which their fathers are fast plunging by endless litigation,-unwilling to unlearn their old traditions, perhaps even unable, for there is a period of life, when

men, especially men of an Eastern clime, will sink before the force of a change rather than commence anew under the altered state of things. We must wait, and we must cease legislating anew for every generation, giving no measure time for trial, changing the law just when results are about to ensue. And we must cease to listen to those who come out from home, fresh from an advanced state of civilization, to deplore the backward state of society here, and wish, by half a dozen blows of the hammer of progress, as by a mighty Nasmythian weapon, to weld the crude mass into comely shape and form; and we must tell them that importations by British vigour are good, and necessary for many things, but that steam cannot be applied to the car of progress, nor civilization flashed along the lightning wire; that the child must creep before it can walk, and walk before it can run; that science is the handmaid and not the mistress of Civilization, following, but not always directing, her footsteps; that Progress is educed from within rather than impressed from without; and that the heart of man is harder than iron or steel, and will less easily and quickly be remoulded into a new shape.

But, to return to the writer, we quote a passage from the fifth chapter:—'A hundred years ago England was full of small 'yeoman freeholds, which have been gradually absorbed into the 'larger landed properties by the ordinary working of the selfish 'laws of political economy. Scotland was even then starving 'under the rude cultivation of clannish cottiers, and pauper low-land holders of heritable feus. Ireland's cottier peasantry were just renewing a lease of life by the introduction of the 'potatoe on their half-reclaimed patches of bog. Scotch and Irish 'cottiers have, by the working of the same laws, been cleared off 'the land they kept unproductive, and have either emigrated or 'risen from cottiers into day labourers. All this has been a 'source of constant regret meanwhile. The decay of a

'Bold peasantry, the country's pride, Which once destroyed can never be supplied,'—

'has been made the theme of much humanitarian nonsense in the interval. But it is certain that, if the landed tenures of Great Britain were now in the same condition as in the middle of last century, she could not support half her present population; that famine and misery would be yearly decimating her people; that she would never have attained her present commercial and manufacturing supremacy; and that all the new regions of the world which she has since peopled with her redoubled energy would be still lying waste under their former savage rulers.' As far as the deprecation of humanitarian nonsense goes, we cordially

agree, but no farther. The author wishes to prove that all this happened as a result of the inevitable tendency of the progress of society to fix the property in land in the hands of a landlord class. In the first place Great Britain does not, by the produce of her own land, support one-half of her population. Where then does the remainder get food? It is imported in return for her manufactures exported. The proportionate increase of population in England was, if anything, greater than that in Ireland, during the same period. Why then did all the mouths of England find food, while the peasantry of Ireland was starving? Because England was able to pay for her food with her manufactures, while Ireland had no manufactures. Terrorism and a despotic priesthood had kept capital out of Ireland; had prevented her resources from being developed. Except in the North of Ireland, where the Linen Trade flourished, and where there was and is a marked superiority in the appearance of comfort presented by the people, Ireland had nothing but the produce of her own land badly cultivated to feed a superabundant population; while England had the produce of her own land improved by the expenditure of capital that overflowed from other sources; and could afford to pay for the produce of land in other countries beside. land had yet less, for every absentee landlord drew and spent his rents in London, or Paris, or anywhere out of Ireland; and how did he get those rents? By a bill on a banker. Yes, but that bill only represents value forwarded by another source to persons, who, on receipt of the value, will pay the bill. Ireland produces no gold or silver, or precious stones, therefore the value must have been otherwise represented. It was represented by the fine droves of cattle and sheep, by the poultry, the butter and the eggs, that are brought across the channel into the markets of Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere. Ireland therefore had less than the produce of her own land to feed a population that was starving, and could have eaten more than the produce of that land, while her neighbours in England were sleek and well-fed. What was the reason? Certainly not, the difference of the land tenures, but the fact that England had her manufactures, while Ireland had none. It was by her manufactures that England (and Scotland too) fed her increasing population, and improvements in land and landtenures will be found to have resulted from not to have caused the progress of these manufactures. England is what she is solely in consequence of her manufactures. Her land-tenures at this day are entitled to no particular praise, and if they were just what they were a century ago, she would be just what she

is notwithstanding. The improvements in the art of agriculture are due to capital, little of which has been created by land, and to machinery, which has been applied to land as to every thing else.

There are few who will agree with the writer in the opinion that the destruction of the yeoman freeholds was a benefit or a mark of progress. Mr. Mill's opinion on the subject is given thus:—

'Whoever would study the reverse of the picture may compare these historic periods, characterized by the dismemberment of large and the construction of small properties, with the wide spread natural suffering which accompanied, and the permanent deterioration of the condition of the labouring classes which followed the 'clearing' away of small yeomen to make room for large grazing farms, which was the grand economical event of

'English history during the sixteenth century.'

A little lower down the writer states that 'before the passing 'of Act X. the cultivator's rent being unwisely limited to the ' pergunnah rate, the peasant paid the owner about an average of a 'rupee a beegha all over Bengal, and only produced beyond that 'enough for his own wants for fear of raising the pergunnah rate.' Before the enhancement law was worked in Nuddea, three to four annas was the pergunnah rate; will the writer tell us that the growing of such profitable crops as chillies and oil seeds, was producing only enough for their own wants beyond this three or four annas? The pergunnah rate was the same before these crops were introduced, yet the people must have had enough for their own wants even then. He continues :-- 'Now that he has 'got rights of occupancy given him with leave to underlet, he at once makes over his land to some other, universally on the 'tenure called 'Adhie.' This consists in the peasant landlord 'supplying the seed and lending the plough bullocks. 'tivator has to repay from the crop, first, twice the amount of 'seed supplied, then a certain proportion more for the loan of the 'bullocks, and lastly has to pay half the remainder of the crop 'for rent. Under this system of course the land has to be made 'to yield more than when it had only to support one cultivating 'family and to pay one rupee of rent, but the surplus produce is thus diverted to the support of a host of idle and useless ' middlemen, instead of going to the head landlord and thus put-'ting him in a condition to accumulate capital for the improve-'ment of the estate.' This might be all very well if it ever was asserted that the Bengal Zemindars during all those years that they were benefiting by the progressing prosperity of the country, pocketing a large share of the increase of the value of products

in the shape of cesses, abwabs, &c., ever devoted a single pice to They have hoarded or they have squandered improvement. according to their peculiar idiosyncracies, but expenditure on improvement has never been laid at their door. The epidemic fever that has been generated in the districts about Calcutta, solely on account of the want of the commonest sanitary regulations and the outlay of a little money, is proof positive on this point. No host of idle middlemen, (were we inclined, as we are not, to admit the creation of such) could be worse than these landlords. If middlemen were created in the way argued for, they would quickly become middlemen in another sense of the term, they would form a middle class, with time to devote to education, and the result would be the improvement of the people at large. If the system called by the writer 'Adhie' universally existed, and if under it the land was made to yield more than before, will it be regarded as a fault in Act X. that it has in this way, if in no other, given a stimulus to production? Allowing the inferences that the writer has deduced, we consider good rather than evil likely to be the result of the effects he has inferred.

In the sixth Chapter the writer argues that, by acknowledging any right of occupation in the rent, we acted as if the French were to conquer England and Ireland, and, in settling the land tenures of those countries, were to be guided by the claims of the descendants of those who were formerly dispossessed by the Saxon or Norman conquerers, and not by rights found existing. 'Mr. Grant,' he adds, 'and the other supporters of the peasant's 'right to be declared the landowner instead of the Zemindar, set 'up the same antiquated claims on behalf of the Bengal peasant. 'They were obliged to admit that, in the actual state of things as ' we found them, such rights were at least dormant if not obsolete, 'but this of course was attributed to the usurpation of the Zemin-'dars. The East India Company was urged by them to act on ' claims of right instead of on existing facts, and to declare the 'peasants of Bengal the landowners, dismissing the Zemindars, 'whom they called Tax-Collectors, with some pecuniary compen-'sation. A policy of the same kind was initiated in Oudh by 'Lord Dalhousie on the annexation of that country.' Against this, we will set the opinion of Mr. Mill, expressed as follows :--'It has been in general the very rational practice of the English 'Government in India to pay little regard to what was laid down 'as the theory of the native institutions, but to inquire into the 'rights which existed and were protected in practice, and to 'protect and enlarge those. For a long time, however, it blun-

'dered grievously about matters of fact, and grossly misunder-'stood the usages and rights which it found existing. Its mistakes ' arose from the inability of ordinary minds to imagine a state of 'social relations fundamentally different from those with which 'they are practically familiar.' Now, as Mr. Mill was not a man of Indian experience, he must have got his notions on this subject either from the professions of the Government, or from the representations of their opponents. In either case the opinion is valuable as an index of the policy which was professed, it is moreover in itself natural and reasonable. The policy of the Government was to settle the social condition of the empire on the basis of existing right. The difficulty was to ascertain those rights in a vast tract of country peopled by many races, speaking different languages, and ruled by the unwritten law of customs that varied in every district. To find out the tenures of England and Ireland would be a simple matter in comparison. There is much similarity every where,—and the statute-book of the present century can supply nearly all the information required. But when India fell into the hands of the English, there was no written law acknowledged as in force to be a guide in ascertaining rights acknowledged in practice; -years of misrule, strife, and anarchy had disordered every thing; and it would scarcely be too much to say that no one knew what his rights were. Then, amid this confusion, any attempt to discover the real state of things was rendered abortive, or nearly so, by falsehood and fraud, by forgery and perjury, and those entrusted with the task had, as yet, small training or experience, in the habits and manners of the people. Can any one then with reason consider that the Legislature of 1793 knew more about the people and their social condition than that of 1859? Or, would it not rather be a source of wonder, if those entrusted with the task of legislating for India, did otherwise than blunder for a long time about matters of fact, and grossly misunderstand the usages and rights which they found existing?

We now come to the remedies proposed by the writer. We shall give these in his own words:—'We would make,' says he, 'a general law applicable to every tenant's holding, where the 'landlord's property in the soil was absolute, and the tenant had no 'permanent rights either adverse to, or given him by the landlord. 'We would make an exceptional law applicable to every holding, 'where the tenant either had rights not derived from the landlord, 'or had permanent rights given him by the landlord and adverse 'to the landlord's absolute power over the land; and we would give 'either landlord or tenant of every holding under the exceptional

'law the power of forcing a division of that holding, each becoming the absolute owner under the general law of the portion of the holding allotted to him. We would give the absolute 'landlord, under the general law, uncontrolled power of raising the rent at will, and of summarily evicting his tenant on the expiry of his term, as well as summary power of recovering his rent by distraint, but would deprive him of all feudal power whatever over his tenant. \* \* \* \* We would limit the landlord's 'claim for rent from tenants of holdings under the exceptional 'law to one-fourth of the produce, with such customary feudal powers as existed in Bengal before Act X., for ascertaining and realising that proportion. We would make all such existing holdings permanent without reference to the lapse of time, and would ' give power to the landlord to create at will, but only by registra-'tion, new holdings of this exceptional character, and permanent from their creation, but would prevent any new rights of this 'kind from growing up against the landlord by limitation or 'prescription.' In Bengal under the reservation of 1793, the landlord's property in the soil is not absolute,—but this could be got over by Government giving up the power reserved. Does the writer mean by 'rights not derived from the landlord,' and permanent rights given by the landlord, and adverse to the landlord's absolute power over the land, such rights as are now in existence, or such as he contends should have alone been acknowledged. If the latter, what a field would be opened for fresh litigation, fresh perjury and forgery! If the former, then occupancy rights, istemraree and mokurreree tenures, and putnee holdings would all come within his definition. A common limit of one-fourth applied to all in common would breed, we apprehend, more disturbance than Act X. has yet done. The object of the writer is to make a landlord and a tenant class like those which exists in England; to make the right of the landlord over the soil as absolute as that of any owner of any other kind of property: and to leave to competition in the market to fix the price of land. With respect to the latter point, viz., the fixing of the rent or price of land by competition in the open market, we will speak when we come to the subject of enhancement. With respect to fixing an absolute ownership in the soil, in a landlord class, we candidly express it as our opinion that it is unsuited to India; and that the results of such a measure would be deplorable in the extreme to the country at large. The best political economists do not deny the fact that, where a landlord class exists, where land is owned by the few who do not cultivate it themselves, but exist in luxury on their rents, the labouring

classes never stand high in the social scale. England is herself a proof of this; but the tendency has in England stopped short of its possible results for many reasons. peculiar temperament of the Anglo-Saxon, indisposed to give himself up to idle ease, has prevented the landlord class from wasting in luxuries the capital made over to it in the shape of Trade and manufactures have given a suitable investment for this capital, and one suited above all to the restless energetic character of the race. Other sources of employment have thus been opened out both to landlords and tenants, to employers and labourers, which have prevented both classes from subsiding into the makers and receivers of rent. But India is wholly different. Her trade and manufactures are inconsiderable as compared with the millions to be affected by the law of the land. Since 1793 both law and custom have united to prevent Indian landlords appropriating in the shape of rent all that remained above the bare sustenance of their tenants. Had there been nothing to restrain them, there are few capable of forming an opinion on the subject, who do not know that nothing would have been left to the ryot except a bare sustenance, while all beyond that would have gone to the landlord class. There are countries, where this evil would have been productive of good, for what came to the landlords in this way would have become capital, which, finding employment in other channels beside agriculture, would have given employment to the superabundant agricultural population. Thus a sort of competition for labour would ensue, and those labourers, who, while employed in agriculture, could only obtain a bare subsistence, finding they could do better at other employments, would leave off cultivating the ground, and go where they could better themselves. The landlord class would then find that they would have to give better terms,—such terms, in fact, as would induce the tenant labourers to stay. But in India such a result would never ensue. The landlord class, like all Orientals, would spend on their pleasures, their selfishness, and their sensuality all that they could extract from the diggers of the soil. No improvements would be made; no capital would be accumulated; and any law tending to promote such a state of things would only stereotype in India the condition of society that has always existed in the East. Take away both law and custom, and leave the Indian landlord to extract what he can from the ryot, and no criminal laws that can ever be enacted will prevent the landlord from becoming a despot and the ryot worse off than a slave. The master of a slave will

feed his slave to enable him to do the work of which he (the master) is to receive all the profit, but the zemindar will leave nothing that he can take this year to keep the ryot alive till next year, confident that he can get some one to till the land every year, as the ryot has no other resource to obtain a livelihood. To speak more plainly, in nine-tenths of India, the ryot has no other occupation than that of tilling the soil. He cannot become a day labourer upon wages, for there is no one to employ and pay him. If he do not work at the land, he must starve. There is no poor law; no Relief Fund for him to look If then the owner of the land has his demands limited by neither law or custom, the cultivator must till the soil upon whatever terms the landlord chooses to make. These terms would include present food, or the mahajun would supply him with food till harvest, and when the harvest was gathered, the landlord might appropriate as much of it as he pleased. There would be nothing to hinder him from taking all that was left after paying for the food consumed up till the period of harvest. The ryot would thus be left in a starving condition till he could agree with some one else to feed him for his labour in helping to raise the next season's crops. Now it may be objected that this is an extreme picture, that if this ever occurred its effects would be to keep down population through disease and starvation to such limits as would necessitate the landowner's giving favourable terms. But population has exceeded these limits now, and the attempt to put things upon the footing we deprecate, before the reduction of population to these limits, could not but cause widespread misery. That, in the case stated, there would be a tendency to such results there is no denying; and such a tendency, so long as it continued in operation, must and would not only retard all progress, but would cause a retrograde move-What this writer advocates, if put in practice, would undoubtedly throw India farther back in ten years, than she has progressed during all the years of our rule. What is required to improve and civilize India is to raise the masses and to train them to the industrial virtues. In a country where so large a portion of the community is composed of the agricultural class, any law that produces those effects among the members of this class must be a good law for the community at large. We have pointed out above how the tenure given to the ryot under Act X. directly encourages industry and frugality by appealing both to the hopes and the fears of the peasant—his hopes, because he alone will enjoy all the benefit of his own abstinence-his fears,

because if he remain idle, he is liable to be evicted. We have attempted to point out how no such encouragement could exist under the system of landlord and tenant advocated by the

writer. On both points we shall have more to say.

We now come to the three fundamental axioms laid down by the writer. The first is that it is a fallacy to think that to raise the rent is oppression, but who has thought so? Act X. gives the power of raising the rent, legalizes such power. Surely then this fallacy cannot be attributed to Act X. The second axiom is that it is a fallacy to think that there can be any fair and equitable rate of rent except the market rate. We will admit this too, but it implies the existence of a market, and we shall shew that there is no market for land in India. The third axiom is that all legislative attempts to interfere between the owner of land and those who wish to cultivate that land, are necessarily futile for that purpose, and only effective to transfer the property in such land. This we deny in toto. It does not follow by any logical induction from the two previous axioms. And so far from being an axiom or self-evident proposition, we deny that it is capable of proof. As no attempt to prove it has been made, we shall make no attempt to disprove it directly, but we think that the sequel to this article will have that effect indirectly.

In the concluding chapter of the pamphlet, the writer states that the decision of the High Court in the great enhancement suit takes away the great objections he had to urge against Act X. Now if it be conceded, as it is not likely to be gainsaid, that the High Court has put a correct interpretation on the law, this is tantamount to admitting that those objections should not have been made against the law itself, but against the subordinate administrators of it. Now therefore that the law has at length been properly interpreted, even the writer is disposed to admit that it is not such a bad law after all. We think the 'philanthropic legislators' may even without their philanthropy accept this as the amende honorable for the preceding pages, but we think at the same time, if the writer's opinions were so utterly changed by the promulgation of the decision of the High Court, that it would have been wiser to have kept back his opinions and the recantation of them from the public; unless indeed he thought that, as the opinions had already appeared in print, it was due to his candour to publish his recantation with a simultaneous rehearsal of his error.

We shall continue this subject in a future Number, as much remains to be said with regard to several points in Act X., as to which the effect of the law has been greatly misunderstood.

ART. IV.—Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes of the years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, shewing the political and social condition of the English in India eighty years ago. By W. S. Seton-Karr, C. S. Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1864.

COME months ago, whilst Mr. Seton-Karr, the President of the Record Commission, was taking a preliminary survey of the Records preserved in the various public offices in Calcutta, he found in the Home Department a series of quarto volumes entitled the Calcutta Gazette and Advertiser, commencing as far back as the 4th of March 1784, when Mr. Warren Hastings was still Governor-General, and running on to the commence. ment of the present century, when the Marquis of Wellesley was completing the foundations of that great British Empire in India which Hastings had begun. It appears that this Calcutta Gazette was published by a Mr. F. Gladwin; and in the second number it was announced that the Governor-General in Council had permitted Mr. Gladwin to issue a Gazette under their sanction and authority; and that heads of offices were therefore to publish in this paper all such announcements and notifications as might be ordered on the part of the Honourable Company. The result was that a heterogenous mass of contemporary literature, belonging to the official and social life of Calcutta eighty years ago, has been preserved in one and the same serial, together with numberless curious and suggestive allusions to contemporary events which have long since become Mr. Seton-Karr now appears to have matters of history. examined the earlier volumes extending from 1784 to the end of 1788, and to have made such extracts as are likely to amuse and interest Anglo-Indians generally, as well as such English readers as pay attention to Indian affairs. extracts, however, form something more than a mere attractive and readable volume, inasmuch as the work supplies some valuable material to the future Macaulay of India. The days, when mere narratives of events, enlivened perhaps with characters of individuals, were dignified with the name of history, are fast passing away; and thus the pretentious histories of the last century have become insipid after the graphic pictures of Macaulay and Thackeray. In a word, the modern reader requires to be fami-

liarized with the habits and customs of the actors both on and off the stage, as well as with the life and manners of the audience. In this respect our Indian historians have been hitherto lamentably deficient, and but too often have attempted to construct ideas of India out of the depths of their moral consciousness, as the German drew the camel, instead of photographing the people and the scenery. Mr. Mill's history, for instance, is very philosophic, and adorns most of our libraries; but where is the man who reads off a chapter with the gusto with which he would peruse the third chapter of Macaulay? and how even the story of the famous trial of Warren Hastings fades away into weariness by the side of the life-like and graphic narrative of the trial of the seven Bishops. Yet one story is capable of the same artistic treatment as the other, and might equally excite the sympathies of the present generation; and surely Mill might have invested such characters as Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, with at least the same interest as Macaulay has invested such men as Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Somers. But the fact is that Mill had never set foot in India, and was as incapable of judging of the conduct of Warren Hastings, as he was of apprehending the character of Native Princes; whilst his notions of Anglo-Indian society were gathered, not from any personal experience of Madras or Calcutta, but from the exaggerated accounts current at the time.

Mr. Seton-Karr's work thus fills up a void. It furnishes us with a pleasant view of Calcutta society, when our grandfathers were still young gentlemen in cocked hats, and our grandmothers were young ladies with elaborately dressed hair; and it deepens our historical impressions of the period when English Officers were still pining in the cruel dungeons of Tippoo at Bangalore; when a French Army was serving under the Nizam; when the Mahrattas were masters from Guzerat to Cuttack, and from Delhi to Mysore; and when the whole European community in India were occasionally thrown into fits of alarm, lest the British dominion should be overwhelmed by a confederacy of

Hyder, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

Whilst thus brightening up such notions of Indian History as we may have derived from Mr. Mill's elaborate narrative, the Selections before us exhibit a curious and faithful picture of Anglo-Indian life at head quarters; of balls and theatricals, masquerades and concerts, assemblies and races, reigning toasts, bloody duels, and runaway slaves. In truth, it was a strange time, and strangely is it brought before our eyes in this motley chronicle. Suttees, comedies, a revolution at Delhi, a song

written by a European in Tippoo's prison at Bangalore, a notice of fifty people being found dead after a heavy rain on the road between Chowringhee and Russapugla, dacoits, addresses to Warren Hastings, addresses by Sir William Jones, burglaries, auctions, official notifications, raffles, houses to let, advertisements of hair dressers, riding masters, fencers, new books, and past or coming festivities,—all follow one another in endless variety, and many of them call up pleasant pictures of Calcutta society, and its effusive convivialities, in days which have long passed out of the memory of man. Before, however, attempting to describe the varied contents of these old world annals, we propose to test the value of the work as a repertoire of historical materials, and ascertain for ourselves how far Mr. Seton-Karr has added to the attractions of Anglo-Indian history.

The Gazette begins just when the administration of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings was drawing to a close; and a review of the Indian career of this famous personage, spreading as it does over a period of some thirty-four years, would form a fitting introduction to the perusal of Mr. Seton-Karr's Selections. This, however, has been so elaborately executed by Macaulay, that we need do little more than note the salient points. Warren Hastings landed at Calcutta in the year 1750, and in the seventeenth year of his age. At that time the British Empire in India had literally no existence whatever. The East India Company possessed three extensive fortified factories respectively at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each of which was the centre of other factories, from which cottons and other commodities were received for exportation to Europe, and through which coloured broad cloths, steel goods, and other European manufactures were sold to the neighbouring zemindars and military officers. Trade was thus the sole occupation of the Company's servants; and the transactions of the Calcutta settlers with the native powers were confined to keeping on good terms with the Nabob of Bengal, and in doing the best that could be done towards defending the settlement at Calcutta against any stray incursion of the Mahrattas, who, both at that time, and for a long period before and after, were a terror throughout India, and were just as threatening in the direction of Fort St. George and Bombay Castle, as in the neighbourhood of that mysterious Mahratta Ditch, which our predecessors created but a little more than a century ago somewhere about the Circular Road, but of which not a vestige now remains. A war, however, between the English settlers at Madras, and the French settlers at Pondicherry, had already commenced in the south of India, in

which the rival Merchant Companies appeared as supporters of rival claimants for the so-called thrones of the Nizam of the Dekkan and Nabob of the Carnatic, and in which young Captain Clive gained his first laurels. In 1756, after six years' service in Bengal factories, Hastings learnt his first lesson in native poli-He had had some preliminary training in the Secretary's office in the Calcutta Fort. Thence he had been appointed to the factory in the neighbourhood of Moorshedabad, the residence of the Nabob of Bengal. In 1756, a young Nabob, at once childish and vicious, succeeded to the Government of Bengal. ignorant Princeling hated the English and longed to plunder Calcutta, and accordingly soon picked a quarrel with the English authorities. Suddenly he fell upon the defenceless factory in his neighbourhood, and Hastings found himself a prisoner. diately afterwards he marched on Calcutta, and whilst some of the English escaped on board the shipping in the river, the remainder were thrust into the dungeon known as the Black Hole, and were nearly all stifled to death in one terrible night in June.

If we were reviewing the life of Warren Hastings, instead of merely indicating the salient points in the early history of Calcutta, we should dwell upon the peculiar training which the young Civilian underwent at this period; a training which so strangely resembles that of more than one young Officer during the Mutiny of 1857. Being a prisoner at large, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nabob's Court, he became transformed in a few hours from a Merchant's Clerk to a Political Agent. He dispatched information to the Calcutta exiles who had escaped to a small Island at the mouth of the Hooghly; and he was admitted into that secret conspiracy which terminated in the dethronement and death of the Nabob, and

the ascendancy of the English in Bengal.

It was at this eventful epoch that Calcutta first began to assume the size and magnificence of an English city. At the time of the Black Hole tragedy in 1756 there existed the Fort, with a Church and large warehouses; but the houses belonging to the English were only seventy in number, and mostly lined the banks of the river. The native town lay, as at present, on the side further up the river; and the site now covered by the Esplanade, the Maidan, and Chowringhee, was a jungle, only partially cleared to make room for a few groups of huts thatched with straw after the same wretched fashion which still prevails in some of the purlieus of Calcutta, with here and there a few patches of grazing and arable land. Of course, during the rains,

the whole was interspersed with pools of stagnant water, and a deadly malaria was exhaled, which scattered fever and dysentery in all directions. The state of society under these conditions exhibited the striking contrast between the English and the Natives. On the one hand the Europeans but too often sought to shut their eyes to their danger by drinking and feasting, though, at a later date, they began to clear away the jungle and do something towards drainage. The natives on the other hand were as superstitious as in any other part of India, and practised in all their naked deformity those darker Turanian rites and sacrifices which are connected with the worship of Kali, and which belong to what may be called the primitive formation of Hindoo mythology, and can be traced back to a period when the more civilised

worship of Vishnu and Siva was utterly unknown.

In the year 1772, just sixteen years after the Black Hole tragedy, Warren Hastings was appointed, after twenty-two years' distinguished service, to be Governor of Bengal. The factory had become the seat of an empire. After a few unsuccessful efforts to find a Nabob who could protect the country as well as squander its revenues, Clive had cut the knot by reducing the Nabob to a pageant, and taking Bengal, Behar, and Orissa under the Company's rule. The British now ranked as one of the great powers in India. The area of British rule was bounded on the north by Nepal and Bootan; and on the east it was separated from Burmah by a number of independent and barbarous tribes, who now, under British rule, are being converted, not to Christianity, but to Hindooism. West and south, however, lay those great powers which our forefathers held in partial dread. The large native State of Oude, which lay immediately on the western frontier of the British dominion, and which the Directors at home had fondly hoped might be converted into a rampart against the Mahrattas, was indeed fast sinking into that condition of effeminacy, weakness, and grinding oppression which invariably characterizes the rule of all Hindoo and Mussulman States under British protection, unless that protection is accompanied by an intervention of a somewhat more active form than mere advice or remonstrance. But still there were three powers, of no older date than the English Company, that were at times regarded with serious alarm. The Mahrattas, under different and not unfrequently conflicting rulers, were virtually the dominant power over that large territory which stretched from Oude in a south and westerly direction towards the Malabar Coast; and, indeed, would have been the masters of the Dekkan but for the Nizam; and masters of the whole Southern Peninsula, but for the

presence of Hyder in Mysore. Thus three great powers appeared prepared to contest with the English for the possession of India. namely, the Mahrattas, the Mussulman Nizam of the Dekkan. and the Mussulman freebooter named Hyder, who had managed to secure possession of the Hindoo kingdom of Mysore. Division was the source of the weakness of the Native powers, and, but for their constant wars and intrigues against each other, the English would have been unable to maintain their hold in Bengal. Thus even supposing that the Mahrattas had formed a united confederacy; that the Peshwa had been on terms of real union with Scindia, Holkar, and the Bhonslas of Nagpore; yet under these circumstances they could only bully from a distance and demand chout, for the moment a Mahratta army entered Bengal, the Nizam and Hyder might each be severally or jointly prepared to wipe off old scores by the invasion of the Mahratta territory. So too, if Hyder invaded the Carnatic, the Mahrattas would be on the move for Seringapatam and Bangalore; and the moment that the Nizam thought fit to help Hyder, another Mahratta army of marauders would be marching towards Hyderabad. Warren Hastings was thus compelled nolens volens to adopt a secret and intriguing policy, which appears to us so undignified, and which appeared to the public at home so reprehensible. The principle of non-intervention was even more impossible of realisation in India than in Europe. Bengal was a rich and highly coveted territory, and there was nothing but fear of resistance from the Company's troops, or the influence of the fears already indicated, to prevent the advance of a Mahratta army at any moment. The theory of a balance of power was equally inapplicable, inasmuch as treaties with native powers had no intrinsic force; and no native ruler could understand our wanting an alliance with him, unless we were prepared to help him against some enemy with whom we wished also to be friends. Thus the Nizam was prepared to swear eternal friendship with the English, and at the same time to join Hyder in invading the Carnatic; whilst Hyder would only accept our friendship on the terms that we should assist him in fighting the Mahrattas. The policy of Hastings which Mill has represented as so dark and tortuous, and which Macaulay has represented as a mere matter of money, thus becomes clear and intelligible. He had to maintain as large a standing army as possible without bearing too heavily upon the revenues of Bengal, and therefore he quartered as many forces as he could upon the Nabob Vizier of Oude. He had to defend the territory of Oude, which the Nabob Vizier was incapable of doing for himself, and this was another valid reason for maintaining troops in that quarter. He had also, if possible, to keep his three enemies at a distance without committing himself to offensive and defensive alliances, and therefore he carried on a secret correspondence with agents in all directions, in order that he might be fully informed of all intrigues threatening a confederacy against the English, and be able to counteract them by exciting the fears of one or other of the confederate powers. That some of the measures of Warren Hastings were unjustifiable cannot be denied, but should ever the whole truth come to light, it will be found that his errors chiefly arose from the fact that in the earlier part of his administration he was deceived and victimized by the Nabob Vizier, that in the notable instance of squeezing money out of the Begums he was nothing

more than a cat's paw.

Whilst Calcutta had been thus transformed from a mere trading settlement into the capital of an empire, and whilst the Directors of a Company of Merchants began to rank as a sovereign power, the changes in the Company's servants were The chief factors and merchants in the olden stranger still. time had lived in a style of commercial splendour and respectability on the banks of the Hooghly, and had occasionally indulged in public and private entertainments, and in junkettings on the river; whilst from their various adventures to China and the Islands, and the private inland trade which they enjoyed between Calcutta and the various ports up the river, they were generally enabled to amass, after a series of years, a very respectable fortune, and return home in peace and competency. But from the hour when Clive avenged on the plain of Plassey the outrage committed in the Black Hole, all was changed. One Nabob was changed after another, and at every revolution large sums fell into the hands of the principal merchants who served as Members of Council; whilst the inland trade became a gigantic monopoly, in which writers could save within a very few years fortunes equal to those which the merchants of the olden time had only been able to secure after a long period of servitude. Within a few years afterwards, when men who came out as merchants' clerks, were employed to collect the revenues, and otherwise administer the affairs of an empire, the additional prizes of corruption and perquisites were so enormous, that almost every man was tainted with the evil spirit. Meantime, the most absurd notions of the wealth of India began to spread in England; and every impoverished member of the aristocracy was anxious to send

out a son or near kinsman to Madras or Bengal. Young men with expensive tastes, but previously without the means for gratifying them, suddenly found themselves in this unhealthy capital with resources which seemed inexhaustible, and were impelled by the force of example, and by the extravagant charges which prevail in this most expensive city, to live at a rate which would have almost exhausted any resources, however large. In addition to this evil, Calcutta was already a Metropolis, and consequently the seat of Government, and seat of patronage and pleasure. Civil and Military Officers posted at distant stations in the Mofussil, where it was only too easy to hoard up rupees, and next to impossible to spend them, were but too glad to escape occasionally from the solitude of an isolated factory or cutcherry, to spend a few weeks of wasteful profusion and high living amidst the gaieties and dissipation of Calcutta. Against this universal extravagance the Directors at home preached and blustered in vain; for, with strange, though not uncommon inconsistency, the very men who were the loudest in enforcing economy and reducing salaries, were the men who in this country had enjoyed the most lucrative posts and realised the most princely fortunes. Sumptuary laws were productive of the usual results, aggravating the evil they were intended to cure. We shall see that at one time it was enacted that no Company's servant should be permitted to resign the service who could not swear that his private fortune was under a certain amount; a rule which seemed almost to promote wastefulness, inasmuch as it required those who wished to evade the law to get rid of any objectionable surplus before taking the oath.

With this preliminary sketch of the state of affairs in Bengal about eighty years ago, we proceed to review specially the subject matter in the Gazettes, extending from the beginning of 1784 to the end of 1788. The turbulent period of Warren Hastings' administration had passed away. He had no longer any opponents in Council, and even his inveterate enemy, Philip Francis, had returned to England, there, however, to gratify his implacable malice and passion for revenge. The great native confederacy which had threatened to overwhelm the English power had done its worst, but had now been broken up by the able diplomacy and energetic action of Warren Hastings. The danger, however, had really been of a most serious character, for the union of the great Native Chiefs had been almost accomplished. It had been arranged about the year 1779 that Hyder was to invade the Carnatic, whilst the Nizam entered the Northern Circars;

and that the Mahrattas of Poona were to threaten Bombay, whilst those of Nagpore entered Bengal and demanded chout. Hyder carried out his share of the arrangement by ravaging the Carnatic up to the very walls of Fort St. George. The Nizam dilly-dallied, but the Mahrattas were on the move. In that hour of extreme peril Hastings proved himself fully equal to the emergency. He dispatched Sir Eyre Coote against Hyder, and thus both checked the Mysore usurper and overawed He dispatched General Goddard through the heart of Hindoostan to hem in the Mahrattas of Poona. Meantime a large army of the Nagpore Mahrattas had invaded Cuttack, and were encamped in English territory; but Hastings sent a secret mission to the Rajah of Nagpore, and induced him to recall his forces from Cuttack and to withdraw from the confe-In the year 1784, which is now under review, Hyder was dead, and peace was concluded with his son Tippoo. The Nizam had settled down into a life of pleasure, and appeared to have forgotten the ambitious schemes in which he had erewhile indulged. The Mahrattas agreed to terms of alliance, and for some years all was quiet and apparently secure, and the British power was respected and feared. The one plague spot in India was Oude, and there every evil which can possibly exist under oriental rule, had gathered to a head under British protection; and there it has continued to fester, until annexation became the only remedy for evils too great for any people to bear. Accordingly, early in 1784, Hastings determined on paying one last visit to the Nabob Vizier. He left Calcutta on the 17th February, and on the 27th March arrived at Lucknow. What transpired there is foreign to our purpose; but with the Gazette before us we can see what was the external appearance of Calcutta at the time.

During the absence of Warren Hastings, Mr. Wheler, a Member of Council, appears to have officiated as head of the Government. In March 1784 a great lottery was advertised of 400 tickets, at Rs. 100 each, with jewels for prizes, which is subsequently said to have been highly successful. A Mr. Tom Fatt, a Chinaman, also advertised the somewhat incongruous professions of clearing out tanks and making loaf sugar. In April Mr. Wheler gave a public breakfast at the Court House, after which he laid the first stone of St. John's Church, with the usual ceremonies. Next we learn that "Hamlet" was performed at the Calcutta Theatre with great applause. In May a commercial mission to Thibet vid Bootan was projected and announced. The same month it was announced that the prisoners, who had been confined by Tippoo with the utmost cruelty at Bangalore, consisting of

eleven hundred Europeans and between two and three thousand Sepoys, had finally been released; and a subscription was immediately opened at the Bengal Bank for the relief of the sufferers. In June news arrived overland viâ Bussorah, that Mr. Fox had introduced his new India Bill, a proceeding which of course created great excitement. In July Lieutenant White died of a wound which he had received in a duel the preceding afternoon. The same month the Chaplains of the Presidency announced that, as the existing undertaker had neglected his duty, they had determined to support a Mr. James Palmer, who resided near Cossitollah, and in another advertisement Mr. Palmer gladdened the hearts of the Calcutta public with the news that he had 'laid 'in a stock of new and elegant coffin furniture.' In August appeared a poetical epistle from a lady in Calcutta to a friend in England, from which we make the following extract as descriptive of Calcutta life:—

Dear — down I'm set,

'Here to discharge my scribbling debt.
'How shall I paint the plagues I bore,
'To reach this so-much-talk'd-of shore;

'What hours of sickness, spleen, and hip,

'Pent in that odious thing, a ship;

'What rocks and storms to raise one's fear, 'What broad discourse constrain'd to hear,

'With calms and swells so teazed and tumbled,
'With such strange folks together jumbled!

'Well, thank my stars! those plagues are past,

'A social air I breathe at last.
'A little close I must confess 'tis,

'Where Sol's broad beam a constant guest is.
'And yet, dear girl! this place has charms,

'Such as my sprightly bosom warms!

'No place, where at a bolder rate,

'We females bear our sovereign state. Beauty ne'er points its arms in vain,

'Each glance subdues some melting swain.

'Tis true the foe's not very stout,
'Nor form'd to hold a combat out;
'So flimsy this exhausted race is,

'Threadpaper forms, and parchment faces.

'But stay, let me reserve my rhyme, 'To shew you how I spend my time.

'After a sultry restless night,

'Tormented with the hum and bite

'Of pois'nous insects out of number,

'That here infest one's midnight slumber,

'I rise fatigued, almost expended,

'Yet suddenly when breakfast's ended,

'Away we hurry with our fops

'To rummage o'er the Europe shops:

'And when of caps and gauze we hear,

'Oh! how we scramble for a share!

'Then should some two with keen desire

'The self-same lace or fringe admire;

What sharp contention, arch remarks,

'Whilst tremb'ling wait our anxious sparks.

'What smart rejoinders and replies,

'Whilst lightnings flash from gentle eyes:

'Let Prudes declaim on ease and grace,

'This animates a charming face,

'This sets the blood in circulation,

'And gives the town some conversation.

'At table, next, you'd see us seated,

'In liberal style with plenty treated.

'Near me a gentle swain, with leave

'To rank himself my humble slave.

'Well, here I know I'm at my task,
'Ten thousand things I know you'd ask,

'As " what's his shape, his size, his face?"

'His mind and manners next you'd trace.

'His purse, dear girl; the custom here

'First points to that; so en Premier

'A Chief, my Strephon was before,

'At some strange place that ends with pore.

'Where dext'rously he swell'd his store

'Of lacks, and yet is adding more.'

Immediately after the poetry the public are informed that the comedy of the 'Clandestine Marriage' had been performed to a very full house with great applause, and that they intended bringing out the 'Merchant of Venice.' In September the subscribers to the Calcutta Assembly arranged for a series of entertainments to commence in November. The doors were to be opened at half-past seven in the evening, the minuettes were to commence at half-past eight; supper was to be served at half-past ten; and dancing was to commence immediately after

supper: two country dances and a cotillon being continued alternately through the evening: no hookahs were to be admitted upstairs. In October Mr. Wheler died. In November Mr. Warren Hastings returned to Calcutta, and on the 9th December gave a public dinner, followed by a Ball, in honour of

His Majesty's Birthday.

The great event at the commencement of 1785 was the final departure of Warren Hastings to England, previous to which a great meeting was held at the Harmonic Tavern to present him with an address, which was subsequently duly presented and graciously received. Mr. Hastings was succeeded by Mr. Macpherson as Governor-General, and Mr. Macpherson commenced the task of reduction and economy with all the gust of an immaculate statesman on large pay; and as a preliminary it was announced that any Civil Servants who liked might return to England for three years on half pay, and at the end of that period, if they did not wish to return to Bengal on the reduced rates of salary, they were graciously permitted to resign the service. No man, however, was to leave for England unless he previously declared upon oath that his fortune did not exceed the undermentioned sums:—

 Senior Merchant
 ...
 ...
 Rs. 28,000

 Junior Merchant
 ...
 ...
 ,...
 24,000

 Factor
 ...
 ...
 ,...
 19,200

For those servants who are thrown out of employ through the abolition of their offices, the following allowances were to be granted:—

Senior Merchant, not married ... Rs. 800 per mensem.
Ditto, married ... , 1,000 ,,
Junior Merchant, not married ... ,, 600 ,,
Ditto, married ... ... ,, 800 ,,
Factor, not married, and quarters ... ,, 300 ,,
Ditto, married, and quarters ... ,, 500 ,,

These allowances were subsequently disallowed by the Court of Directors as being too liberal. No senior merchant was to be allowed more than £400 per annum, no junior merchant more than £300, and no factor or writer more than £200, and, moreover, the interest of their private fortune was appropriated towards making up these small amounts of pension.

Shortly afterwards the following rates of passage and accommodation were laid down for the voyage out and home, and these rates were not to be exceeded, or any further gratuity

given, directly or indirectly.

For every Cadet enterta				
mander's table, by the				-
sent or the Company's	s order		£	60
For Writers, Lieutenants,	and En	signs,	each "	80
For Factors and Captains	•••	•••	,, ,,	100
For Senior and Junior	Merchant	s and	Ma-	
jors, &c			*** 33	100
For a Lieutenant-Colonel	•••	•••	*** 19	120
For a Member of Council, of	or Colone	l	*** ))	150
For a General Officer	•••	•••	••• ,,	200

Any Commander taking a further sum than here laid down, was to forfeit treble the amount, and the fine was to be paid over to

the Poplar Hospital.

In February 1785 a suttee took place near Chandernagore. The horrible story is recorded at length in the Gazette, but we need not notice the particulars, which are all of the usual character; a poor girl terrified into submitting to her fate in that agonizing moment when she has just lost her husband, then intoxicated with bhang and adorned with flowers, and finally bound to stakes and burnt alive.

Meantime the reduction of salaries seems to have created much uneasiness, but for some months masquerades and entertainments seem to have been as numerous as before. There was, however, an outcry against the increased rates of wages granted to domestic servants, and the rates of 1754 were compared with those of 1785 as follows:—

'Copy of rates of wages recommended by the zemindars of 'Calcutta to the President and Council, for their approbation 'and concurrence, in the year 1754—

'Messrs, Bechar, Frankland, and Holwell, zemindars.

			Rs.	As.
'Consumah	***	•••	5	0
'Chobdar	• • •	***	5	0
'Head cook	•••	•••	5	0
' Coachman	•••		5	0
' Head female servant	•••	•••	5	0
'Jemadar		***	4	0
'Khidmutgar			3	0
'Cook's first mate	•••	•••	3	0
' Head bearer	•••	•••	3	0
'Second female servant	•••	•••	3	0
' Peons		•••	2	8
' Bearers		•••	2	8
'Washerman to a family	y	•••	3	0

'Washerman to a single gentleman       1       8         'Syce        2       0         'Mushalchee        2       0         'Shaving barber        1       8         'Hair-dresser        1       8         'House mally        2       0         'House mally        2       0         'Harry-woman to a family        2       0         'Ditto to a single gentleman        1       0         'Wet-nurse        4       0         'Dry-nurse        4       0         'Consumah        10       to         'Consumah        10       to         'Cook's mate        6       to         'Coachman        10       to         'Jemadar        8       to         'Khidmu				Rs.	As.			
'Syce        2 0         'Mushalchee        2 0         'Shaving barber        1 8         'Hair-dresser        1 8         'Khurtchburdar        2 0         'House mally        2 0         'Grass-cutter        1 4         'Harry-woman to a family        2 0         'Ditto to a single gentleman        1 0         'Wet-nurse        4 0         Present monthly wages in Calcutta (1785.)       Sicca Rs.         'Consumah        10 to 20         'Chobdar        6 to 8         'Head cook         15 to 30         'Cook's mate        6 to 12         'Coachman        10 to 20         'Jemadar        8 to 15         'Khidmutgar        6 to 8         'Head bearer        4 0         'Peon        4 to 6         'Washerman to a family        15 to 20         'Ditto to a single gentleman        6 to 8         'Syce        5 t	· Washerman to a	single gentlema	n	1	8			
'Mushalchee        2 0         'Shaving barber        1 8         'Hair-dresser        1 8         'Khurtchburdar        2 0         'House mally        2 0         'Grass-cutter        1 4         'Harry-woman to a family        2 0         'Ditto to a single gentleman        1 0         'Wet-nurse        4 0         'Present monthly wages in Calcutta (1785.)       Sicca Rs.         'Consumah        10 to 20         'Chobdar        6 to 8         'Head cook         15 to 30         'Coachman        10 to 20         'Jemadar        8 to 15         'Khidmutgar        6 to 8         'Head bearer        6 to 10         'Bearer        4 0         'Peon        4 to 6         'Washerman to a family        15 to 20         'Ditto to a single gentleman        6 to 8         'Syce        5 to 6         'Grass-cutter								
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In September 1786 the Earl Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta and took up the office of Governor-General. The Gazette this year is by no means of a cheerful character. The impeachment of Warren Hastings had commenced at home, and created great excitement in Bengal. The Nawab of Bengal visited the Governor-General at Calcutta, and was shewn over the Fort, on which occasion a shell burst to the temporary disquiet of the illustrious

party, but seems to have caused no particular damage. The Nawab subsequently gave an entertainment in return at his house in Chitpore. Dramatic performances and assemblies appear to have continued; but the advertisements are more than ever taken up with houses to let, at sums varying from Rs. 300 and 400 per mensem to Rs. 800 and 900, as though people in general were becoming more economical, and left off residing in such large dwellings.

In 1787 we have an address delivered at the opening of the Sessions by Sir William Jones, which would be just as applicable to the state of affairs now as it was to the state of

things then. We give the notification in full:-

'The Sessions opened at the Supreme Court on Saturday last, when Sir William Jones delivered the charges to the Grand Jury in a very eloquent speech, replete with humanity and sound sense. He pointed out the extremely deficient state of the Police in Calcutta, and adverted to the instance of a Greek merchant, who not long ago was desperately assaulted by four ruffians in masks, none of whom had yet been apprehended. The number of arrack shops and the houses of the thannadars (which, he had been told, were the receptacle of gamesters and drunkards,) he considered as amongst the principal causes of the number of thefts and murders which swelled the calendar.

'He mentioned how little the evidence of the lower natives could be depended on, and recommended the most solemn form possible for administering oaths, and wished that offenders, upon conviction of perjury, might be most severely punished, as an example to others.

'He concluded by recommending to the Jury to enquire into any complaints against the Jailor for cruelty or oppression in loading them with irons, or extorting money, that no reproach

'might lie against Government or the Nation, and to render the 'loss of liberty as light as possible.'

The same year a new pucka bazaar was completed in Fort William. The old bazaar must have been a nice place if one

may judge from the following description:—
'The plan of a new pucka bazaar in Fort William, as intended
'by Sir John Macpherson, and laid out by the Chief Engineer,
'is now completed, with many extensive improvements under

the eye of the Commandant, whose cares seem to extend to the repair of every defect, and the correction of every abuse within the Garrison. The new shops in this bazaar are all registered.

'and the tariff of rates so precisely fixed, and under such 'nice checks, as to prevent every imposition of the native; 'none are retained in it without a special license of the Commandant, and previously subscribing to all the rules and 'restrictions within which he has thought proper to confine 'their conduct.

'The old bazar, composed of an irregular and confused heap of straw huts, not only collected filth and threatened contagion, but proved in fact an asylum for every thief that escaped the hands of justice in Calcutta: robberies were of course daily committed, without the possibility of detection, and the servants of Officers corrupted and seduced either by example, or the easy opportunities offered them of disposing of the property of their masters; while a dark arcanum of roguery was to be met with in every corner of the bazaar, and an alchymist ready, who could, without any decomposition of its parts, convert, by a few strokes of the hammer, a silver spoon into a pair of bracelets in a trice.

'All the straw chappers\* in Garrison have been levelled, and, 'it is said, the demolition of several other posts and temporary 'places erected for the use of the Engineers is in comtempla-

'tion, as being of no real benefit to the Service.'

This year there was a tremendous storm, which is described at full length, but for which we must refer the reader to the Selections. Indeed it is scarcely necessary for us to indicate more than the character of the subject matter, whilst it would be impossible to exhaust the numerous and varied topics which are started on every page. There are, however, some points deserving of notice. Thus, amidst the polish which characterised society, and the evident taste which prevailed for books, pictures, and the drama, the general ignorance and credulity are truly surprising. Fancy a paragraph like the following appearing in a modern Calcutta newspaper:—

'Whether a want of curiosity, or a neglect to communicate what is deemed generally known, has occasioned the silence of travellers, we know not; our readers, however, may be many of them ignorant, that at Oudh, near Fyzabad, is a tomb of

Seth, (Adam's third son,) twelve feet long.

'Sujah Dowlah's father repaired the tomb, and one of Job's, 'adjoining it. Not more than a mile from these tombs, is a 'fragment of Noah's Ark; perhaps by examining the wood, 'whether of Oak or Teak, we can ascertain whereabout it was

'built, or discover a timber for ship-building more durable than 'either of these.

'The man who preserved these antiquities enjoys a jaghire, which has devolved to him from a thousand generations.'

Again, how our predecessors in this malarious City of Palaces managed to go through such a round of night dissipation seems a True, we may gather that the exhausted race of beaux with their 'threadpaper forms and parchment faces,' were no favourable specimens of manhood, but how such exhausted characters could manage to attend such balls and masquerades, assemblies, harmonic meetings, and theatres, after a heavy day's work, seems a marvel to a generation that goes to sleep as soon after nine o'clock in the evening as can be conveniently managed. But it seems that the social habits of that period were altogether different from our own; then people dined at one, or two o'clock in the day, and enjoyed a comfortable siesta afterwards, so as to wake up fresh for a ride or drive, a little dance or supper, and then the customary midnight jol-Thus the Secretariat Offices opened at nine o'clock lification. in the morning, and were closed at twelve o'clock or half-past one in the middle of the day, according to the season; and then if there remained any further work to be done, it was done in the evening, and on dispatch nights every office in Calcutta Whether the unfortunate officials of the present was alive. generation, wearied with the constant exercise of the brain in a heated temperature, would not be all the better for early dinners and light siestas, is a question which we leave to the faculty to solve. Could we become a Viceroy for a few hours, as Abou Hassan was a Caliph for a day, we, too, would try the effect of opening offices from seven or eight to twelve or one, rather than from ten to four or five; and leave extra work for the evening. Judging from the mortality which still prevails, we are doubtful whether the brain work of the present day be not more injurious to health and happiness, than the undue conviviality of society eighty years ago. At any rate, we trust that the day is not far distant when our social economists may succeed in discovering the happy mean.

One point more we may mention, and then our task is done. In August 1788 the news of the Revolution at Delhi was published in the Gazette. This story is half forgotten now, or is only obscurely alluded to in the pages of the historian. The Gazette account is also very imperfect, but a detailed and authentic narrative may be found in a journal drawn up in

Persian by an eye-witness, and translated by Jonathan Scott: and whilst reflecting on the state of European society eighty years ago, it may not be amiss to glance at the horrors which were transpiring under native rule during that fearful interval of anarchy, when the Empire of India was passing away from its former possessors. The unhappy Mogul Emperor, Shah Alum, had for years been a mere puppet in the hands of Scindia, but about this period Scindia had driven the Rajpoot Chiefs into an insurrection, and a savage Rohilla chief, named Gholaum Kadir, marched to Delhi and subjected the unhappy Emperor and his family to the most grievous afflictions. The inner apartments of the harem were ransacked; the ladies were scourged with whips; princes were beaten with clubs; and Gholaum Kadir stabbed out the eyes of Shah Alum with his own dagger; whilst Princesses and others died of sheer starvation. The subsequent revenge which was exacted for these cruelties was even more horrible than the original outrages. The acts of Gholaum Kadir strengthened the hands of Scindia, who thereupon returned to Delhi, and mutilated the chief in a manner so horrible that we shall not describe it, and then sent the unhappy wretch to Shah Alum, but the latter fortunately died before reaching his destination. But this second revolution afforded but little relief to the unfortunate Shah Alum. He lived for many years afterwards in utter blindness and hopeless misery under the doubtful protection of the Mahrattas, until rescued by Lord Lake in 1803.

Such was India in the olden time, and we can only express the hope that a few more publications similar to that of Mr. Seton-Karr may appear in due course; so that in time the history of India may cease to be a mere narrative of forgotten campaigns, and become a faithful picture of that Native and European life, which is fast passing away, as well as a just exponent of that generous line of policy which has continued with but few breaks

down to our own time.

ART. V.-1. Can India be colonized by Europeans?
Reports from the Select Committee on Colonization and
Settlement (India); with the Minutes of Evidence taken
before them: 1858.

2. Could the Natives of a Temperate Climate colonize and increase in a Tropical Country, and vice versâ? By Arthur S. Thomson, M. D. Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for 1843.

3. A Brief Review of the means of preserving the Health of European Soldiers in India. By Norman Chevers, M. D. Indian Annals of Medical Science: 1859.

4. On Ethno-Climatology; or the Acclimatization of Man. By James Hunt, Ph. D., in the Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Manchester in September 1861.

5. Introduction to Anthropology. By Dr. Theodore Waitz. Edited by J. Frederick Collingwood, 1863.

THE question—Is it physically possible to colonize India by Europeans? comes home, in some way or other, to the feelings or the interests of every man dwelling between Cape Comorin and Peshawur. The enterprising speculator, the world's pioneer, seeks in Assam and Cachar, in the Dhera of the Dhoon, upon the slopes of the Himalayas, of the Neilgherries and the Shevaroy Hills, for lands, which, although now waste and of low value, promise, hereafter, under the skilled labour of the British agriculturist, to become the sites of such tea plantations as China never saw, and of cinchona forests, in comparison with which the ill-regulated and failing bark-supplies of the Peruvian Andes will be but as withered leaves and rotten wood. The English mother, as she gazes—how possibly for the last time in this life on the sweet little white face and tearful eyes of him who, yesterday, was the tyrant and the darling of a Mofussil bungalow or a Calcutta mansion, now ranged with some fifty other troubled little white faces down at the Outer Floating Light, around the tables of our Toynbees and our Daniells, turns away from the fatherly assurance of the kind seaman's voice, and sobs, 'Has God set apart no place in India, where my child might 'live?' Our Government—deeply conscious of the terrible fact that, in their European Army stationed here, every regiment has

lost, by death, on an average, a company,—one bayonet in every ten,—every twenty months during the last hundred years,—is earnest in seeking out cool and elevated spots, where their troops may be advantageously posted out of the fierce rays of the sun

and above the range of the deadly fever-steam.

It is known to this benevolent Government that, in the barracks of the Plains, the mortality among their soldiers' children, of pure European race, more than trebles that frightful deathrate which prevails among the infants of the poor at home. They, therefore, at the instigation of Henry Lawrence, maintain schools for soldiers' children at Sanawur, Murree, Mount Aboo, and Ootacamund, and are, we believe, deeply solicitous to save many more of these little brands from the burning, and to rear them in the Hills to become, hereafter, wielders of their fathers' arms.

The same Government, perceiving how greatly the extensive introduction and wide diffusion of an European industrial element in India would tend to develop the vast and still almost uncomputed resources of this country, equally to the benefit of the natives and of ourselves, seek anxiously to ascertain whether there are not extensive tracts of country in the three Presidencies, where the stout agriculturists of Britain may form colonies, and fields, and homes, and rear around them a race at

least equal to themselves in vigour and intelligence.

Thus it will, we think, be perceived, even from these few and very scanty illustrations, that there are not many amongst us whom this question, as to the practicability of colonizing India

by Europeans, does not practically concern.

Wherever a nation has assumed a forward place among the dominators of the world, it has become a centre of immigration. It has sent forth its armies to conquer new lands; and, in those subjugated territories, it has established, on a more or less extended scale, commerce, its own standard of civilization, its language, its arts, and often its religion.

In eliminating these first elements of colonization, we begin to perceive the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty in placing swords in men's hands. Here the natural development of God's ordinance provides that, at no distant period, the falchion of the invader becomes changed into the reaping-hook of the

colonist.

All the nations with whose histories we are fully acquainted have been peopled by a succession of what may be termed immigrant waves. Everywhere, whether by warlike invasion or peaceful immigration, race has followed and supplanted race.

Into Britain flowed successively, during a course of centuries, the armies and the colonists of the Roman, the Dane, the Saxon, and the Norman, dispossessing and supplanting the Celt, (who clearly owed his origin to some race of Aryan strangers from the East,) and driving him into the remote mountainous fastnesses of the land.

In India, the Turanian (doubtless, himself, an interloper from the North and East,) has been, in like manner, displaced by the early Aryan, the Hindu, and the worshipper of Mahomed, among whose descendants the power of England has, for the last century, been paramount.

The text-word of the world's history is PROGRESS. Throughout all time we perceive mankind ever pressed forward by a Divine impetus towards a standard of perfectibility fixed by the All-Wise.

Our Faith and our Science combine to teach us that the life of the world is, like our own lives,—finite.

As it has been ruled that intellectual man shall, in passing from his cradle to his grave, accumulate knowledge, experience, skill, the power of fitting his mind for that immortality which is its sure inheritance, so the spirit of the world, emerging from infant barbarism, steadily advances, by arms, by arts, by civilization, and by the spreading of the True Faith, towards that happy millennium which has been promised as the crown of its green old

Like the life of the world, and the life of every man and animal inhabiting it, the life of every nation (with perhaps one exception) is but a finite thing. Excluding the instance of that peculiar people, the Jews, we find all historical experience demonstrating the fact that every nation, be it strong or weak, has its period of infancy and also its term of senility—upon which, sooner or later, its political death ensues.

Carrying on the analogy, without at all overstraining it, we may say that Colonization and Settlement are to the nation what birth, marriage, and death are to the individual. The first shout of the immigrants, when they see stretched before them the plains of that promised land towards which they have travelled from afar, is the same as the first cry of the infant at its birth, the first self-gratulatory murmur of the heir when he enters upon his inheritance. The extensive settlement of foreigners in a nation is that nation's marriage, whereby it extends its alliances, whether for good or evil, and, by an intermingling of races, either improves or deteriorates its population. Again, if any law in the history of mankind can be looked upon as fixed

and certain it is this:—Whenever a country becomes the seat of extensive and successful colonization, its former occupants, with the exception of a scattered remnant, speedily die out. The old man passes away, and the heir reigns in his stead.

Whether this last result be the development of an immutable natural law, or the avoidable issue of certain errors on the part of the conquerors and the conquered is, however, a questionable

point, which we are not called upon to discuss here.

What may be termed the instinct of colonization,—that impulse to go forth, discover, and conquer, and then to multiply in and replenish new territory,—has been implanted by the

Creator in all animated beings.

As surely as the fledgeling, conscious of possessing the gift of flight, casts himself from the nest and spreads his pinion to the breeze, as certainly do many of the tall sons go forth from the castle and the homestead, never to meet sire and mother again, until fame and fortune have been won, or until, at the sounding of the last trump, the sea shall give up its dead, and the voice of an archangel shall call over the muster-roll of those who have died in battle for their countries' cause. That same power, which sends the dragon-fly from the alders to hover above the mill-stream, and to spend the few bright hours of its existence among the wild flowers on the other bank, mans our navy and recruits our army. The same God-implanted instinct which, yearly, leads hundreds of delicately nurtured children to tear themselves from their mothers' arms and to dare the sufferings and the perils of a seaman's life, urged Humphrey Gilbert—ever intent upon the discovery of a North-West passage to India-forth upon his last voyage, and prompted his dying cry in that dreadful tempest which swallowed up his ship-'Courage, my lads, we are as near heaven at sea as on the land.' This noble instinct, we may be assured, sustained Franklin and the learned, brave and devoted men who accompanied him upon his quest straight into the unknown region of eternal snow, right onward even unto death.

A practical-minded modern writer states the case very much as it stands, being content with the fact without troubling himself about the reasons, when he tells us that 'It is the genius of our restless, discontented English nation to go blundering about

the world like buffaloes in search of fresh pasture.'

This migratory spirit has ever been most actively aggressive among the young, the strong, and the ardent of the dominant races. It assumes every form, from the noblest to the basest,—patriotism, ardour for conquest or for the propagation of

religion, scientific zeal, independence, curiosity, daring, love of travel and adventure, ambition, cupidity, the greed of gain. Divested of this instinctive migratory spirit, this stirring of the Viking blood, no country could ever assume the position of a military, naval, or mercantile power.

We need not occupy much time in explaining the broad, practical difference which exists between *Settlement* and *Colonization*. The settler enters a foreign country as a guest, sometimes as an intruder, or, at least, distinctively as an alien. The colonist goes

in and occupies as an invader or an heir.

Settlement is, of course, colonization on a small scale, and the

less frequently runs into the greater.

In these remarks, we shall understand that the Colonist is one who, adopting a new home in a foreign country, determines that he and his children's children shall continue to inhabit that land as their own proper and permanent abiding-place. We shall consider that the Settler is one who merely holds himself to be a bird of passage, a foreigner, and temporary sojourner, still belonging to his native country. The Pilgrim Fathers, who, in 1619, landed from the Ship Mayflower on Plymouth Rock, in Massachusetts Bay, were colonists. We Britons, who pass a certain number of our years in India with an energy proportioned to our expectation of being allowed to die at Home, are settlers.

No race can be regarded as colonists in a land, the climate of which is such as to preclude them from fully engaging in field

labour.

It is a very remarkable and certain fact that the Creator has laid down a system of purely physiological laws, (into which we, as ethnologists, are only now beginning to obtain an insight); which laws most potentially limit and control man's power of settling in and colonizing foreign lands.

For the sake of practical illustration, these laws, or rather their manifestations, may be divided into three leading classes.

1. Those which freely permit and encourage Settlement and Colonization.

2. Those which utterly prohibit either Settlement or Colonization.

3. Those which, permitting Settlement, absolutely forbid Colonization.

Let us briefly consider these laws in detail. First, those which freely permit and encourage Settlement and Colonization. The strongest type of these laws may be found in those passages of Scripture which lay down the conditions under which the people of Israel, emigrating from Egypt, colonized the Holy Land.

Behold I have set the land before you, go in and possess the land,—Deut. i. 8.

The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land.—Deut. viii. 7. I will give you the rain of your land in due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn and thy wine and thy oil.—Deut. xi. 14.

Then will the Lord drive out all those nations from before you and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than

yourselves .- Deut. xi. 23.

Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall

be yours .- Deut. xi. 24.

There shall no man be able to stand before you, for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon.—Deut. xi. 25.

By little and little I will drive them out before thee, until

thou be increased and inherit the land.—Exod. xxiii. 30.

The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thousand times as many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you!—

Deut. i. 11.

There shall not be a male or female barren among you, or

among your cattle.—Deut. vii. 14.

Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in

the field.—Deut. xxviii. 3.

Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine and the flocks of thy sheep.—Deut. xxviii. 4.

In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven and as the sand which

is upon the sea-shore.—Gen. xxii. 17.

And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness.—Deut.

vii. 15.

Your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach until the sowing time, and ye shall eat your bread in the full, and dwell in your land safely.—Levit. xxvi. 5.

I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword

go through your land .- Levit. xxvi. 6.

It will here be seen that the Creator, from whose liberal hand flow all the blessings of life, strength, health, and wealth which we enjoy, favoured the physical circumstances of his chosen people, the Jews, in a preternatural manner upon their entrance into the Land of Promise. The extremely rapid increase of the immigrant race is, however, even in the present day, the leading test of success in colonization. Thus we are told that England doubles the number of her people in about one hundred

years, Scotland in about one hundred and fifty; in America, not many years ago, they were being doubled in about twenty-five years; and it is reckoned that, in less than ninety years, if the rate of increase which prevailed before the present lamentable war continues, the American population will be more than two hundred millions. We, however, know that, whenever a country becomes adequately peopled, the rate of increase in its population abates. In 1790 the United States contained less than four millions white inhabitants. In 1840 this population had risen to upwards of seventeen millions. The rate of immigration into the United States from Europe was quite inadequate to account for this great and rapid increase.

Some idea of the manner in which the population increases in healthy and prosperous colonies may be obtained from the following obituary notices which appeared in one page of the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1791:—'1789, at Northampton, 'in Massachusetts, in North America, aged ninety-two, Mr. Josiah 'Clark. He was the youngest of eleven children (six sons and five 'daughters), three of whom lived to be above ninety, four above 'eighty, and three above seventy years of age. From the six 'sons only have descended 1,158 children, grand-children, and

great grand-children, of whom 925 are now living.

'December.—At Dedham, in Massachusetts, aged ninety-two, 'Captain Ezra Morse. He had 262 descendants, of whom 216 'survived him, and of these, thirty-five were of the fifth generation, several of whom have reached their fifteenth and sixteenth 'years.'

At present this remarkable law of prosperous increase is said

to be most remarkably prevalent in California.

We cannot but think that a study of the laws of population in thriving colonies, to which we have now so slightly alluded, would lead Bishop Colenso to qualify much that he has so confidently stated, especially in his 17th Chapter, on 'The number of the 'Israelites at the time of the Exodus.'

In alluding to the fact that, under their admirable system of discipline, the Roman soldiers maintained health and vigour in all climates, including parts of Asia and Africa, Gibbon remarked that 'man is the only animal which can live and multiply in 'every country, from the Equator to the Poles;' this truth has to be received with many and considerable qualifications.

It is unquestionable that, even under the most successful circumstances of colonization, as for example in the great European colonies of North America, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope, the later colonial offspring display a very general and

manifest tendency to degenerate physically from the robust and vigourous type of the original parent stock. This falling off is principally displayed in deficiency of muscle and remarkable slenderness of figure, and in that tendency to the early decay of the teeth, which renders the profession of dentistry so flourish-

ing an undertaking in most of the Colonies.

It is, indeed, held by some very high authorities that the races of men can thrive and permanently maintain themselves only in those localities to which they appear originally to belong. There is a foundation of truth in this idea, but we think that the rule can only be rigidly applied to those who colonize regions, the climate of which is very different from that of their native land. able writer thus states the extreme view-' Is the Spaniard 'thriving in South America, the Celt or the Saxon in the Northern 'half? Is there true Colonization in India? Does the English-'man flourish in the islands of the Gulf of Mexico? Could the 'Negro inhabit Lapland, or could the Northman long flourish on 'the Senegal or Gambia? Is the Red Man fitted for a large 'portion of the Western Hemisphere, and does the White Man wax 'strong amidst the forests of the Far West? Is the standard of 'health as high among the inhabitants of the Union as it is among 'their progenitors' [brethren?] 'in the British Isles? To point 'to quarters of the globe at present peopled by races foreign to 'the land, and apparently flourishing commercially, as facts opposed to such doctrine, is to be open to the reply that annually 'into these countries have been and still are imported thousands 'upon thousands of immigrants representing some of the best blood of the colonizing stock. To be able to form a satisfactory conclu-'sion, this constant replenishment must be arrested, and a 'sufficient length of time allowed to elapse to enable us to see how 'the foreign race could then propagate and maintain itself in its 'adopted clime. We believe it would fail and generally die out, 'and that the period would come, however distant, when the 'Saxon would no longer be found in Australia, in Kentucky, in 'Tennessee. Again, we all know that, in the usual places of 'resort of Europeans within the tropics, the aliens can continue 'to reside with comparative impunity if moderate caution be 'adopted. But this is all, whether it be the Rio Formosa or the Rio Colorado, Ashantee, or Madras, whether it be Bengal 'or Jamaica, Cape Town or Canada, Hispaniola, Chili, Cuba, 'or Peru, no true European stock can permanently colonize the place. We have held India for more than two hundred years, 'yet we cannot colonize an inch of it. We have planted the white man in America, and there he degenerates!'

It is strikingly remarkable to how very short a distance, whether north or south of his own proper habitat or ethnic circle, man can remove without sustaining considerable detriment. In the paper on Ethno-Climatology, the title of which stands at the head of this article, Dr. James Hunt shewed that the English, when sent to any part of the Mediterranean, suffer far more than in England. It has been proposed to locate British troops at the Mediterranean stations for a time before they proceed to India. This authority suggests that, under such an arrangement, the soldier might gain some advantage in acquiring those habits of caution which a hot climate demands, but he, with great show of justice, apprehends that, if the troops were located in the Mediterranean for a few years before coming to India, the mortality would be far higher when they arrived here, as a large proportion of the men would land with deteriorated constitutions.

Having thus given a mere glimpse of the laws which govern Colonization and Settlement in their more successful aspects, we shall now allude to those which utterly prohibit either Settlement or Colonization.

All countries in which there is much of that deadly poison or miasm, generated in marshes, which gives rise, in its mildest and simplest form, to ague, and in its more concentrated and pernicious developments to dysentery, remittent fever, and cholera, are peculiarly unfavourable to strangers. Thus it very rarely indeed happens that any stranger, whether Native or European, fails to suffer, more or less, from illness during the first month of his sejourn in Calcutta. There are tracts in the Himalayan Terai country where, although the aboriginal inhabitants contrive to exist, all settlers from outside either die or are driven out by disease. Other parts of the Terai are absolutely uninhabitable, and can only be entered at certain seasons. Most of our readers must retain stamped upon their memories Lord Macaulay's last great word-picture,—his narrative of the Darien calamity in 1699. Lured on by the brilliant speculations of an honest but overardent financier, and by very narrow historical research chiefly into the accounts of missionaries and pirates, who appear to have visited Darien only during the healthy season, and to have described it as a paradise, unaware or regardless of the warnings contained in the works of Hakluyt and Purchas, which shewed that Darien was noted, even among tropical climates, for its insalubrity,-twelve hundred seamen and colonists embarked from Leith in the summer of 1698, determined to form a settlement upon that narrow isthmus which unites the North and

South American continents, their design being to construct roads along which a string of mules or a wheeled carriage might. in the course of a single day, pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, concentrating in that point the whole traffic between India and Europe, thus securing what Sir John Dalrymple called 'the Gate of the Oceans,' and wholly obviating the necessity for the tedious and dangerous voyage to India and China round the Cape of Good Hope. They reached their destination in November, and established their settlement of New Edinburgh on a small peninsula. The accounts of the first settlers were so encouraging that, in the following August, thirteen hundred more adventurers embarked to join them. Two months later, it was known in London that the Colony of New Caledonia was no more, and that only a few men, broken alike in spirit, fortune, and constitution, had found their way to New York, muttering the tale of a destruction only surpassed by that which the waters of the Red Sea concealed from light. During the cool months which immediately followed their landing, but few deaths occurred; but, before the equinox, pestilential marsh fevers became prevalent, and the deaths gradually increased to ten or twelve a day. Those who were not laid on their beds were so broken by disease as scarcely to be able to move the sick and bury the dead. The shattered remnant embarked on three ships. Upwards of three hundred and ninety persons died on the voyage to New York. Meanwhile, the second expedition reached Darien about four months after the first settlers had fled. 'They had,' in the words of the great historian, 'expected to find a flourishing young town, secure fortifications, cultivated fields, and a cordial welcome. They 'found a wilderness. The castle of New Edinburgh was in 'ruins. The huts had been burned. The site marked out for ' the great capital, which was to have been the Tyre, the Venice, the Amsterdam of the eighteenth century, was overgrown ' with jungle and inhabited only by the sloth and the baboon.' They, however, re-occupied the ruins and commenced repairs. 'The months which immediately followed their arrival were,' we are told, 'the coolest and most salubrious of the year.' But, even in those months, the pestilential influence of a tropical sun shining on swamps rank with impenetrable thickets of black mangroves, began to be felt, and the mortality was great. Before the end of March they were compelled by the Spaniards to evacuate their settlement. They departed early in April, having lost by disease, in the four healthiest months of the year, three hundred men out of thirteen hundred.

We have evidences of the fact that, where a sufficient number of human lives have been expended in the destructive labour of improvement, spots quite as pestilential as New Caledonia have been made inhabitable; but this has no special bearing upon the point in question, as, practically, it is impossible to form settlements, much less colonies, in such localities.

We shall now, in considering the developments of those laws, which, permitting settlement, absolutely forbid colonization, begin to deal with the question immediately before us;—the

Settlement and Colonization of India by Europeans.

It has been truly remarked by Dr. William Aitkin, that the white races reach their highest physical and intellectual development, as well as most perfect health and greatest average duration of life above 40° in the Western and 45° in the Eastern Hemispheres; and that, whenever they emigrate many degrees below these lines, they begin to deteriorate from increased temperature, either alone or combined with other morbific influences incident not less to change of climate than to habits In a tropical climate, like that of India, the European is literally, ethnologically, and physically, an 'Outsider' and 'Interloper.' He is, in no sense of the term, a colonist. He is scarcely even a settler; because he can never permanently settle down in a climate, the nature of which is so absolutely inimical to himself and his progeny. He must ever be an 'adventurer' in the land, adventuring his life with the absolute certainty of having a greater or less portion of it curtailed by the slow or rapid destructive influence of a climate to which his constitution can never thoroughly adapt itself. It was long believed that this adaptation of the constitution to climate, or acclimatisation, was a law of nature constantly operative among settlers in tropical climates. But no European ever becomes truly acclimatised in India; the shock of the first change from a cool to a hot climate has to be got over, and many, by learning the proper mode of living in the country, enjoy better health after a few years' residence than they did on first landing; but, as a general rule, the rate of mortality increases in proportion to the length of residence in India.

In like manner, Dr. Armstreng and others (as cited by Mr. James Hunt) have observed that Europeans resist the cold of the polar regions better the first year than they do the second, and that every subsequent year they feel the effects of the climate more. Further, Dr. James Hunt has amply proved, by statistical evidence, that, as age increases, so does the mortality in

any place out of the native land of a people.

The injurious influence of tropical climates is not at all confined to the human race; the lower animals share it equally. English dogs, horses, and kine are generally unhealthy and short-lived in the East and West Indies, and their breeds cannot be maintained.

We shall consider as proved and granted the facts that the mortality among Europeans in India largely exceeds the Home rate, and that the annual death-rates from the most prevalent diseases, such as dysentery, inflammation of the liver, cholera, and pulmonary consumption, are, by a very large amount, higher among our European troops in this country than they are among the Sepoys.

We have already hinted that no body of men deserve to be regarded as colonists in a country where, feeling themselves incapable of enduring the necessary toil and exposure, they are compelled to engage the services of the natives of the soil in that field labour, without which the existence of a community can

nowhere be maintained.

Few men can regard themselves as absolutely independent of the assistance of their fellow-men, but if there is any human being in the world who ought to feel that, to live, he must, under Providence, be absolutely self-reliant, it is the colonist—the opener out of new lands. Recently a local journal, in commenting upon some judicious but by no means novel views lately propounded by Dr. Lewis upon the restorative influence of the sun's rays in certain diseases, remarks:—'We have always thought that soldiers in India, and indeed Europeans in general, are too much 'afraid of the sun, and would be far more robust if they exposed 'themselves to its rays more than they do. It is not the sun that kills our men in India, but the seclusion to which they 'are restricted to avoid its effects, and the course of diet they 'pursue.' Here the remark on diet is not without justice, but the writer falls into the great mistake of confounding the sun's light with the sun's heat. The unwise experiments here recommended have been tried in India only too frequently. In their results they have resembled those of the man who attempted to keep his horse without food, and of the Czar Peter, who imagined that children could be inured to drinking sea-water. Just as the experimenters began to grow most sanguine, those experimented upon died. Hear what Dr. James Hunt has lately said on this point:—' Many writers have observed that, with the natives, those most free from disease are those who toil all day in the burning sun with no covering at all to the head. Ignorance as 'to the difference of race has induced some commanders to attempt

thus to harden the Europeans, with results something frightful 'to contemplate. One of the regiments that had been longest 'in India, the Madras Fusiliers, is stated to have been reduced ' from eight hundred and fifty to one hundred and twenty fit for 'duty.' Many similar cases have been produced by needless exposure. Mr. Jeffreys says that 'Her Majesty's 44th Regiment, 'in 1823, were 900 strong, and a very fine body of men. The 'Commanding Officer insisted that confinement of the men during 'the day was effeminate, and continued drilling them after the hot ' season had begun. But the men suffered the penalty of the 'officer's ignorance.' 'For some months,' says Mr. Jeffreys, 'not 'less than one-third, and for some weeks, one-half of the men were in hospital at once, chiefly with fever, dysentery, and cholera. 'I remember to have seen, for some time, from four to ten bodies 'in the dead-room of a morning, many of them specimens of 'athletes.'

Every medical man who has seen much practice in India knows that natives are frequently killed by sun-stroke, and we may take it for granted, that nowhere in India, whether in the Shevaroy Hills, at Ootacamund, or in the Dhera of the Dhoon, will any circumstances of season, temperature or altitude justify us in employing Europeans continuously in field labour.

One of the chief impediments to the colonization of India by Europeans is the almost absolute impossibility of raising healthy children in the plains. Nearly every one understands this, practically and painfully, and the following illustrations of the fact are, doubtless, familiar to many of our readers.

According to Major-General Bagnold, the oldest English Regiment, the Bombay 'Toughs,' notwithstanding that marriages with British females are encouraged, have never been able, from the time of Charles II. to this time, to raise boys enough to supply the drummers and fifers.

In giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company in 1832, Colonel Charles Hopkinson remarked that, when he was a subaltern in his Corps, it was his custom and duty to go round the places where the Europeans lived, to see that they were comfortable, and had got their houses and streets clean. In going there so frequently, he had an opportunity of seeing children in great numbers of pure European blood, yet, as long as he had been in the service, he could not recollect above one instance where one of those children attained maturity. The circumstance made a deep impression on him, and, for many years, he made enquiries on this subject, but he never could

ascertain that, in any Corps, the children ever lived; if they did, many would then have borne arms or been serving in the public offices. This struck him the more forcibly from the circumstance of many young men who have come out as recruits in the artillery, wanting to get their discharge, to obtain which it was necessary a substitute should be provided. Now, if any, even a very small, proportion of those children born had lived to attain the age of maturity, there would have been no difficulty whatever in getting substitutes; but he never knew or even heard of one single instance, in the Madras establishment, where one was so procured, or where a man born in India, of pure European blood, ever attained an age sufficiently mature to be taken as a substitute.

So long ago as the year 1835, Dr. Twining, of Calcutta, published the question, 'Does the third generation of the Euro'pean race exist in India, all the individuals being of pure
'European descent, and having been born and reared in this
'country?' This plain question has been known, probably, to
every medical man throughout India for nine and twenty years.
Many medical officers long engaged with European troops and
attached to invalid depôts, have, to our knowledge, been greatly
interested in its investigation, but, in no single instance has it

ever been answered in the affirmative.

Of late years, much has been done to improve the condition of the European barrack children in the Military Stations of the plains of India, and the facts above stated and many others of equal significance led to the institution of those noble charities, the Lawrence Hill Asylums. We have, however, already shewn that, in the plains, the mortality rate among the barrack children is enormously high. (Here we must bear in mind Mr. Simon's remark,\* that 'it cannot be too distinctly recog-'nized that a high local mortality of children must always 'necessarily denote a high local prevalence of those causes 'which determine a degeneration of race'), and it is much to be doubted whether, in its politico-economic point of view, the experiment of bringing up soldiers' children in very remote hill stations, at a cost for which gentlemen's children could be boarded and educated for professions in Europe, can fairly be regarded as any part of a working system of true colonization.

Many of the details contained in the periodical reports of the Lawrence Asylum are very interesting and encouraging. Thus,

<sup>\*</sup> Preface to Greenhow's Papers on the 'Sanitary Condition of England,' cited by Dr. Moore, of Bombay.

in that of the Mount Aboo School, for the year before last, it is mentioned that only three children have died there in nearly eight years, during which the strength of pupils ranged from twenty in 1855, to from fifty to sixty in 1860-61. The general appearance and development of the little ones are said to display the beneficial results of their sojourn in so favourable a climate. During the year under report two of the eldest boys, aged fifteen and a half and sixteen years, were provided for, and two girls were married

at the respective ages of sixteen and seventeen years.

On the other hand, the cost of this experiment must again be adverted to. It cannot be anticipated that the average of European colonists in India could afford to pay, say £20 to 25 annu-

pean colonists in India could afford to pay, say £20 to 25 annually, for the maintenance of each of their children in the Those who could do so would much prefer to send their children home. Two years ago, Mr. Walker, of Bombay,\* shewed that the revenue of the Byculla, Poonah, and other Bombay Schools would afford £22 11s. 7d. per head annually, and argued that, with such a revenue as this, the soldiers' children could be well fed, clothed, and educated in a fine healthy part of Yorkshire, where food, fuel, and clothing are cheaper than in any other part of the world. The experiment of the Lawrence Schools is so new that we are still not in a position to judge how far the children brought up in these isolated spots, within or not many degrees above the tropic line, will equal their English cousins in mental and bodily vigour. In writing on the climate of the Neilgherry Hills, Dr. Mackay remarks-' Children 'brought up here, apparently strong and healthy in their youth, 'in after years shew constitutional weaknesses, and this I have 'observed to be the case particularly with females.'

Further, it is greatly to be feared that the best of our Hill Sanitaria will, the longer they are occupied, and the more the various insanitary influences almost inseparable from residence within very limited spaces accumulate about them, lose much of that reputation for great salubrity, which, in every one of them, with the exception of Darjeeling, Nynee Tal, and Murree, is already on the wane. The extra-tropical hill Sanitaria of the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies generally afford but little dwelling space for large bodies of men, and we have strong medical grounds for believing that, should these localities ever become overcrowded, maladies partaking of the most malignant characters of the diseases of both cold and tropical climates will attack the settlers.

<sup>\*</sup> The Times of India for November 25th, 1861, as cited by Dr. W. G. Moore, of Bombay.

In the mountain Sanitaria of Madras, the pernicious influence of a fierce tropical sun, which no elevation or atmospheric rarefaction can wholly counteract, will always prove an insuperable obstacle to Europeans seeking to maintain themselves by labour

in the open air.

It is by no means certain that the climate of these great altitudes would, in the long run, prove favourable to any race, whether European or Native, immigrant from plain countries. It is known that, although the native Peruvian thrives and remains free from pulmonary complaints at an altitude from 7,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, such altitudes, as in Quito, are frequently destructive to the white.\* D'Orbigny goes so far as to assert that in Peru, at the altitude above mentioned, the form of the trunk is changed by the influence of respiration, the body is short but compact, whilst the inhabitants of the damp lowlands are more slender in form. Recognising the fact that the anatomical construction and physical constitution of every animal is distinctly adapted to that habitat in which Providence has located it, we have the strongest doubts whether any people, coming from the plains of Europe, could successfully colonize the mountains of India.

The world has never yet seen a truly successful attempt to colonize, in anything like an adequate sense of the term, a tropical district by Europeans, and here it must be borne in mind that all the extra-tropical country of our three Presidencies is visited by an almost more than tropical heat and by the worst tropical diseases. The only instance of the apparent success of such an undertaking is that of the Spaniards, who have been, for many generations, settled in tropical America. dences of this success, however, are neither strong nor encouraging. Upon this question Dr. Hunt has the following very striking remarks:—"Some authors think that the question of the European "propagating himself in the tropics has been settled by the fact "that, for three centuries, the Spanish race has lived and thrived "in tropical America." Mr. Crawfurd says :- "The question. "' whether the European race is capable of living and multiplying "'in a tropical or other hot region, seems to have been settled in "' the affirmative on a large scale in America. Of the pure Spanish "'race there are, at present, probably not fewer than six millions "'mostly within the tropics. But it is a wholly gratuitous "' assumption, unsupported by facts, to suppose that anything "' like this number of the Spanish race exist in America.

"'we were to read for Mr. Crawfurd's 'millions' the word ""thousands,' we should, perhaps, be nearer the truth. In "'Mexico, it is estimated that there are not more than ten " 'thousand of the pure race, reckoning both Creoles and immi-"'grants." What a small proportion is this to those who left "their native land and have never returned again! For three "'hundred years Spain has poured out her richest blood on her " 'American Colonies, almost at the price of her own extinction, "' without the slightest prospect of being able to establish a "'Spanish race in Central America. Never was there a greater "'failure than the attempt of the Spaniards to colonize tropical "'America. Those who have watched the gradual change of "'the Spanish Colonies must be convinced of the fallacy of "'quoting this as a case of successful colonization of tropical "'countries by Europeans. When the continual influx of new " 'blood from Spain was taking place, the change was not so much " 'observed; but now immigration has ceased, the pure Spanish "'race is diminishing rapidly. All recent observations shew "'that the Indian blood is again shewing out in a most remark-"'able manner. Instead of the Spaniards flourishing, there "'seems every prospect of their entire extinction, unless fresh "'blood is sent from Europe. The extinction of the Spanish race-"'in America was likewise predicted, more than twenty years ago, "'by Dr. Knox. There is no doubt that this result has been "'greatly owing to the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood." The evidences of the fact that the European race degenerates

miserably in South America are overwhelmingly strong.

Many years ago, M. Pauw stated that the Creoles, descending from Europeans and born in America, though educated in the Universities of Mexico and Lima, and of College de Santa Fé, have never produced a single book. The Creoles, both of North and South America, he adds, come to a maturity of intellect, such as theirs is, more early than the children in Europe; but thisanticipation of ripeness is short-lived in proportion to the unseasonableness of its appearance; for the Creole falls off as heapproaches to puberty; his vivacity deserts him, his powersgrow dull, he ceases to think at the very time that he might think to some purpose; hence it is commonly said of them that: they are already blind at the time that other men begin to see.

<sup>\*</sup> It has since been asserted, in the Cortes, by Don Pachero, that the pure Spanish race in Mexico does not amount to more than eight thousand. In 1793, Humboldt estimated the pure Spanish race, in New Spain, to consist of 1,200,000.

Dr. Waitz has accumulated a vast mass of proofs to the same effect. We shall quote some of his facts, omitting the references

for the sake of brevity :-

'In the plains of Cordova and San Luis (Argentine Republic) 'the pure Spanish race predominates; the young females are 'frequently of a white rose colour and delicate structure. Yet 'living in a state of isolation, the Spaniards have not exhibited ' greater activity and a stronger tendency to civilisation than the 'Aborigines of that country. The German and Scottish Colonies ' south of Buenos Ayres, with their flourishing and neat villages, 'form a decided contrast to the former. The white settlers 'south of Buenos Ayres are scarcely less rude and barbarous ' than the Indians. Criminals and the scum of all nations who 'take refuge among them instruct them in all that is wicked. ' Many cruelties and devastations are committed by these lawless' 'men, over whom the Indian Chiefs have no authority. 'Creoles of the La Plata States are almost as godless and dirty 'as the Indians. To construct windmills is beyond their mecha-' nical talent, and, notwithstanding the great fertility of the soil, there is no garden to be seen on the high road from Buenos Ayres to Barranquitos. Except in the villages there is no 'cultivation of the soil. To catch lice is the chief amusement of the women, who offer them to strangers as dainties. They are dirty beyond measure; they are even deficient in curiosity. 'A similar description is given of the inhabitants of Tucuman. The Indians of Rioja are simple-minded, sober men, whose 'disputes never lead to bloodshed; they are more industrious 'and persevering than the Spanish Creoles, and their festivals 'never exhibit the same coarseness which distinguishes those of the Creoles. Many of the common utensils and tools of the 'Chilians, carts, looms, ploughs, are extremely clumsy, scarcely better than those of the Indians; the axe is chiefly used, the saw but little. They are outdone by the superior agriculture of the 'Araucarians-they are very cleanly in their persons, they bathe several times daily, and by their cleanliness in the villages the Indians of the Tropics in America contrast with the immigrant South Europeans. In the vicinity of Talcahuano (Chili) D'Urville found such miserable dirty huts, that they could scarcely stand comparison with the habitations of the Polynesians. Helus, after describing the indolent habits of the 'Creoles of South America, adds, 'The Indians are the only 'industrious class in the country.' The colonists in the Llanos of Curracas are too lazy to dig a well, though they \*know that they could find the finest springs at the depth of

ten feet. Even at this day there may be found in New Spain flou-'rishing Indian villages and a well cultivated soil, near miserable 'villages of white Creoles. Ploughs are there in use made of 'wood without any iron, and are always drawn by oxer, never by 'horses; and the Spanish Californians, whom Simpson has described 'as lazy and degraded, still avail themselves of a miserable plough 'and the canoe of the Indians. In Brazil the structure of bridges 'is neglected even on the high road from Rio Janeiro to Villa-'Ricca, and agriculture is carried on according to the model of 'the Indians. The forest is burnt down: they sow, reap, and 'abandon the land after a few harvests. The Brazilian peasant, 'especially in the central and northern provinces of the Empire, is 'both lazy and proud; he despises labour as dishonourable, he cares 'little for habitation and dress, suffering rather from heat and cold. 'His religious ideas, his belief in wood-spirits and other spectres, is 'as absurd as that of the Botocudes. The children of the Portuguese 'settled in the Sertajo grow up indolent and become prodigal; their 'farms fall into decay. Ignorance and superstitious belief in 'witchcraft, spectres, and amulets are universal; they have lost 'all the dignity of human nature, and only pass from their 'apathy to the grossest sensuality. Though pacific and hospita-'ble, they are devoid of any intellectual or moral activity. Women and gambling form the sole objects of interest, and there are here some few Portuguese refugees who have for-'gotten religion, the knowledge of the use of money, and even of salt.

'In Goyaz it is not much better; the colonists are enervated by early excesses; concubinage is so common amongst them ' that a married man is an object of mockery. Poverty is pre-'valent; their indolence is remarkable; fraud, especially falsi-'fication of the gold, is general. Something similar may be ' found in other mining and gold districts. The thirst for gold 'and labour is succeeded by wealth and prodigality; then suc-' ceed enervation, misery, poverty, and all vices. There has, for a 'long time, existed in the islands Fernando Noronha a Portu-' guese criminal colony. No trace of agriculture is visible there, 'nor is any amelioration of their miserable condition thought of. 'The people smoke, gamble, or lie in their hammocks; they ' have but a miserable ferry-boat, so that Webster exclaims in astonishment:—'Is it possible that these people are the ' progeny of the seafaring Portuguese, who were so eminent as navigators?' In Africa the condition of the Portuguese is 'equally miserable. On the West Coast, where they settled in 'the sixteenth century, they have intermixed with the Negroes,

' and are pretty numerous; they live in forests; and it is their 'influence which obstructs the progress of the Siberia Republic 'among the Negroes. The indolence of the Portuguese on the 'east coast of Africa nearly equals that of the Negroes; their 'chief object is an existence which may be attained with the ' least possible effort. The horrors of their dominion and of their 'own degeneration are described by Omboni. In Angola, they have introduced no other agricultural implement but the hoe; 'and manioc, which affords but small nutriment, is still the 'chief vegetable aliment. The condition of the Europeans in the ' Banda Islands is but little better. Nearly all the Spanish and 'Portuguese Colonies rival each other in proving how little these 'nations are able to spread civilization in other regions; since, 'separated from their native country, they are not even capable of preserving the culture they have brought with them. The ' English and the French have, in this respect, proved more 'successful; but this superiority can only partly be ascribed 'to the superiority of the original stock, and to the care of ' the Government of their mother-countries to keep up the in-' tercourse of the Colonies with the civilized world. Neverthe-' less we learn that, in the Mauritius for instance, the population of which is chiefly French, the condition of agriculture before ' the advent of the English (1810) was as bad as in the Spanish Colonies; ploughs were scarce, and the fields were not ' manured.'

Dr. Waitz adds:—'It may be objected that several of the 'instances cited referred to mixed populations and not to pure ' Europeans. Still it must be admitted that, even in these cases, 'the European blood, despite the improvement of the race 'which is usually ascribed to its infusion, has not proved its 'efficiency in raising the breed one step above the condition of ' the aborigines; and that even in such cases there was no inter-' mixture, or a very slight one, the degeneracy of the population was nearly the same. The assertion that the European alone 'is capable of taking the initiative in civilization, and that the 'impulse thereunto is a peculiarity of the race, must, after the 'quoted facts, be considerably modified, for they prove, at least, ' that the white man is not much less dependent on external cir-'cumstances in his progress towards civilization than the black 'man. This is plainly shewn when we consider man in his 'individual capacity.'

In discussing this Spanish American Colonization question, it has always been considered that, in all probability owing to the strong interfusion of Moorish blood in Spain, the Spaniards,

like all the other dark Europeans, endure the heat of the tropics better than the white Europeans do. Colonel Flinter, long ago, observed that the Spanish soldier suffers less, and the British soldier more from the effects of the West India climate than those of any other nation. This, he considers, may be partly attributed to the climate of Spain being warmer than that of England. Judging by latitude, which, however, is not always a valid criterion, residence in Mexico ought not to be more trying to a native of Madeira than removal to Kamptee would be to a Sikh of Lahore.

In the present day, it is needless to devote much time to the argument that the increase of a mixed race in India would prove a failure both ethnologically and politically. Such races are never vigorous. Dr. Waitz shews that the half-breeds of Negroes, Indians, and Whites in Panama, are very prolific between each other, but cannot easily rear their children, whilst families of pure blood are less prolific, but bring their children up. The progeny of Chinese by Malay women in the East Indian Archipelago are said to die early. According to Dr. Yvan, the children of the Dutch and Malay women in Java are said to be only productive to the third generation. They are well developed up to the fifteenth year, when they remain stationary. In the third generation chiefly daughters are born, and these remain barren. It is also asserted that the children of Europeans in Batavia become frequently sterile in the second generation.

It was shewn in the Calcutta Review for September 1858, that,—while the respectable and provident portion of the East Indian community of Bengal are, at certain ages, subject to a less rate of mortality than that which prevails among any other class of Christians in India,—the mortality rate among members of the Uncovenanted Service Fund between the ages of twenty-six and fifty years was by no means favourable as compared with English rates, being 20.78 in the thousand. The mortality rate among East Indian ladies between the ages of fifteen and sixty-

eight is higher, being 22:55 per mille.

The above facts and comparisons lead us to the conclusion that India comes fully within the category of those regions, which, permitting settlement, absolutely forbid colonization by Europeans. If it be considered a fact, proved on ethnological data, that it is physically impossible that our race should colonize India in the strict sense of the term, it, of course, becomes needless to waste time and argument in enquiring whether it would be either wise, humane, or profitable to attempt such a measure upon a national scale.

There can, however, be no doubt whatever that the extension of European settlement in India is one of the most interesting and important questions of the day. There is, undoubtedly, a great call for European settlers in India. And, with the assistance of native labour, abundance of profitable work lies before them in directing the clearance of jungle in Oudh and the Dhoon, in rearing cinchona trees on the slopes of the Himalayas and the Neilgherries, and in coffee and tea planting in Assam. Cachar, Darjeeling, and Kumaon. This measure, while it will tend vastly to confirm our power in India, will, strictly conducted, prove a large source of good to the natives of the soil, by the employment and agricultural teaching of multitudes of labourers. and by increasing the value of vast tracts of land which, at present, lie waste in the occupation of Zemindars. It is also to be borne in mind that the influence which is most inimical to the health of Europeans in India is the ill-distribution of trees and water throughout the country. Jungles and swamps are the main sources of Indian pestilences; the want of trees in the plains of Upper India, as barriers against the hot blasts from Sahara, was fully recognised and profitably remedied, for a time, by the ancient By judicious clearing, planting, drainage, and irrigation, India may still be made what similar measures had rendered the lands of Babylon when Herodotus viewed them, the garden of the World, possessing a not disagreeable and tolerably healthy climate, in which European settlers may expect to lead industrious, pleasant, and happy lives in their plantations, sending their children home for education and re-invigoration, and calling them hither again, at full age, to become their successors in the land.

The men of England have been called to India by Divine mandate for many works, among which the systematic colonization of the country is not one. Industrially our mission here is to develop Indian enterprise, and to lay open the rich resources of the country. Morally, we are called upon to teach and civilize the people. To succeed as settlers in any land, we must first decipher from historic evidence those laws which the Father of All has legibly recorded for the governance of the dominant races when settling among rude and heathen people. The buccaneering settlers of ancient times neglected the true aims of colonization, and they reaped the fruit of their evil labours in disappointment and curses. We see Hernando Cortez in his progress towards Mexico, El Dorado acting like a magnet upon every sword-blade in his Company, coveting whatever he saw, grasping whatever he coveted,

exchanging collars of glass for armour and carkanets of beaten gold, burning the villages which refused to victual him, empowered only with the falsehood that to his master 'the monar-'chie of the universall did appertain,' and with the jibe that 'hee 'and his fellowes had a disease of the heart, whereunto gold was 'the best remedie.'\*

About a hundred years later, we see Walter Raleigh going forth upon the same search for Mexican gold, professing, and probably with sterling truth, a desire to deliver the Indians from the tyranny of Spain, but ever intent upon 'the Star that directed him 'thither,-the great Guiana mine,' with utter disregard to the prior rights of the Spaniards, retorting upon those who accused him of piracy, 'Did you ever know of any who were pirates 'for millions?' They only that wish for small things are 'pirates,' and, at the very last, encouraging his men with the cry. 'Come, my lads, do not despair. If the worst comes to the 'worst, there is the Plate Fleet to fall back upon!' Cortes sinks a heart-broken and disappointed man at the feet of the Monarch whom he served better than he served his God. Raleigh, beyond all comparison the noblest spirit of his time. ends that most brilliant and most disastrous career on a scaffold in Old Palace Yard, vainly attempting to prove to the gaping crowd that he had striven to live an honest man.

Certain lands have been, providentially, baited with gold, palm oil, diamonds, pearl-oysters, not that greedy men should flock thither, and having filled their hands, their pockets, their chests, and their ships, return home to enjoy the profit or the plunder, but rather that, with the tide of trade, the wise, the pious, the educated, the largely humane should be attracted thither to spread among the people of the soil, whom their Father loves well, commerce, religion, civilization, agriculture, arts.

Thus England reads her duty in the present day, her religion and her policy alike teach her that the first principle of colonization and settlement is to render those subject nations for whom she legislates more virtuous, wiser, healthier, more prosperous, happier than they ever were before our standard was planted on their shores.

All revelation and all history combine in teaching us that the power of conquest and its inseparable attribute, the duty of civilization, are the Almighty's chief instruments in working out the moral and social advancement of mankind.

<sup>\*</sup> Purchas, his Pilgrimage.

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From age to age these have, manifestly, wrought together. Wherever the angel with the drawn sword has sped forth, the angel with the open book has followed—at an appointed time. Our rulers know and act upon these principles, let us who throng hitherward with our swords, our learning, and our arts, be careful that we do not forget them.

## ART. VI .- Sir Charles Trevelyan and his Budget.

THE Budget system is now fairly established throughout the length and breadth of our Indian empire, and it must be admitted that few administrative changes have proved so productive of good. Five years ago the finances of India were hopeless, only because they were unintelligible. Like the accounts of a household after severe domestic affliction, little was known beyond the fact that there existed a heavy amount of liabilities and an entire absence of ready money, whilst it was apparent to every Native and European mind that the excess of expenditure over income was daily aggravating the evil. The sheet anchor of the old Indian Financiers in those days lay in that mysterious treasure known as the cash balances, which nobody rightly understood. but which were expected to form a very handsome set off to the Indian debt, had any machinery existed for rendering them available for the purpose. Certain accountants too of large imaginations indulged in vague dreams of the vast savings which would be effected by the non-payment of pensions to the mutinied sepoys. But even these assets proved to be singularly small when brought under critical review, and accordingly a reduction of the public expenditure was sagely determined upon. It is difficult to estimate the patriotic efforts which were made in this direction. A band of severe and inflexible economists commenced the task of discharging office peons, stopping punkahs, and compelling office clerks to write on half sheets of foolscap instead of whole sheets. At last it became evident that new taxes were desirable, but then arose the difficult questions who and what were to be taxed? To tax the Natives seemed a difficult operation, as there was little, if any thing, to tax but their clothes, and a tax upon these would have reduced whole classes to a Paradisean simplicity and uniformity. So the European and East Indian communities were selected as the victims, and a prohibitory tax was laid upon some of their pleasantest little vanities, such as jam and pickles, beer and ladies' bonnets. The results were extremely mortifying; every body was dissatisfied, the imports rapidly declined, and the amount raised was a trifle.

Yet did these feeble and tentative efforts arise from no want of ability in our Indian administrators, but simply from pressure exercised at home. In olden times, when India was six months from England, we should have tided on by means of loans, until

some vigorous Governor-General began to apply the shears to the military expenditure. Such was the precedent established at the end of the last Mahratta war; and old warriors still remember how the deficit created in the days of Lord Hastings was endured till the administration of Lord William Bentinck. But in 1859 the aspect of Indian affairs had undergone a complete change. Victories had been achieved, but no fresh territories had been conquered. The Home Government, which had ever regarded India with eager eye, suddenly wrested the empire from the Company, and in the true commercial spirit sought to raise the public credit by the announcement that the Crown would take up the direct administration of the country, but declined to be responsible for the Indian debt. The ablest men in this country and at home, amongst whom Lord Stanley was pre-eminent, still expressed the most hopeful views of Indian resources, views which we need scarcely say have been more than realised. But the Whig opposition held that India was in a state of hopeless insolvency, and exercised such a pressure, that the Government of India was literally forced into premature action; and under these circumstances, and while their eyes were not quite clear from the mists with which the great mutiny had overcast them, it is not surprising that errors should have been made, that measures of reduction and taxation which were to prove utterly futile should have been proposed, that erroneous balance sheets should have been sent home, and that Government should have borrowed five millions more than were required.

But if mistakes were made in India, those made in England were infinitely greater. Philanthropists clamoured for the repeal of the salt tax, moralists wished to give up the opium duty, political economists urged the repeal of the land tax, whilst reckless irrigationists pressed upon the Government to borrow a hundred millions or thereabouts for the purpose, as far as the lay mind could judge, of damming up all the rivers and flooding the country. Then arose the outcry for a home-made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras, had pointed out as early as 1859, that the introduction of the Budget system, and the reduction of the overgrown military expenditure, would suffice to place the Indian finances on a sound footing. But public opinion must be respected, and in 1860 the late Mr. James Wilson landed at Calcutta as Indian Chancellor. Mr. Wilson's merits were his own, and require no acknowledgment here; his errors were such as any English-bred statesman would naturally commit. His

grand panacea for the depressed state of the Indian finances—an income tax and a license tax—was an error of this class. True, he took the opinion of certain native Zemindars upon the subject, but few of these have minds capable of grappling with a foreign idea such as that of an income tax, while a sense of politeness, and a desire to avoid offence, would lead a native gentleman to acquiesce in the opinions of an English statesman of such reputation as Mr. Wilson, especially upon a point which he could not understand. It was thus by means of his personal reputation, by the prestige which accompanied his appointment, by his declaration that there was no other course to pursue, and that the native aristocracy were prepared for the measure, combined with the financial pressure, which enabled Mr. Wilson to carry his Income tax into effect. At the same time the Budget system which had been recommended by Sir Charles

Trevelyan a year previously, was fairly initiated.

It was at this epoch that the direful collision took place between Sir Charles Trevelyan and Mr. Wilson. The character of Sir Charles Trevelyan is less easy of apprehension than that of the purely English Financier, inasmuch as it has been formed in many and widely different schools. Sir Charles was for many years a Bengal Civilian in civil and political employ; he was afterwards for twenty years a Secretary in the Treasury at home; and since then he has been Governor of Madras and Financial Minister at Calcutta. Few men have been more misunderstood, and few have received more undeserved blame or unintelligent eulogy; and perhaps a brief statement of facts may not be without its use in arriving at a clear conception of the measures and policy, as well as the personal idiosyncracies, of a statesman who is destined to fill so prominent a place in the history of the period through which we are now passing. His early career as a Bengal Civilian was passed within that interval of profound peace, which is still one of the most remarkable periods in the annals of British Indian administration. In 1826 the last smouldering embers of the Mahratta war were trampled out at the capture of Bhurtpore, and twelve years passed away before the public tranquillity was disturbed, the national progress was arrested, and the British prestige seriously damaged by our senseless interference in the affairs of Cabul. In truth, those were halcyon days; the British Government was generous and just, and the British name was honoured and revered throughout the length and breadth of the land. Perhaps there was a superabundance of sentiment, and a gushing Pecksniffian tone which has not altogether passed away, but the tran-

quillity was undoubted, and the reconciliation of the subject races was real and progressive. This was the school in which Mr. Trevelyan passed his first years of public life, and those who can remember him thirty years ago, when the young Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Office was equally enthusiastic in the cause of education, Roman alphabets, and abolition of transit duties, speak of him as being even then apparently destined to hold a high position in the public service of India. This prophecy has been fulfilled—but not in the way expected, nor to the fullest extent. Mr. Trevelyan became overshadowed and overinfluenced by Mr. Macaulay, and began to weary of Indian life, and to turn an eager eye to English politics. This to some extent was unfortunate for himself. Sir Charles is a master of the pen, but no public speaker; and in England oratory is essential to success, whilst a reputation is chiefly gained in India by a clear and ready pen. But then Sir Charles possessed a power which his bitterest opponents cannot deny him, and which invariably wins in the long run, namely, a power of work, a power of getting up and exhausting any subject, no matter how foreign to his previous training, and of retaining the results in his memory for ever. Thus, there is scarcely an official question which can arise in any department either in India or in England, that Sir Charles cannot say he has studied for the last thirty years or thereabouts; and, however overpowering and unpleasant to a political adversary such a statement might prove in controversy, there would be no doubt of its truth. After leaving Bengal, Sir Charles enjoyed twenty years' experience as Secretary of the Treasury in Downing Street, for in his case the term Assistant Secretary was a misnomer. The work he performed there can only be known to home officials, but it is known to every home official. Before his time the Public Offices at home were singularly corrupt. change of Government, whether the new Ministers were Tories or Whigs, they were called upon to reward not merely their Parliamentary supporters, and the dependents of those supporters, but even those who had voted for those supporters in borough or county elections; and thus patriotic publicans, butchers, and others, would refuse the vulgar bribe of a "flimsy" or a bag of sovereigns, and demand a clerk's place in the War Office, the Admiralty, or the Customs for the most hopeful scion of the family. This evil was conquered by Sir Charles Trevelyan after a struggle which lasted for years. The system of examinations was introduced; every one of the thousand and one public establishments in the British Empire was reorganized; whilst the system of promotions was rendered so intelligible,

that a public servant at last discovered that the best way of attaining success was not to dun his Parliamentary friends into bringing their influence to bear upon his official superiors, but simlpy to deserve it by doing his work zealously and well. All this is due to Sir Charles Trevelyan, and we mention it not as one great measure accomplished, so much as a type of the class of measures which he carried out. In like manner he reorganized the whole system of keeping the public accounts; and he drew up a plan for abolishing the purchase system in the army, which we yet expect to see adopted, or made the basis of future measures. What he did in the matter of public works, or how much and how often he has aided different Cabinets by exhaustive minutes on many other questions, whether Indian, Home, or Colonial, Civil, Military, Judicial, or Financial, is beyond all calculation. Some of these measures were open to criticism, some may have been, as they have often been called, the crotchets of a doctrinaire; yet we may safely say that the labours of Sir Charles Trevelyan have done more towards the purification, the organization, and the efficiency of the public service than the labours of any single public servant since the

memory of man.

In 1857 and 1858, amidst the convulsion of the great mutiny the letters of Indophilus largely attracted the attention of the Government and the public; and thus it was that early in 1859, Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed Governor of Madras. Here his public character was for the first time justly estimated. We may sum it up by saying that he is an admirable administrator, with a weak point which may be rather indicated than described, as the absence of that Parliamentary tact which conciliates opposition by compromise, and knows when to surrender a detail in order to conserve a principle. It is precisely this facility which training such as that of Sir Charles Trevelyan cannot confer; and all that is regrettable in his public career is due to the want of it. That inflexibility and pertinacity are valuable qualities no true Briton will deny; and they must lead to victory in the long-run; but there are times in which to avoid a battle is worth twice as much as a victory; and at such times qualities which never prevent, and often necessitate, fighting are not to be indiscriminately applauded. But Sir Charles Trevelyan's training furnished him with elements of strength as well as of weakness; especially with the experience which has been of such service to him. He was the first statesman who landed in India with an exhaustive knowledge of English administration, combined with a practical experience of

Indian affairs; whilst he had already achieved enough to gain for him the prestige and public confidence which are so important in strengthening the hands of a statesman eager for reorganization and reform. He was known as having laboured earnestly and successfully as a Bengal Civilian in bringing about the abolition of the transit duties; and as having carried out as Chief in the Treasury that reorganization of public establishments, and purification of the public service, which we have

already noticed.

The history of Madras prior to 1859 was almost as well known to the external world as the history of Timbuctoo. The country is poor, the people are poor, and the commerce is insignificant. The Madras army proved loyal during the mutiny, and there had been no war within the Presidency since the days of Tippoo. Throughout the whole period of English rule, a period of more than a century, there are only two Governors who have earned for themselves an enduring place in the history of India; these are Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Charles Trevelvan. Munro was a hardworking, old-fashioned, deaf gentleman, and who had originally landed at Madras in 1780 as a cadet in the Madras Army, and served against Hyder under Coote and Hector Munro. later years he was employed to settle the provinces wrested from Tippoo, and this work he accomplished with all the exhaustive knowledge of a native revenue official, and with all the straightforward honesty and purity of a thorough English gentleman. Throughout his long career, closing with his Governorship of Madras from 1820 to 1827, he conciliated the Natives by his popular manners and kind-heartedness, and gained a high reputation amongst his countrymen by his zeal, knowledge, and literary ability. His appearance had always been primitive, especially in the matter of costume; and it is said that, whilst out in camp, he would tie up his pig-tail with the official red tape; but that bit of red tape was more significant, and more reverenced, than many a ribbon and garter. To Governor Munro Madras owes that little understood and greatly vilified system known as the Ryotwary, which is only now by a reduction of assessment getting fair play, and which though still encumbered by a multiplicity of useless rules and pedantic distinctions of soils, is in itself so well adapted to an agricultural population in a poor country, that the poverty-stricken ryots of the Carnatic after generations of depression are fast rising in prosperity, whilst the extension of cultivation is proceeding at a rate elsewhere unparalleled. To Munro also are owing many judicial and revenue reforms which are still preserved in the

memory of Madrasees, and some admirable Minutes which will be a guide to the student and administrator of Southern India for generations to come. One more title to fame links him with the immediate subject of our sketch; he was the first Governor in this country, who appears to have given any attention to the education of the Natives. From his sudden death in 1827 to the arrival of Sir Charles Trevelvan in 1859, the memory of Sir Thomas Munro was held in grateful remembrance throughout Southern India; but since that period Sir Charles seems to have succeeded to his place in the popular affections. But upon this point we need not comment. It will be sufficient to say that during the fifteen months Sir Charles Trevelyan ruled at Madras, he carried out more reforms and devised more plans for reform than any other Indian statesman within an equal period of time. Education, Public Works, a revision of the Judicial and Revenue establishments, the reorganization of the Police, a People's Park, a new and delightful promenade open to the sea breeze, and a thousand other measures were either carried out or planned out; whilst public officers were kept in a state of wholesome activity, not unmixed with dread, by his unceasing vigilance and his perennial craving for information and reports. But the great measure and the one by which Sir Charles Trevelyan has really earned for himself a lasting reputation, was the settlement of Madras Enams; and the successful issue of this measure is the more startling, as every attempt made in Bengal and Bombay to settle these provoking and intricate tenures, had proved a failure. In Madras, however, where the difficulties were increased twenty-fold by the multiplicity of small holdings, the settlement has been carried out in a manner highly satisfactory to the Enamdars themselves, whilst adding more than ten lakhs per annum to the public revenue. Much of this success may be attributed to the ability and good sense of Mr. Taylor, the Enam Commissioner; but the chief credit of the measure must be given to the Governor. One significant fact connected with this Enam settlement is worthy of general notice. Both in England and in this country, endless rubbish has been talked and written upon the redemption of the land tax; as if it were not well known that few landholders have any capital except jewels, and that native capitalists generally can find infinitely better modes of investment than land at twenty years' purchase. However, during the progess of the Madras Enam settlement, every Enamdar was offered the redemption on easy terms of such revenue as he might be called upon to pay; and we understand that out

of the whole ten lakhs per annum, not a thousand rupees have been redeemed.

But amidst all these useful measures and energetic schemes, it was tolerably well known that the Members of the Madras Council were not on the best of terms with their President; and more than one of the 'honourable colleagues' complained that they were silenced by the expression that His Excellency had made this or that subject his special study for upwards of thirty years. In a word Sir Charles Trevelyan shewed far more skill as an administrator than tact in replying to objections, or comprehensiveness in the consideration of views opposed to his own. At last came the Income-tax crisis of 1860, which resulted in his recall, and respecting which we need only say, that while all admit and regret the error of judgment into which he was led by his uncompromising zeal, all who are qualified to judge are now agreed that his opposition was founded on sound principles—in a word, that as regards the proposed taxes he

was right, and Mr. Wilson wrong.

Sir Charles Trevelyan left Madras in the middle of 1860, and within three months afterwards Mr. Wilson was no more. Though Mr. Wilson's administration was not free from a wrong bias, it was such as time and experience would soon have corrected, while there can be no doubt of his energy and ability. With rare financial genius he solved the problem connected with the cash balances, and pointed out the true way of rendering them available to the public service by making them the basis of a paper currency. This important scheme has never been utilized, as our home financiers have so committed themselves to the banking monopoly system, as to be impatient of any other. With an inexhaustible credit based upon a yearly income of seventy millions, Great Britain still prefers paying largely in the shape of interest on Exchequer bills which she could discount herself with a paper currency of her own, at no cost whatever, and without the trouble or possibility of the loss which even the Bank of England must encounter in times of pressure. Mr. Laing fell into a similar error, by carrying out the modern principles of banking to an extreme which in fact exposed the fallacy of the whole system by a reduction ad absurdum; and to this day Government hugs a delusion which it perceives when applied to this country, but will not give up at home. To Mr. Laing, however, assisted as he was by the long experience and exhaustive knowledge of Colonel Balfour, is due the credit of having cut down the military expenditure to its necessary level; and both to Mr. Wilson and to Mr. Laing is due the credit of having, to

use the words of Sir Charles Trevelyan himself, laid broad and deep the foundation of a sound financial system on an English model, leaving to their successor the work of extending 'the 'application of these principles through the whole field of Income and Expenditure, so as to remould the entire system into 'one consistent whole.'

Sir Charles Trevelvan arrived in Calcutta as Financial Minister at the commencement of 1863, and his first Financial Statement was delivered in the following April. Since then another financial year has passed away, and a second Statement has been delivered. From a broad comparison of Sir Charles's Budgets with those of his predecessors, it will be patent, as he himself intimates, that a new era has opened upon India. Within the last five years the annual revenue has increased by the sum of nine millions; in other words the income, which in 1858-59, had only reached thirty-six millions, had in 1862-63, exceeded forty-five millions. The surplus on 1862-63 was nearly two millions; that in the year 1863-64 is said to be a little under a million, owing to the Sittana war and the fall in opium. This yearly surplus however demands some notice. If the surplus is carried on, and entered under the next year's income, it is not a surplus on the single year, but an accumulation of the surpluses of previous years. In other words if the surplus income for 1862-63 has been entered in the receipts for 1863-64. then the surplus on the year 1863-64, which is stated to be £800,000, shrinks into a deficit of one million. This is the Budget's vulnerable point. A surplus, well ascertained to be a surplus, should not be carried over to meet the exigencies of a coming year; it should be treated as savings, and applied to the extinction of debt. But Sir Charles tells us (page 21) that the whole of the estimated surplus in 1863-64 will be held to meet the exigencies of 1864-65 and 1865-66. Then we ask what has become of the surplus on 1862-63?

The Land Tax has risen to twenty and a quarter millions, shewing an increase of three-fourths of a million, or four per cent. on the previous year; and this increase on Land corresponds in amount to the estimated surplus on the year. It has been brought about, not by an increase in the assessment, but solely by the extension of the breadth of land under cultivation. Four per cent. more of the culturable area of India in the very least has been utilised since last year; a circumstance which may be attributed partly to the rise in the prices of grain, partly to the demand for Cotton and Jute, and perhaps in the Madras Presidency to the lowering of the assessment. This extension of cultivation in a country like India,

where vast tracts of culturable area are literally lying waste is of enormous importance, especially as tending to solve the, problem of rise of price. Sir Charles Trevelyan is of opinion, that prices cannot recede to their former level; but how can he be confident of this, when cultivation is increasing at the rate of four per cent.? Moreover if we are to compare the present condition of the Bombay Presidency with Ireland in 1846, we ought to satisfy ourselves not only that the results are similar, but that like results have been produced by like causes. Ireland in 1846 was only just recovering from the potato famine. Land was abandoned in Ireland, because in the place of food it brought forth poison. But famine arising from a decrease in the supply. implies a widely different state of things from famine arising from an increase of demand. We admit that both in Ireland and in Bombay, the rise in prices was in a great measure attributable to the public works; but in Bombay there is an increased cultivation and a demand for Cotton, for which we have no corresponding data in Ireland in 1846, nor in England in 1847.

But if we glance for a while at the changes in the condition of the masses which have taken place during the last few years, we shall see that this rise of prices, which may complicate future budgets, will be balanced by increased income, and undergo further modifications of no small importance to the future welfare of the people. Rise of price was in the first instance attributed to the Railways; and secondly to the Mutiny. One thing is certain that the disbandments of sepoys which followed the mutiny would have been accompanied by a fall of price and very much distress, but for Railways and public works. These high prices of grain and cotton, notwithstanding the absorption of labour by the public works and Railways, have led to a large increase in the cultivation; but there has also been an increased cultivation in some quarters consequent on the lowering of the assessment, and this increase is obviously but to a very small extent indicated by the increase in the land revenue. If land at two Rupees per acre, be reduced to one Rupee, and a ryot cultivates four acres in the place of one acre, then the land revenue is doubled, but the cultivation is quadrupled. But further, increased cultivation may be expected not only from the lowering of assessment and increased demand, but also from an increase of capital. During the last two years an unprecedented amount of money has been absorbed in the rural parts of India. It may have been hoarded somewhere; for one thing at least is certain,-that it has not been invested in Manchester goods. But a portion has probably been made capital, and is now devoted to the

payment of additional agricultural labourers, i. e., to the increase of cultivation either in breadth or depth. The rise in the labour market leads at the same time to an increased demand for machinery, or as regards agricultural labour, for improved agricultural implements. These forces are now at work, and are as certain to produce the results indicated, as increase of wealth is certain to produce an increased demand for luxuries. Whether the prices of grain will ever recede to their former level, we may reasonably doubt, though it is not unlikely in the event of a sudden fall in Cotton inducing an extraordinary cultivation of grain in its place; but with increased cultivation and improved means of communication artificial rates created by monopolists or mere local demand must cease, and natural rates such as represent the fair profits of the ryot will alone prevail. The efforts of our legislators should be directed towards giving these fair profits to the ryots, and taking effectual means to prevent an undue share being seized by landholders who are not cultivators.

Then again the rise in the price of labour has been too indiscriminate to be lasting. It has affected all classes from the coolie upwards; and affected them not so much in grades as in masses. But day by day the difference between the cost of skilled and unskilled labour is widening, and the carpenters and bricklayers are receiving far higher rates of pay than the mere coolie or field labourer. No doubt the price of skilled labour will yet rise higher. The progress of public works and the example set by Europeans will lead the natives to improve their dwellings, and add to their furniture. At the same time the introduction of machinery will reduce the artificial rates of pay which have recently ruled for unskilled labour to more natural These varied operations will give such a stimulus to the labour market, that professions will cease to be hereditary; the sons of weavers will become carpenters, and the sons of jewellers will become workers in iron. But we must repeat the warning uttered by Sir Charles Trevelyan. If the social phenomena now taking place, are disturbed by such artificial causes as an undue outlay on public works, the healthy progression will become a fever, which nothing but starvation will cure. A certain outlay upon public works is necessary to promote the future prosperity of India; and a certain amount of surplus income may well be so invested; but Government has need to be cautious lest it should fall into the error of the sapient nobleman, who borrowed at five per cent. to purchase land which could only repay him three. Then again the system of guarantees must be carefully watched. There are no such reckless speculators or contractors in the world as those who act under a Government guarantee; checks may

be established, the most stringent rules may be laid down, the heaviest punishments may be inflicted, but corruption, under such circumstances, like smuggling under a system of high duties, must and will prevail. The system is rotten to the core.

The only other question in connection with the Budget which appears to demand a hurried notice is that of the currency. Charles Trevelyan was thoroughly correct when he said that the increase of copper coin was more urgent, more a necessity than the introduction of gold or issue of paper. The question of copper is simple enough; the demand is pressing, and the supply should be forthcoming. The only difficulty is whether it would be possible to introduce bronze annas and pice corresponding to the bronze halfpence at home. The question of a gold currency can be best settled by the gradual introduction of the English sovereign, and in process of time,—it may be a quarter of a century or half a century hence, -an imperial coinage will follow, to be succeeded in time by one universal coinage for the whole world. The question of a paper currency is less difficult. The Utopian idea of the time when some international understanding will give to every nation a supply of paper money corresponding to its income, we leave to visionary enthusiasts; but in India we have still the cash balances, and it is due to Mr. Wilson to say that he has solved the problem. Sir Charles Trevelyan remarks :- 'The Government note currency has stood the trial 'in a very satisfactory manner. So completely is its identity ' in value with silver established in people's minds, that even at ' the time of the greatest scarcity of coin at Bombay, Rupees continued to be sent to the Currency Department to be ex-'changed for Notes.' Again he tells us that the home expenditure is worked by a cash balance of six millions, whilst the cash balances in India amount at this moment to more than sixteen millions. Why then is the hesitation as regards the extension of the paper currency in India?

Here our hasty survey must close. Much remains to be said which our space does not at present permit. Sir Charles Trevelyan has left the income tax to run to its legitimate close, and in so doing has sacrificed his personal inclination to the wants of Government. The tax will now die out, and we trust that after the present year we shall hear of it no more. The revision of establishments is still an all-important measure, and one for which Sir Charles Trevelyan is specially qualified. We should wish to see him invested with plenary powers, subject to the fine sanction of Government, to carry out this great work, white perhaps no living man is so capable to fulfil, and which is aloch wanting to place the coping stone upon his Indian reputation.

ART. VII.—Books of the Quarter.

Diary of a Pedestrian in Cashmere and Thibet. By Captain Knight, 48th Regiment. Bentleys. 1863.

THIS book is a mystery. Why did it ever come into the world? What is its final cause? What purpose is it intended to serve? It does not amuse; it does not instruct; it can never put money into the author's purse; and yet there it lies, an expensively got-up production of some 350 pages on thick paper, embellished with learned and mysterious devices on the cover, with some really pretty tinted lithographs and woodcuts within, which bear, however, too small a proportion to the mass of letterpress to suggest the notion that they are the real book, and the description but padding;—a book that would never have existed but for the author's crave to be an author, for the sake of the agreeable titillation which seems to accompany the sight of one's name on the title-page of a work, however frothy and feeble. All is fish that comes to our net, and it is our duty to bring before the Indian reader all that the press of the quarter has produced on Indian topics; else no power on earth would have dragged us beyond the first

ten pages.

The King of France, we are told, marched up the hill, and then-marched down again. Captain Knight, in humble imitation, may be, proceeds from the plains to Srinugger and Ladak, and returns to the plains, without having seen anything new, learnt anything interesting, or shot anything ferocious. The eye only sees what it takes with it the power of seeing, or those stainless heavens, those everlasting snows, those solemn pines, those rose-crowned peaks that looked down on the forefathers of our race, might have told the Captain something worth telling us again,-might have taught him how to put into words, halting it may be, but impressive from their very feebleness, something of the awe and the mystery which we should have thought must thrill through the soul of every child of Adam, when the glorious scene first spreads itself before him. But no—our Captain's thoughts are mainly of his dinner, and whether Rajoo, his bearer (whom the Captain, funny dog! speaks of throughout as the Q. M. G.) will bring the coolies up

in time. Mr. Kinglake and Lord Dufferin have much to answer for: -and this book counts among their sins, for the author fondly deems himself a master in the facetious style of travel-writing, and, empty as is his sense, his nonsense is emptier yet. Not that he has made no discoveries. He discovered on August 7th, 1860, at Khurboo, in Little Thibet, (it is as well to be particular in the date and locality of so momentous an occurrence) a stone bearing an inscription, explained by a philological sepoy of the party as 'Om mani padmi om,' and we are treated to many learned disquisitions as to the probable meaning of those mystic syllables, which he finally explains to signify 'the Supreme Being,'-possibly on the principles on which the Oscan inscription, 'Hi diddle diddle,' &c., was interpreted to mean 'God the protector of highways; God to whom eggs are broken at cross-roads,' &c. ' Avec ton Etre Suprême tu commences m'embêter', it was said to Robespierre; and we can hardly conceive it possible that any educated man, much more that any person travelling of deliberate and preconceived purpose into a Buddhist country, should not be familiar with, should never have heard of, the mystic formula till he stumbled across it that day among the wilds of Thibet. We are thankful to perceive that the Captain took the trouble, after he returned from his journey, and before he ventured into print, to read up all he could upon this and kindred subjects, and we have an appendix bristling with Klaproth and Hue and Sakya Muni and other Buddhistic lore, which if the gallant Captain had only read a little earlier, we should have been spared not a few incoherent queries and irrelevant conjectures.

The Captain is not only a man of speculation; he is a man of action; and shoots, as a Captain should, but not always more successfully than he speculates. The beasts are as new to him as the inscriptions. He comes upon 'a kustura, a sort of 'half-goat, half-sheep, with long teeth like a wolf.' He is unable to get a shot. On page 58 he sees 'four little animals' called 'markore,' and fires-with 'indifferent results,' i. e., they all scampered off. On page 60 we come across some more markore which, 'after an arduous and protracted stalk, finally gave us 'the slip.' On page 61 we are close to a party of five, but they give us 'no opportunity of getting a shot.' Then we meet 'a 'solitary gentleman,' but 'the pace we had come, and the ground 'we had crossed, so unsteadied our aim'-that we did not hit him. After this we went to tiffin. On page 65 another failure, and on page 66 another; indeed, there is no trace of the death of a single markore throughout, though the patience of the tra-

veller is at length happily rewarded by a bear.

Of incidents there are very few. The author lost his cook at one time, whereat the reader rejoices. At another time the Captain being in want of milk 'proceeded to make signs of bringing a house down,' and so called out an old gentleman whom he forced 'at the point of the stick' to introduce him to a friend who had some milk. As this latter gentleman would not get up on the Captain's arrival, our impatient hero gave him a thrashing, and afterwards discovered that he had lost the use of his limbs through rheumatism. All honour to the Saxon lattee, 'in a stout Saxon hand'! Afterwards the Captain, wanting a pony, carries off one belonging to a family of Punjabee mountebanks, and is obdurate in retaining it at his own valuation, although the family go down on their knees en masse, and a poor blind girl cries at his feet. Tall doings these; yet told as if they were in some way creditable.

Our readers have, we trust, heard enough of Captain Knight and his doings. The halfpenny-worth of bread is in the illustrations, which are all good, and the views of Ladak and Lami-

eroo very striking.

A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India between 1852 and 1861. By Joseph Mullens, D. D., Missionary of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. London: 1863.

There is much striking truth in that essay of John Foster's, (like all his essays, a little too heavy for the taste of the present day,) in which he argues that much of the dislike felt by the educated classes for Evangelical Religion, or in other words, for aggressive Christianity, arises from the adoption, for religious purposes, of phraseology needlessly offensive to men of taste and refinement. We do not (nor did Foster) believe this to be a solution of the whole question; were it so, it would be highly dishonouring to the judgment of the men of taste. We cannot and need not conceal that there is, on important and fundamental questions, much difference of opinion between the ordinary scientific or literary man of the day, -we may say the average cultivated gentleman, on the one hand, and the Missionary or evangelical preacher on the other. But this difference of opinion need cover no aversion; there is no reason in the nature of things why the cultivated layman should not recognize the goodness and usefulness of the work in which the preacher is engaged, except that the latter speaks a language which is to the former unintelligible, strange, and unseemly, disfigured by affectations, Hebrew idioms, and technical terms, and proceeding throughout on the assumption that the phraseology which is good enough for the world, which he himself employs in

secular matters, is not good enough when religion is the subject. The term "unction" used in all good faith by may good people as the expression of an admirable quality, describes exactly what we mean. The world, rightly or wrongly, objects to unction; it will never look twice at anything written in the dialect of unction; and the more a man is educated and cultivated, the greater his aversion to unction. There is a weekly publication at home which is conducted with much taste and talent, and which is looked upon by persons professing evangelical religion with much fervour of hatred. The opinions of the Saturday Review are not our opinions; nor is its spirit our spirit; but we really think that in this matter of aversion to religion, it will be found in most instances that the Saturday Review's real guilt is a dislike of the tone and language in which

religious men express themselves.

It matters but little in ordinary cases. Exeter Hall is strong enough to do its own work as if there were no Saturday Reviewers or other scoffers in existence; and the scoffers also have for the most part their work to do, and do it. But in some cases, and more especially in the case we have now in mind, that of Indian Missions, it is most important that all classes should have correct notions, that the periodical press, that the Officers of Government, that the limited European society of India, (which operates far more than proportionally to its extent upon the views and action of Government) should be enlightened upon the proceedings of Missionaries, upon their plans and their progress, upon the nature of their relations with Native society, upon their prospects of success. What are these Native Christian Churches really worth as viewed from within, by those who are most competent to judge what is the character of the converts? Are they in morality, in straightforwardness, in integrity, in mental energy, in peaceableness, distinctly superior to the ordinary Native population around them? Are they growing in numbers and in influence; and is there any vitality, any reproductive power in the new principles as assimilated by them? It is impossible to obtain satisfactory answers to these questions out of ordinary Missionary reports; they are all written in a rose-water tone of triumph; with a fair amount, sometimes an excess of the unction we have before referred to, and with an absolute ignoring of all the points of general interest that would enable candid men to judge of the progress Christianity is making. The consequence is that almost anything interests the general public more than the records of Missions, and that Missionaries themselves have to contend against, and to complain of, an apathy that is almost wholly their own fault.

With these feelings we are naturally pleased to see a temperate, well-written, liberal, and apparently honest review by Dr. Mullens of Missionary work during ten eventful years of Indian history. We have got what we want;—a report in a calm, judicial style, keeping to the point in hand, and steering fairly clear of unction generally, and especially of its most offensive species, that continual recurrence of unmeaning panegyrics on the Almighty, as if He were not better praised by silent work than by the Babel of second-rate and second-hand psalmody which we find in the inferior class of Missionary writing. There is a vein of subdued gratification throughout, amply warranted by the progress reported, and not beyond what we see in ordinary administration reports, and there is a real appreciation of the questions of

deepest interest.

Many will turn first to the section headed "Influence of the Mutiny," and will find, what we can readily believe, that, although it inflicted vast material damages, and suspended Missionary operations through a vast tract of country, its influence has been most beneficial: "if it has left its marks on the Church "towers at Futtehgurh and Ranchi, it has written deeper lines " upon the character of the native converts, and instead of injury "has done a vast amount of good." The behaviour of the converts seems to have been on the whole excellent. tian churches lost many members by massacre, none by apostacy; and the native Christians rendered active help to the English wherever they could. This is more than we should have expected;—it was more than the Missionaries themselves expected; but beyond this the mutiny has imparted to the converts a permanent vigour and decision which has produced most useful Before the mutiny the Secundra press and the tent factory at Futtehgurh were managed for the native Christians; since that epoch they have been managed by the native Christians, and the Missionaries have been set free for more legitimate Persecution naturally deepens conviction; it impels you to take up a side; it gives you something to live for and to fight for; and has a beneficial influence over the whole man. Great virtues as well as, or even more than, great errors, always shew themselves in the midst of a really violent contact of opinions. As a rule there is hardly enough persecution in India, there is no blood to sow the seed of the future Church; Hindoo and Mahomedan do not care enough for their own faith, or live in too constant a fear of the civil Government, to raise a violent hand against any man, because he has adopted Christianity; and the Christian accepts his position as one among thousands, belonging to one out of the fifty castes, environed by persons of

a different faith to his own, without longing either to convert or punish them, any more than they care either to punish or convert him. This nonchalance of the natives in matters of religion may be a good thing in itself; it is not likely to further the cause which the Missionary has at heart. The civil Governor naturally rejoices at it. What he wants is peace. In the Roman times he regarded all religions as equally useful; for the religious man was more bound to the order of things, more prone to regularity of life than the irreligious man. Since an aggressive religion arose, and the others, at least in that one respect, moulded themselves after its type, the magistrate has been perturbed and confounded by this new element of disturbance. Not peace, but a sword. Where, as now in India, a nation has been frozen into apathy about its religious concerns, one of the greatest and most pressing anxieties of the civil power is removed; and the solitude that ensues, though it be a dearth of all noble and productive and generous sentiments, is welcomed by the magistrate as peace. We are very doubtful whether the philosophical observer from his point of view would be right in regarding the present state of Hindooism, either among cultivated or uncultivated classes, as a hopeful sign; we are sure the Christian Missionary would not be right. hold of Brahminism on the lower classes is becoming feebler and feebler. The book before us gives proof of this, and any person acquainted with the social state of the natives can supply further evidence of it from his own experience. But there is no tendency to any other form of faith. A strong attachment to old customs, because they are old customs, prevails and will prevail, till some external shaking of the nations introduces a new element,—the element of general and of religious activity. Juggonath may fall in time by the pure operation of the physical laws of gravitation, aided by the growth of the peepul tree in its chinks and crannies. It will not be pulled down by a sudden access of religious zeal:—not at least if things go on according to the ordinary operation of historical laws. Nor have we any ground to expect a miracle. Providence works by agencies susceptible of scientific analysis, in the growth and decline of religions as in other matters. Some mighty social convulsion may shake India and induce men to take a side. Till then the decay of Hindooism will be gradual and barely perceptible, and will not favour, though it will not retard, the operation of the principles of a purer faith.

If we look to the educated classes of Bengal, we see a sight unmatched perhaps in the history of the world, but not affording any definite anchorage for hope. Nurtured by Christian

teachings and Christian feeling, a religion is springing up, which is not a religion, which has no faith, no creed, no hold upon any but a few enlightened minds, fed upon English literature, devoutly attached to English morality, but not more prone than their ancestors were to embrace Christianity. They have got the spirit, they say, and perhaps with some truth, but care not for any forms. Their views and those of a large class of Englishmen of the day are much the same. But such views will always be confined to a highly educated class, and in this country, to those who hover on the border of European Society. The tiller of the soil, the worker for his daily bread, is shut out from them. One entire sex is shut out from them. While we look with the deepest interest on the progress of these enlightened, if not definite, views among Calcutta Baboos, we cannot but feel that no new life for the nation can grow out of such a source.

> "See, thou that countest reason ripe In holding by the law within, Thou fail not in a world of sin And even for want of such a type,"

as is given to the weak and ignorant and busy by what we call

"historical Christianity."

What the upshot may be, time will show: meanwhile the very last conclusion that ought to be drawn from a state of things such as we have described, is that Missionaries and other educators should relax their efforts. A great deal is paid by the public at home for the support of Missions; the result, if they could see it clearly, might not be in their eyes quite worth the cost; but it is worth the cost nevertheless; the moral protest which these men raise, which England through these men raises, against vice and evil and ignorance, is of more value

than any other work done by Englishmen in India.

It is very interesting to learn, as we do from Dr. Mullens's pamphlet, what the Native Churches are doing themselves in the way of conducting and supporting Missionary operations. The native pastorate is increasing; many of its members are said to be very useful; it is calculated that one male convert in every seven is engaged in one of the forms of Mission work. This is how the Church must grow. England will never afford to send out Europeans enough to preach to, and to teach, every one; it is hardly likely that the number of Missionaries will be very extensively increased; and it is to native agency that the societies must mainly trust for the extension of their operations. There is a feeling in many places, as was strongly exhibited in the late Punjab Conference, that the European Mis-

sionaries take too much upon themselves of the care of the Churches, that they are apt to overrule the Native Christians. and to treat their Churches somewhat too despotically. It is but natural that this feeling should rise. Christianity, in its Protestant forms, so distinctly and so constantly teaches religious equality, declares so emphatically that there is neither Jew nor Scythian, bond nor free, -all are one in Christ, that it is not to be wondered at if the Native members and especially office-bearers of the Churches chafe at tutelage, even while tutelage is yet good for them, and repudiate altogether the notion that the European as such has any right to special authority in the Church. At Tinnevelly it seems that a schism arising from a personal dispute between a Missionary and his flock has assumed unusual proportions, and has complicated itself with caste feelings and national feelings in such a way as to produce some extraordinary results. They have abandoned infant baptism, and ordained ministry, and Sunday observance, as European additions to pure Christianity. Of course they have cut themselves off from European help; yet, says Dr. Caldwell, "they have sustained their own religious ordinances with "considerable public spirit and zeal, for more than five years, and "I have not heard it said that any one of their number has return-"ed to heathenism." Heresy of this sort is a hopeful sign;wherever there is intellectual life and growth, there is variety, there will generally be extravagance; uniformity is dulness, mediocrity; the sap that feeds the acorn, feeds the gall; and the more vitality the tree has, the more of these eccentric excrescences will you find. Heresies sprang up when the Church was young; heresies abounded at the Reformation; anything that wakes up the individual belief in a personal influence of the Spirit, leads also to the belief in personal inspiration and esoteric teachings; leads to wild wanderings far from the simple and straightforward path. The extension of Christianity in India will bring with it many results at which Exeter Hall will look askance, some at which it will stand aghast. The Puritan spirit of these Tinnevelly schismatics, determined to retain nothing in Christianity which savours of the West, would, if spread over half India, produce consequences in Church and State that few yet dream of. Seldom or never can we shape the future, even that to which we ourselves contribute, as we would have it; we must leave it to itself, knowing that all is well.

Stray Leaves; or Essays, Poems, and Tales. By Shoshee Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: 1864.

Several of the essays contained in the volume before us ap-

peared first in this Review. Ergo, we cannot expect fair criticism of them, says a carping public. But in all good faith, viewing the book simply as the book of an outsider, we cannot but congratulate Shoshee Chunder Dutt on having brought together a quantity of interesting information, which will not be easily found elsewhere, and on having said his say in a simple and un-With Mr. Maine's remarks at the Univerpretentious manner. sity Commencement, (we were about to write Commemoration, but the catalogue of founders and benefactors is yet a blank) still ringing in our ears, with the recent memory of hundreds of examination papers, abounding in tawdry ornament and inflated diction, we were relieved to find in the author of this book a Bengalee writer who looks more to matter than language, who feels that the object of writing is not to darken counsel by words without wisdom, to hide the meaning like the cuttlefish in a cloud of ink, but to state in the simplest and briefest language what the writer has to say. We have read the Essays, which occupy about half of this work, with the greatest pleasure; those on Vedantism and Puranism are full of interesting The latter, taking it with the essay on the popular superstitions of the Hindoos, gives perhaps the best account extant of the domestic and popular religion—the religion of the masses :- for Ward's book, though full of erudition, is disfigured by prejudices. Of the article in Vedantism we should give some account, but that we hope to take up the subject more fully in a future Number. The social essays 'Women in India,' 'Hindoo Female Education.' 'Home Life in Bengal,' are marked by good taste and good cense, with a leaning towards a favourable view of the native character, combined with a sense of the social and moral advantages of female education, and to the word education, the author gives as wide a sense as we could wish. in these writings will necessarily not please those who take their stand on a high pinnacle of Anglo-Saxon excellence, and who deny the right of native authors to criticise us, as we criticise them. Some of our ways of life and modes of thought are noticed rather sharply by our friend, and his judgments have rather more truth in them than we generally find in the judgments of men of one nation upon another nation. Nothing in the whole range of criticism is more lamentably and ridiculously wrong than the estimates we daily see and hear made of native character. Genius itself can catch but a few surface peculiarities, a few salient points. Lord Macaulay probably never intended his well-known sketch of the Bengalees to illustrate more than a single feature of their character, but he labours it out

with his wonted intensification till we take it to be an exhaustive view, and as an exhaustive view, it is a wrong one. The 'Competition-wallah' who now publishes in Macmillan, is a writer of undoubted genius; his good feeling towards the natives is patent, and the expression of it does honour to his courage; yet if his deliberate view of the native character were the true one. it would justify the most 'rabid' Anglo-Saxon in the contempt with which he regards the race. We can only support the ' Competition-wallah's' conclusions by denying his premises, and it needs no longer experience than that of older 'Competition-wallahs' to enable us in many cases to do so. But years of labour in the country, though they may give a man a right to be heard, by no means save him from the possibility, nay, the certainty of error in judgment on so vast and difficult a subject. Yet never will the free-born Briton surrender his right of freely criticising men and things; and as he seldom does it with the modesty and discretion which are shewn by Shoshee Chunder Dutt, he should check the temptation to use strong language which will probably occur to him while reading some of Shoshee's inciden-

tal remarks on points of European life and manners.

There is a certain amount of poetry in this volume. fess that we think the poetry a mistake. The prose style is pleasing and without affectation:—the style of a man whose thoughts are more of his matter than of his manner. verse, though occasionally clever as a tour de force, though often a passable school-boy imitation of Moore or Byron, never rises above the school-boy standard, and there are faults in prosody, which are ordinarily corrected by another instrument than the Would however that English aspirants would never publish worse! Mediocre poetry was the curse of literature, as far back as the Augustan age, and we doubt whether gods, men, or columns have since seen reason to change their views. third portion of the work consists of tales of a patriotic character, which also have little in them to justify publication. display some knowledge of the best models. When we read 'what ho! Bessus! harness Bucephalus early at dawn, and bid 'a large party of our personal guards be ready for immediate 'service' and 'by Libyan Jove, this is a bragging bully, not a 'chief;' we think instinctively of the great G. P. R. James, and look back for the two cavaliers.

The author appears to have been about thirteen years before the public, and he is not therefore a very young man; but if, as we hope, he looks to future literary usefulness, we would earnestly counsel him to shun the seductive though unfruitful paths whither his imagination would lead him, and to keep to plain history, plain English, and plain sense. Nothing could be better than the first half of his book, and we should be glad to see another half-volume like it, or, better still, an elaborate work on one of the subjects which he has here sketched out for us. A treatise on the Hindoo Mythology of the day, drawn not from the study of Puranas, but from the knowledge of what people actually do believe in and worship, and a popular account of the ordinary ceremonies enjoined by religion and custom, would be a work of great service, and Baboo Shoshee Chunder Dutt has shown that he could perform it.

History of India. By John Clark Marshman. Part I. From the earliest period to the close of the Eighteenth Century. Serampore: 1863.

This is a good and useful book. It is intended as an Epitome of Indian History for the Native Youth of Bengal; and for that and other educational purposes, it is incomparably better than anything which has preceded it. The English is correct; the style is simple and forcible; and the subjects are treated with that due sense of proportion which we should expect from a practised political writer. In Murray's History, if we remember right, while every petty expedition is duly commemorated. even to the number of field-guns and howitzers, the author forgot to mention the Perpetual Settlement. Here it is discussed fairly and favourably, (though the remarks upon its effects on the ryot apear to have been written before the passing of Act X.) and we have no doubt that in the coming portion of the book, the victories of peace will occupy still more space in comparison with those of war than we can expect them to do in the earlier history. The author is naturally more au fait in dealing with modern times and the germs of the present state of things than in treating of the antiquities of Indian history. The European reader will thank him for that; but we can fancy the Native Youth chafing at the hurried way in which the ancient glories of his country are disposed of, and we really think that the work might have been rendered more popular, though not perhaps more intrinsically valuable, if greater space had been devoted to the purely Hindoo period, and if the conclusions of modern scholarship about the commencements of the Hindoo history had been more freely incorporated into the text. Two faults we would venture to note: firstly, that there is little or no reference to authorities; and secondly, that there betrays itself here and there a disposition to defend eminent Englishmen, even when their actions seem to merit, and have generally received, emphatic condemnation. We could wish that there had been a free statement of the sources whence the author derived his materials. It is well to encourage the Bengalee student to carry his historical studies further than any one text book can bring him. Schoolboys will at first regard Mr. Marshman, as schoolgirls at home regard Mrs. Markham, as an original and independent authority, and when they come to find that much of his history of the Mahomedan period is, as it naturally and unavoidably must be, a transcript from Elphinstone, their respect for him will go down many degrees. No man can write the history of that period, and not be indebted to Elphinstone; but it would have been as well to note the fact of his obligations. Niebuhr never made a reference to an ancient author, to which he had been guided by an intermediate historian, without acknowledging such guidance, which was perhaps further than any man need go in the direction of historical probity; but his example is worth following to some extent. As to our second objection, it is probable that Mr. Marshman really does believe that palliation, if not excuse, may be found for Clive's treachery to Omichund, for the execution of Nundkoomar, the Rohilla war, the spoliation of the Begums. But, if he does, we must think it a pity that his admiration for the great men who founded our Eastern empire has deprived him in their case of the distinct perception of right and wrong; while, if he does not, he has given in his sanction to the French Imperial School of historical teaching, which looks not to the actual truth of history so much as to the impression which it is desirable to make on the pupil's mind. The French professors teach that Louis Quatorze was a demi-god, that liberty is a name, that the nation never was so great, so prosperous, as when tied to the chariot-wheels of an enlightened and glorious despot. We are to teach our Bengalee schoolboys that their English rulers never do or did wrong, and that what is contemptible trickery or selfish violence in a native must be called by very different names when we are dealing with an English pro-consul. cannot fancy that a healthy-minded and clear-sighted Bengalee schoolboy would grow in reverence for Hastings, for Mr. Marshman, or for ourselves generally, through the study of these excuses and arguments. It is not the really great nation or the really great man that requires 'cracking-up,' it is the intrinsically small nation (or man) aiming to be great, or to be thought great. Lord Macaulay, always sound, always touching the heart of a moral question, is much more likely to please the plain common sense of Englishmen, and we may add, of Bengalees too; and Lord Macaulay, admiring Clive and Hastings as much as

any man, never spares his indignation when he has to narrate their breaches of faith and moral law. Clive's deception of Omichund is palliated by a singular argument. 'It is due 'to his memory to state that he'—gloried in the transaction, and vowed 'that he would do it a hundred times over.' So may Jack Sheppard have said; so, we know, does Townley say to this day. A common rogue who should say this would be styled a 'hardened criminal,' yet it is to increase our esteem for Clive! Truly, hero-worship and the Carlylean reverence for force, lead good men strange ways. But these are very minor blemishes in a most useful work, and we shall look with great interest for the second volume, for the account of events which happened in Mr. Marshman's own time, et quorum pars magna fuit, and of characters which a man may safely love and admire,—Bentinck and Metcalfe and Dalhousie.

A Personal Narrative of thirteen years' service among the wild Tribes of Khondistan. By Major-General John Campbell, c. B., Hurst and Blackett. 1864.

WE thought so. Sic vos non robis. No man ever did what the world are agreed to admire him for doing. Everything was done by some one else. Bacon wrote Shakespeare, and Samuel wrote Moses, and Columbus did not discover America, and Harvey did not discover the Circulation, and Fowke did not build the 'International' Exhibition, and Macpherson did not quell the savage spirit, and abolish the barbarous rites, of the Kbonds. We always thought that he had at least something to do with this. We (of this 'Review') took great pains to spread our belief on the subject. We published more facts regarding the Khonds than are to be found in any other quarter. We recurred again and again to the subject, and the public appeared to be thankful to us. But we and the public were all wrong; though we have been forced to wait till the year of Grace 1864, to find out that it was so. Major-General John Campbell, c. B., says 'alone I did it,' and rings the changes on his own exploits through many wearisome pages. His judgment was never at fault. His labours were unwearied, and were rewarded by unbroken success. Heaven itself was signally on his side, (page 130) not to speak of the Governor-General. On the other hand, Colonel Macpherson committed deplorable mistakes of judgment; his assistants oppressed the Khonds and drove them to revolt; he lost prestige; he dismissed Sam Bisoi (who was Captain Campbell's pet savage\*;) he did not, so far as we can

\* It has been proved that Sam Bisoi was one of the mainstays of the Conservative, or sacrificing party, among the Khonds. learn, accept a light for his cigar from the villagers, which appears to have been one of Captain Campbell's principal means of conciliation; and he committed many similar atrocities. Moreover, he was imposed upon by his butler, whom he made a Moonshee, and who invented for his benefit a singular system of Khond mythology, demonology, and psychology.\* Captain Macpherson himself knew neither Khond nor Ooriah. (We can judge by Colonel Campbell's spelling of the extent of his know-

ledge of the latter language.)

It is painful to see these forgotten calumnies reiterated against one no longer able to defend himself from them; one who has passed away, loved by his friends, and honoured by his Government, out of the reach of human censure. Colonel Macpherson needs no vindication at our hands. He was vindicated by the Supreme Government, after a long and arduous investigation; and able pens were employed in his defence in this 'Review' and elsewhere. But we pause to consider what motive—of jealousy stronger than death, and wounded self-esteem,—can have dictated this servile attack, unsupported by evidence or authority, and vet clearly the prominent feature and the final cause of General Campbell's book. In other respects, this is the sheerest bookmaking; there is not a new fact throughout. England has long been familiar with the Meriah sacrifice, and the success of the efforts to suppress it. No one ever doubted that General Campbell was a brave officer, and that his work deserved and obtained praise. He had far better, for his reputation's sake, not have written this book. It concludes with a curious specimen of the book-maker's art. Finding the work too thin, he was prevailed upon to add a chapter on the geology and botany of Orissa. The geology is correctly taken from Mr. W. T. Blanford's report, but unfortunately the part of Orissa occupied by the Khonds has never been geologically examined; and the concluding chapter bears the same relation to the rest of the work which an account of the geology of Sussex might do to a history of the tenure of Gavelkind, in Kent. The botany is stranger still. We looked with some interest to this part of the book, as we are convinced that many botanical treasures exist among the unexplored recesses of the Orissa jungles, but all we find is a short extract from Hooker and Thomson's Introductory Essay. Then follows a description of

General Campbell argues that this mythology must be an invention, because Mr. Long, in his 'Notes and Queries' on Orissa, does not refer to it. Naturally enough, as Mr. Long never went near the Khond country, or conversed with a single Khond. He found more than enough in the plains to occupy him during his short visit to Cuttack and Pooree.

† See especially Nos. 12, 15, and 20.

the Manis, and lastly General Campbell exhibits his 'chits;' and thus ends this weak and ill-judged production, which can serve no purpose except to gratify an old man's harmless garrulity and less innocent spite.

Tara, a Mahratta Tale. By Captain Meadows Taylor, M. R. I.A. In three volumes. Blackwood and Sons. 1863.

WE have read this book with great interest. It is the most successful novel of native life that has ever been published. local colouring is good in the extreme; and in this country the book will undoubtedly command success. At home, we should say, it will be thought wearisome; partly because it is rather long, and here and there undoubtedly tedious; but more because it is extremely hard to interest English people in characters and modes of life so different from our own. We are insular in our feelings. We cannot throw ourselves into other ages and other climes. An historical novel to please us must give us not history but masquerade, must shew us ourselves in costumes and modes of speech drawn from some distant era or country. So much of vraisemblance we insist upon. Cato in top boots, and Brutus in a bag wig, will not go down. If we are reading of the ages of chivalry, there must be a certain sprinkling of 'I pr'ythees' and 'gramercys,' but that condition satisfied, we look to other merits than that of historical fidelity. Scott interests us rather for his singular fertility of incident, and for the liveliness of his description, than for any special historical verisimilitude. The most popular historical novel of the present day-Charles Kingsley's Hypatia-is just what its titlepage expresses, 'new foes with an old face.' We delight in seeing Henry of Exeter under the mask of Cyril, and Lancelot Smith, alias Charles Kingsley, promenading as Raphael-aben. Ezra. We smile to recognize Newmanism, Eclecticism, Scepticism, Pantheism, Pot-theism, and Muscular Christianity in the quaint habiliments of the fourth century after Christ. Hypatia's lecture on Homer is a parody on Strauss, and just so far as it is so it interests us. An incomparably greater work which has since appeared has been all but ignored by the public. Few care to read Romola; it is too Florentine, too sixteenth century, in a word, too true. We cannot take the trouble to throw ourselves so far out of our ordinary surroundings. Now this book of Captain Meadows Taylor's, so far as it is a good description of life and manners in Maharastra two hundred years ago, will by many be found wearisome. Where the author has yielded to the temptation of dressing up his story to suit the English market, he has made it untrue to life. Two contending tendencies,—the struggle to be faithful, and the struggle to interest, are visible throughout, and mar the artistic effect of the work. Take Sivajee. Sivajee's is a character in itself inconceivable to the ordinary novel reader. He was simply a type of the Mahratta, crafty, cruel, and calculating, with that unshaken belief in himself which is the characteristic of all uneducated conquerors. His steady and life-long pursuit of a single object (and that an object which will always command sympathy) has alone redeemed his character from common-place, given it a handle, so to speak, for the imaginative and poetic English mind of Captain Taylor to seize. What the simple boy-like Easterns admired in Sivaiee, and admire in men like him, is the consummate coolness and craft, the legerdemain tricks and hair-breadth scapes; we ourselves have something of that feeling, as witness the popularity of broad caricature, such as that of Dugald Dalgetty. had Captain Taylor taken that view, he might have made Sivajee an attractive character. But Captain Taylor never condescends to be humorous; his story is not such as those which must have circulated round a thousand Mahratta watchfies in honour of their great hero; he has two endeavours: one to be strictly and gravely truthful; the other to enlist our imagination, our patriotism, our higher emotional feelings in favour of Sivajee. If the two were consistent, he would have succeeded; but they are not consistent. The noble and fearless hero, the patriot whose every breath breathes love for his race and country, the divinely inspired one, the worshipped of a myriad homes; for whom grey-haired warriors die, for whom maiden hearts sigh in secret, as for a star; this man is by no means of the chivalric order. He entraps the noblest of his foes, old Afzul Khan, into a series of wooded ravines, where the troops can be slaughtered in detail; invites the chieftain to a friendly conference, goes forth armed with 'tiger's claws,' a deadly weapon concealed within the hand, and as the old man unsuspectingly grasps his hand in the friendly conference to which he has been invited, drives the murderous steel into his bowels. 'Art thou in health, my 'brother? And he smote him under the fifth rib.' So it has always been in Asia; and we fear that in stern truth, the annals of our own middle ages would shew that the spirit of chivalry, as we have been taught to regard it, never flourished except in rare and isolated minds. We find it in a Joinville here and there; but far more in Scott and Fouqué; for one Bayard there are ten Outrams, and indeed, as it has been reserved to our modern poet to describe the highest ideal of chivalry, so chivalry in its actual development has probably never approach. ed the ideal so nearly as among the great soldiers of the present

day. But we choose to believe otherwise, -we expect high-minded heroes in our fiction, and this episode of the tiger's claws, with many another truthful little trait scattered through these three volumes, will widely shock the child-like faith with which we are apt to repose on the unshakeable perfection of our favourite characters. Not that Fazil, the hero, (at least he marries the heroine) shows any of these uncomely traits. He is a highsouled, generous, pure-minded, guileless youth, incapable of a plot, and honouring braveness and goodness wherever he finds it, a much better Christian than Guy Livingstone or any of his brood; in short, as the enthusiastic chambermaid expressed it 'he is not a man; he is a Thaddeus of Warsaw.' Now it is not for us to say that such a young Mussulman never existed, but we can hardly conceive him; and we suspect that he owes his creation rather to the exigencies of the novelist than to the experiences of the 'Political.' Again, a young and gallant lover has been provided,—there must be love, both pure and romantic; and hence we have Tara, and a wonderful train of events devised to call forth the passion; which, so qualified, is in itself an anomaly in the East. But Tara differs from Fazil; the latter is made untrue in order to be interesting, the former is too true to interest us. Like the German for his notion of a camel, we draw upon our moral consciousness for our notion of a Hindoo lady; but we confess that the result of the process is something very like Tara, something all gentleness and grace and trembling timidity; something that would follow and watch you like a dog or pet fawn, and with very little more power of expression; not the intelligent, appreciative, hearty, perhaps wilful, but none the less affectionate, being which an Englishman likes to call 'wife.'

We have said enough to shew that Captain Taylor's novel has no claim to be called a novel of 'character'; it pleases us in a totally different way from the way Jane Austen pleases us. It is a landscape in which are painted carefully and with a conscientious elaborateness of touch, a country, a race, an era. The pictures of life scattered through these volumes are admirable, and form a complete panorama, in which the manners, feelings, and environments of every class, from king to peasant, from the Mussulman noble to the Mahratta freebooter are described. We have pictures of Tooljapoor hanging on its mountain edge, with its temple in the ravine beneath, and the sacred fountain of Pâp-nâs crowded by adoring and bathing pilgrims;—of the Brahmin's house with its floor plastered with liquid clay by the women-servants, and decorated by the wife and daughter with

designs in white and red chalk powder dropped between the finger and the thumb, and the walls covered with paintings in distemper of favourite deities; and the quiet court beyond, with its toolsee tree and marigolds;—of Tara's procession in the sacred litter when she has devoted herself to the goddess, while the temple-trumpets and conches blow a quivering blast, and the chant rises and falls, and men and women join the pomp from street and alley round with shouts of Jay Kalee! Jay Bhowani! Bome! Bome! till as the first beams of the sun fall upon the procession, the hymn is changed, and the noble old-world strain goes up:—

Risen in majestic blaze, Lo, the universe's eye, Vast and wondrous host of rays, Shineth brightly in the sky.

See he followeth the Dawn,
Brilliant in the path above,
As a youth by beauty drawn
Seeks the maiden of his love.

Hear us, O ye Gods, this day! Hear us graciously, we pray; As the sun his state begins, Free us from all heinous sins.

Mitrà, Varun, Aditi— Hear, O hear us graciously! Powers of Ocean, Earth, and Air, Listen, listen, to our prayer.

The scene changes, and we are watching with the Rajpoot Jemadar, Gopal Sing, and his companions, the Mahratta twin hunchbacks, Rama and Lukshmun, waiting through the rain storm beside a stony pile where grows a large bur tree, with its gnarled boughs stretching their white gaunt arms into the sky, against the leaden grey of the clouds; some of them detached from the parent trunk, and upheld by stems which had once been pendant roots; haunted by black lizards with searlet throats, and wide-eyed horned owls; -a wild weird spot, where dacoits met to distribute their spoils, where clay crucibles and the ashes of charcoal fires often told the shepherd lads in the morning that gold and silver had been melted there at night, where murder had more than once been done, and may be done tonight, for our three friend's matchlocks lean against the wall of the little temple, and the matches are lit, and they are looking with an evil and eager gaze toward the villages of Great and Little Kinny, surrounded by their crops of grain in ear, and pulse, waist-high.

But at this rate, we shall despoil the book of all that makes it most interesting; and we will only venture to sketch one other scene, perhaps the most impressive in all the three volumes. Ali Adil Shah, the young King of Beejapoor, has discovered through some letters which have fallen into his hands the treachery of his vizier, who, as well as the Kotwal of the city. has been corresponding with the Emperor's court and with the fearful Sivajee Bhonslay. He calls a durbar to consult what is to be done, and to conciliate wavering allegiances. Afzul Khan, the principal noble of Beejapore (next to the Wuzeer) and his son Fazil, are absent; the king doubts their fidelity; but in fact they have been entrapped by the Kotwal, have overcome him in turn, and have possessed themselves of the proofs of his treason. The hall of audience is an immense room, unbroken to the roof, and fronted by a lofty Gothic arch, flanked by lancet-shaped side arches. As the nobles and their retinue arrive, they are conducted into the presence by chamberlains with gold sticks and plaited petticoats. The King is seated on a dais,—undecorated, and dressed in plain white muslin, as are most of the assembly, except the servants who stand in files against the wall, in many-coloured satin, cloth of gold, and brocade. From beyond the great entrance arch you could see in the tremulous heat the serried masses of troops, elephants, and litters,—glowing colours, and flashing armour. News of Afzul Khan's detention arrives. His paigah or guard are sent with the royal guard to bring him from the Kotwalli, and the greatest excitement prevails in the assembly. The King addresses his subjects:

'Did ye hear, friends?' he continued, after a pause. 'Do 'ye desire to serve under the infidel? I am young. I have no 'experience. I am a humble worm before God; but I am the son 'of one who led ye to victory. I am one who has been nursed in 'war, and will lead ye again! Choose, then, between them and 'the King of your ancient dynasty. If I have a place in your 'hearts, bid me stay; if not, a Durwaysh's robe and staff are 'mine, and at the blessed shrine of the Prophet I will adjure 'the world and die. I will trouble ye no more. No, no more—

" me, or mine."

'For an instant the same sweet trembling murmur of the king's voice arose to the roof—but for an instant only. As if 'with one accord, a shout of 'Deen! Deen! for the faith! for 'the faith! we will die for you!'—rang through the building, 'as men, no longer able to control their emotions, started to their 'feet and shouted the war-cry of Islam. Those who were with- out had observed the emotion in the hall, but had not been aware

'of its cause. Now, however, the familiar battle-shout fell on 'willing ears, and was returned, from the thousands gathered 'there, with an enthusiasm which knew no bounds. 'Deen!' accompanied by the battle-cries of the various nobles 'and chiefs whose escorts were drawn up together.

'Just then, and as the excitement within and without had somewhat subsided, a strong body of horse, known to all as belonging to Afzul Khan, swept round the corner of the building with its standard unfurled, and its kettle drums beating loudly.'

He brings a palki containing the old Khorassani Kotwal, Jehándar Beg, who, convicted as a traitor, is ordered off for execution under the Goruk Imlee, a group of majestic Adansonias near the citadel of Beejapoor. But meanwhile news is brought that the Wuzeer has been set upon and murdered, and the informant says that a Fakeer was present crying 'Ulla dilâyâ to 'léonga!' 'Hark!' he continued, 'there he is.'

'Ulla dilaya to leonga! Ulla dilaya to leonga!' the cry came nearer and nearer, never changing or faltering in its cadence or time—heard above all other noises and confusion within and without—'Ulla dilaya to leonga!'—up the steps, along the great corridor, into the hall, where every one made way before the brawny form and excited looks of the crier—who paused not, nor yet looked right or left, till he reached the dais. Afzul Khan and Fazil would have stopped him, but he strode on.

"Ulla dilaya to leonga!" he cried, looking at the king without saluting him. "Khan Mahomed is dead, from a hundred
"wounds. As I closed his eyes I saw this on the ground; it had
"fallen from him, so I have brought it;" and flinging a case
containing papers to the king, he turned away without salutation; shouting the old cry with his right arm bare, and stretched high above his head, he strode out of the hall, continuing it
as he passed out of the building through the attendants and
troops, and so away."

Who the Fakeer is, we shall not here say. But the result of the meeting is that the king lays down a gage for him who would punish Sivajee Bhonslay to take up, that old Afzul accepts it, and, all being over, the Burkhast is proclaimed, and that there will be preaching in the Jumma Mosque daily at

noon till the army advances.

So much by way of intimation of the nature of this book—meanwhile there are escapes, disguises, abductions, and the sacking of a town, for those that like strong reading; but the quiet beauty and truthfulness of some of the descriptions will linger longest in our memory.

## THE

## CALCUTTA REVIEW.

## No. LXXVIII.

ART I .- Physical Characteristics of Backergunge.

THE district of Backergunge is situated near the south-eastern corner of the common Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. To the east, some insular alluvial formations lying in the main outlet of these two great rivers, and the flat country of Noakhali or Bullua, intervene between it and the hills of Chittagong. To the west, a low flat tract of deposited sediment stretches far beyond the Hooghly, up to the laterite of Midnapore and Beerbhoom, whilst northward the Delta stretches on the one hand up to the Rajmahal hills, and on the other to

the Garo and Khasia ranges.

Towards the south the district fronts the Bay of Bengal. This bay has the shape, if we may use the expression, of a Originally its northern extremity must truncated triangle. have branched off into two gulfs, somewhat resembling those at the head of the Red Sea, though more irregularly shaped. Between them lay the high land which constitutes the Mudhoopoor jungle, and which probably then stretched away north-westerly in the direction of Rungpore, so as completely to separate the waters of the Brahmaputra entering at the head of the eastern gulf, from those of the Ganges which were received by the western. The accumulation for ages of successive layers of alluvium has surrounded and overlaid the slopes of these hills to such an extent, that the Brahmaputra river is no longer confined by them, but, flowing on a bed of sediment raised by itself, passes over a low portion of the ridge, and joins the Ganges west of Dacca.

There can be no doubt that a large portion of Mymensingh and Sylhet, now elevated plateaus, and the whole of Dacca and Furreedpore, were once below the surface of the sea. The advance of the Delta has filled all these tracts up, and the coast-line now runs nearly east and west from Hidgellee to Chitta-

gong, presenting a slightly convex front to the assaults of wind

and wave during the period of the south-west monsoon.

Considering the adverse circumstances under which it has been formed, the Delta of the Brahmaputra and Ganges appears one of the most remarkable in the world. The tides and currents of the Bay of Bengal are very strong, and are strongest at its northern extremity. Its waters too are subject to the most violent agitation, and every adverse marine condition is present. Yet it is almost the only instance of a large Delta growing in the ocean.

So unfavourable are the conditions under which this Delta is forming, that many have doubted whether it can still be said to increase. In the history of all Deltas there is a stage at which extension ceases. The coast-line of the alluvial formations becomes in time so long, that the river is unable to repair annually more than the ocean, attacking with equal violence every part of the line, is able annually to destroy. In a Delta which has arrived at this stage of growth, increase will sometimes still continue in the neighbourhood of the principal mouths of discharge, but at the other parts of its front, the ocean will eat into the coast, or, penetrating by inferior openings, wash away the soil from its interior, and bear it at ebbtide to the sea.

If this be the present condition of the Ganges Delta, we may expect that, while towards the Megna and Hooghly mouths, (at either extremity of its coast line,) the land will still gain upon the sea, yet, towards the the centre, it will gradually fall a prey to the waves, and such channels as the Raimangal, the Pussur, and the Mutwala or Mutla, become gradually wider and deeper from the erosion of their banks and beds, till they can fair-

ly be entitled estuaries or arms of the sea.

Whether this latter process is going on or not, it is difficult to say. It is certainly not inconsistent with what has been observed. The Mutla, it is known, has improved rather than deteriorated of late years as a navigable creek, and this improve-

ment is obviously due to the action of the tide.

The gain of land at the extremities outside the mouths of the functionally active channels may also perhaps be contested by one who only knows the mouth of the Hooghly. It must be remembered, however, that the Hooghly, though not yet reduced to the condition of the Mutla or Raimangal, is still slowly silting up at the points of its connexion with the Ganges. Much accretion cannot be expected at the mouth of an offset never, comparatively, very large, and now deteriorating. At the opposite extremity, however, nearly the whole volume of the Ganges and Brahmaputra united, pours forth into the bay. Here con-

sequently the gain is very rapid; so rapid that every year a visible increase is effected. The islands south-east of Don Manik's islands, not marked at all in old maps, are rapidly approaching a condition in which vegetation will exist upon them. Others, somewhat older, are already inhabited.

Whether the Delta be advancing or not, its present magnitude, in spite of the obstacles above enumerated, is sufficiently striking. To account for this we must consider the position of the Delta with reference especially to the great Himalayan chain.

If we look at the mountains which run along either side of the Indian Peninsula, we see that a belt of deposited soil stretched along their skirts almost every where divides them from the sea. These mountains are of inconsiderable elevation, and the belt is consequently of no great width; yet it is sufficiently extensive to support a vast population of the most civilized inhabitants of the Deccan.

The denuded material of the Himalayas, on the other hand, from Jumnotri to beyond Sudya, whence once the valleys of the Brahmaputra (the Assam valley) and of the Ganges were filled up, were all concentrated on an extent of sea-coast which bears no greater proportion to their vastness and extension than the coast-line between the mouths of the Nerbudda and Taptee bears to the whole chain of the Syhadrees. In addition, the northern slopes of all the central India chains contribute their quota, whilst from the east, the Soorma, rising near the sources of the Irrawaddy, brings down soft clays from the parallel ranges of Jyntea Moreover, in consequence of the peculiar course of and Cachar. the Brahmaputra, there is to be added the detritus from the whole northern slope of the Himalayas, east of the latitude of Gangotri, from the great spur of that chain which divides the sources of the Sampoo from those of the Sutlej and Sinkhabab, or Indus, and from that chain which, but little inferior to the Himalayas in height, runs parallel with them in Thibet.

It is interesting, amidst the monotonous scenery of Backer-gunge, to reflect that by geographical position it is connected with the most picturesque and beautiful, as well as the wildest and most magnificent scenery in the world; and, when tracking along its muddy creeks, to speculate whether the water, which in the rainy season is perfectly fresh, came originally from the ice cavern of Gangotri or the desert table-land of Thibet, from the vicinity of Mount Aboo or the sacred springs of Amarakantak.

The position of Backergunge, bounded on one side by the principal channel of discharge of the two great rivers, and on the other by that of one of the most functionally active offsets of the Ganges, is likely to affect in a very material degree the future

of the district. It is by some supposed that the Hooghly itself, and all the more or less inefficient channels which intervene between it and the Balesswar or Gorai, have been in their turn occupied by the whole volume of the Ganges. Certain it is that rivers which are continually occupied, as the Ganges, in its lower course, is, in raising their beds and the banks on either side, by deposition of sediment, must, where not confined by hills, periodically change their course. It is impossible to conceive a river accustomed annually to overflow its banks, continuing to preserve a course along the ridge of such an elevated mound as it must in time build up.

The Ganges then is supposed to have gradually forced its way towards the east as the low land which intervened between its (present) right bank and the sea became elevated, by the successive occupation and abandonment of some ten or twelve channels, vestiges of which are still visible in the 24-Pergunnahs and Jessore. At last it reached its eastern limit of variation, where it met the Brahmaputra from the north-east, and the united stream impinged upon the elevated alluvial deposit which skirts and fringes the Tipperah (Tripura) hills; at which point it turns to the right, and rushes into the ocean between Backer-

gunge and Noakhali.

Now the fresh water that the river poured down these channels successively rendered the tracts contiguous to each of them culturable as far as to the sea-coast. The influence of the tide was of course manifested in the rise and fall of the waters, nearly as far into the interior as at present, but the salt water scarcely intruded within the coast even in the season when the stream is weak, and then in a very diluted state. Villages were consequently built, and tanks dug, the vestiges of which are still visible, though the land, known as the Soonderbuns of Jessore and the 24-Pergunnahs, has, since its abandonment by the river, strip by strip, fallen a prey to salt-water and sterility. Other explanations of these relics of an extinct population have been attempted, but the one given, which has previously been offered in this Review, is obviously correct; and deserves repetition of only to stop the mouths if those who would attribute to mis-government what is clearly the result of natural causes.

What the western Soonderbuns were formerly, we may see in the present condition of the Backergunge Soonderbuns. On the banks of the Megna, they are cultivated as far as the seacoast. The shore of the Balesswar is being rapidly cleared, and the intermediate country, though more liable to irruptions of salt water, is not unculturable. To obtain any profits from the grants in the western Soonderbuns, expensive embankments and sluices must be constructed. In many parts of those of Backer-

gunge it is only necessary to cut down the trees.

But how long is this state of things to continue? The main volume of the Ganges has now for many years, probably a century and a half, flowed down the Megna channel. But it is obvious that, when the country east of Furreedpore has been raised to an equal elevation with the western portions of the Delta, there will be nothing to prevent its retracing its course. It is true that if the Ganges were an extra-tropical stream, not subject to great variation in volume, the high banks which it raises on either side of its channel might be sufficient to restrain it for many years in one fixed course, even though the tracts beyond those banks were comparatively low and afforded a shorter passage to the sea. But where the river rises annually many feet above these natural embankments, it is impossible to suppose that the moment its old course becomes on the whole less short and steep than some other, it will not abandon its old direction and take to that other.

It does not appear that very long periods are required for changes of condition in the Ganges Delta. The whole Delta is supposed by the hypothesis to have been traversed within the historic period, and probably two centuries have witnessed the birth, the growth, and the decay, of each of the channels of variation. And now that the Brahmaputra waters spread their deposits simultaneously over the same area as those of the

Ganges, the process must go on more quickly.

As Fergusson has remarked, the fact of the Brahmaputra abandoning its old beds to the east of the Mudhoopoor hills, and bursting open a new channel west of them, is a proof that the plains of Mymensingh and Sylhet have at last been filled up to an equal height with other similarly situated portions of the common Delta. This river has not hitherto been remarkable for variation in the lower part of its course such as characterises the Ganges; which is easily accounted for by the great extent of the alluvial plain or upper Delta which it has been for many years employed in elevating, in the districts of Sylhet and Mymensingh; from which there is only one comparatively narrow outlet towards the sea. Whilst flowing on the nearly horizontal surface of the plain, the greater part of its sediment deposited the water and entered the estuary of the Megna comparatively clear; and in consequence the tracts on either side of that estuary were left comparatively low, and no variation was to be expected. Now however that this alluvial tract has been raised to such an elevation above the sea, that

the Brahmaputra refuses to enter it at all, and pours all (or nearly all) its water through the direct channel of the Jaboona by Jaffiergunge, there is no reason why its variation should not be at least as rapid as that of the Ganges.

From these considerations it appears to be probable that many years will not elapse before the Megna channel is filled up,

raised a little, and deserted by the main stream.

This alternate visitation of every part of the Delta by the river is in harmony with all the operations of Nature. Putting aside sudden and secular elevation by the dynamic agents of the earth's interior, by some such process alone would it be possible for alluvial formations to become permanently raised above the sea as pleasant habitations for men? If the channels were fixed, the Gangetic Delta would consist only of swamp traversed by water-courses flowing along the summits of narrow mounds of alluvium raised to an elevation so dangerous that every rainy season would be a time of complete devastation. Some slight idea of the effect may be obtained by visiting those districts where rivers have been prevented for a few years by artificial embankments from producing the changes natural to them; only a slight idea, however, for, from considerations of expense, artificial embankments are seldom raised to a dangerous height, and are indeed inefficient after a few years.

It has been rumoured for a few years that the Gorai or Balesswar, which bounds Backergunge to the west, has been, to use technical language, opening out at the head. In plainer terms it is said that, near Kooshtea, where this offset leaves the Ganges, the channel, which for many years was very shallow and narrow, has been growing deeper and broader, so that more water enters it in the rains. This of course may be a temporary phenomenon. Various considerations however compel us to believe that this river indicates the general course which the Brahmaputra and Ganges will follow whenever they abandon

the Megna estuary.

The main stream of the Ganges, if it ever flowed down the bed of this offset, can have so flowed only for a very short time. It is possible that some unusually great accumulations of deposit made during successive years in the upper portion of its course near Kooshtea, forced the stream eastward before it had had time to elevate duly the lower portions between Jessore and Backergunge, and in the south of Furreedpore. Outside the coast-line too at this part of the Delta there is a marked deficiency of submarine accumulations. Within ten miles of the Haringhatta (the mouth of the Balesswar) is situated the Swatch, where, as every one knows, no soundings have been made, though on either side

the shoal water is nearly continuous to the extreme limit of the Delta coast. Along the swampy beels which run on either bank of the Balesswar down to the "Swatch of no ground" seems a

priori the proper course of the future river.

The district of Backergunge is situated wholly within the lower Delta of the Ganges, that is to say, in that part of the Delta where the beds of the water-courses are all below the level of the sea at high tide. All of these are in consequence subject to tidal influence, and, although during the height of the rains, the water does not turn in the principal channels, but flows constantly towards the sea, it rises and falls as considerably as in the dry season. Owing to the incessant motion of the water at a considerable velocity, all the channels (which are innumerable) are kept open and navigable for boats proportioned to their size, and there is probably no part of India where such perfect access by water to every part of the district can be obtained. district is in fact covered with a net-work of khals most intricate in their windings and intercommunications, and apparently without any order or regularity. But although in a district so essentially flat, an organized system of natural drainage would scarcely be looked for, we find that in fact the whole district, except where the great Megna and Aryal khan river have obliterated the old features of the country by recent deposits over its northern and eastern portions, may be divided into distinct drainage districts, each of them containing corresponding features.

In undulating tracts of country the drainage ordinarily radiates from elevated centres towards the circumjacent coast-line. In alluvial formations, on the contrary, owing to the excess of deposit on the edges, the water flows inwards from an elevated surrounding and enclosing ridge to a central basin, from whence it is conducted to the exterior along water-courses, piercing through this surrounding ridge. And this order is followed not merely in tidal districts like Backergunge, but in all alluvial formations, however elevated, as for example in

Each of the drainage circles or districts of Backergunge then possesses its central basin or reservoir of swamp towards which the surface slopes in every direction from the exterior. On the exterior edge of the area, where it abuts on the large tidal rivers (which everywhere divide one drainage circle from another) the land is well raised and covered with villages. The intermediate space is covered with rice cultivation, and the centre is a lake or beel, varying in size and depth with the season of the year.

From points not very far from the centre of this beel and quite submerged in the rains, numerous little water-courses proceed in every direction towards the edge. These can only be recognized by the fact that a current flows along them, and by the narrow submerged rims of deposited earth which enclose them on either side and partially separate them from the beel Beginning almost in nothing, many combine to form others, which, though still within the beel and with banks submerged by its waters, present more defined features. At last by the coalescence of many, a water-course is formed, with banks which, though but a few feet wide and sloping rapidly towards the beel water, are yet in the cold weather above the water. After further convergence of such channels we find ourselves (supposing we are attempting to find our way out of the beel by water) in a khal of moderate dimensions, with banks which are not submerged except in the height of the rains; we are still probably many stages from the great rivers, whose banks are permanently above the water, and which are some hundreds of yards in width. But it is useless to particularize further. The numerous khals which originate in the depths of the central reservoir terminate in some two or three considerable channels which open into the circumposed main water-course. Between this latter and the beel there is no water communication except through these two or three channels and their ramifications. Even if a short cut were artificially made direct into the beel, it would in a few rainy seasons, by sucking in at the ebb tide the water from all directions, create for itself a branched system of terminations under water, which in the dry weather would be exposed to view.

The whole system depends on the principle that inundating waters, if in a condition to lay down deposit, do so chiefly upon their actual banks, and thus tend to shut themselves off from the tract of submergeable country beyond. As the banks rise, the rush of water over them at ebb and flood is intensified, and at length bursts open channels of communication. These throw up enclosing banks in their turn, which process gives birth to new connecting channels piercing these new banks, and the process is repeated till the communicating channels become

so small as scarcely to be noticed.

It is obvious that in this manner the drainage of flat surfaces is performed in the most effectual manner. In undulating or mountainous countries the drainage derives sufficient force from gravity to maintain the channels open, but in alluvial flats the slow passage of the water would scarcely suffice. If in a tidal district the drainage channels merely flowed from the interior of

each patch of land towards the circumference, they would soon fill with sediment brought in by the tide, which would ebb and flow in them with but slight velocity; but where these channels are the only means of communication between two considerable bodies of water constantly differing from each other in level, a

high rate of speed is easily maintained.

In the rainy season the drainage reservoirs are connected much more directly with the exterior than during the remainder of The water from various causes stands at an average at least six feet higher than in the dry season, and completely submerges all the interior articulations of the system of relieving Only the larger and more external have their banks above the water; the smaller feeders are supplied both from their extremities and over their own banks. The greater volume of water which then requires passage is thus amply provided for; whilst in the dry weather, when the drainage volume is weak, the water is unable on account of the fall in its level to leave the reservoir except through the extreme ends of very small The banks of the different classes or grades of chanchannels. nels, each in turn, begin to fulfil their proper functions, as the level decreases, and in this manner the water-way is always exactly proportioned to the volume to which it is required to give

In districts of alluvium raised above tidal influence the rise and fall of the rivers during the rainy season produce similar effects. The water on the swamps being only connected with these by narrow channels piercing the banks of the rivers, is always, unless the river remains very long at exactly the same level, either above or below that level, and the channels are in-

cessantly occupied in restoring the balance.

The swamps or drainage reservoirs are themselves an interesting feature in the physical geography of Backergunge. They vary greatly in size, in accordance with the area of the tract they drain, and the amount of filling up which they have undergone. In the eastern portion of the district, the alluvium from the Megna has completely obliterated the whole drainage organization, which has become enveloped in one uniform mound sloping towards the west, and forming the right bank of this immense water-course. In the western portion of the district where the system of drainage prevails which we have endeavoured to describe, the swamps during the rainy season fill up the whole of each drainage tract, except its extreme margin and the banks of the primary channels which penetrate that margin. In the dry weather they become reduced to the extent of the nucleus or central portion from which the relieving channels take their rise.

This nucleus is often of considerable depth, and is generally covered by a floating surface of matted grass and earth on which Nul, Hoogla, and Koonda reed sometimes grow; at other places it is covered with a short, coarse, but very green grass, abounding in snipe. In parts where the covering is thick enough to support the cultivators, rice is sown in the dry season. It is dangerous to tread on this shaking surface except where the straw hiras or small retaining embankments which mark the fields shew that people have been there before. Even through the midst of this quaking bog the small ramifying water-courses are to be found, and on their margins, though two or three feet deep under water, a firm footing is generally obtainable. Their beds also are ordinarily composed of a hard mixture of sand and clay, and it is only in the interspaces that the floating surface exists. The smaller beels are very useful as village boundaries. The inhabitants on either side cultivate as far as they prudently can, and abandon the centre to jungle and water-fowl.

From the beel on every side the country rises with considerable slope, the first footing being generally found in the watercourses. The drainage towards the beel is along successive terraces of rice fields, each a few inches lower than the next above it. The water is retained in the higher ground for cultivation by means of the little hiras or banks, (here constructed of straw as well as earth) common throughout Bengal. It may be repeated here that all the surface drainage of the tract surrounding each beel flows towards it, and never into the penetrating channels, whose banks are always higher than the ground outside and

always slope away from the channel.

The level of the sea at the head of the Bay of Bengal and on the tidal water-courses of the Delta, is subject to a considerable annual alteration. It is a doubtful point whether this alteration is to be attributed to the influx of fresh water in such immense quantities, or to the banking up of the sea by the south-west monsoon. As the increased elevation occurs during the rainy season, when both these influences are at work, it is extremely difficult to decide the question, and both are probably concerned in the result. The change of level is not confined to the head of the Bay, but is found some distance down the east coast of India. In Backergunge the difference in mean level must be at least four feet. This is an important point, for, as the whole district of Backergunge is nearly horizontal, the water at high tide in the rainy season floods nearly the whole of it, and the inhabitants are obliged to raise their houses on mounds. It is owing to this alteration in the level of the tides rather than to the mere local rainfall, that the change in the level of the beels takes place.

The local rainfall of Backergunge is however extremely heavy. It varies from 200 to 300 inches in the year; whereas that of Calcutta is only seventy inches. Throughout the hot weather the atmosphere is cloudy in this district. The south-west monsoon which blows upon the shores of Backergunge, probably contains much more aqueous vapour, than the monsoon which visits Calcutta, for the latter has been robbed of much of its moisture when passing over the plains of the peninsula, whereas the sea breeze at Backergunge does not, perhaps, pass over any dry land in its whole course from the Tropic of Capricorn.

The above are but a few of the physical peculiarities of this district, but they are perhaps quite as many as non-residents can take an interest in. If we have dwelt too long on such points as the natural drainage or the formation of the district, our excuse must be that they appear very interesting subjects, and that

they have never been fully treated of.

- ART. II.—1. The Law of Evidence, applicable to the Courts of the East India Company, explained in a course of Lectures delivered by John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Fourth Edition. Madras. J. Higginbotham. 1863.
- 2. The Law of Evidence as administered in England and applied to India. By Joseph Goodeve, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co.
- 3. Act II. of 1855.

THERE is no branch of law which is attracting at the present time more attention from the reformers of the Courts of this country, than the Law of Evidence. This and a new edition of Mr. Norton's work must be our apology for entering on the enquiry how far the law now current in England can be considered applicable to the various Courts of India.

We are too much given to the habit of believing England to be blessed with better forms of Government, a better constitution, a larger amount of liberty, better laws both substantive and adjective, than any other country in the world. Flattering as such an opinion is to our self-love, it undoubtedly contains a very large element of truth, and is at the present moment amply vindicated by the long peace we have enjoyed, while our neighbours on all sides have been distracted by foreign or intestine troubles; but yet it is a truth requiring a certain amount of reservation, it should be predicated relatively and not absolutely, and the consciousness of it is apt to lead us into a natural error, that what is best for us, must be best for every one else. It deceives us into recommending one panacea for all the evils, civil or political, of other countries,—to assimilate their laws to ours, and to follow our example.

It must be admitted that this is precisely the course which Indian legislation has been following during the last few years; we have been passing through an epoch of Anglo-mania. Laws, Civil and Criminal, Finance, Police, even taxes have all been more or less modelled in the English system, and with a result we grant in the main good; it cannot be otherwise where the model is so far socially in advance of the copy, as England is of India. But even in Civil questions only (and the absurdity of

extending the process to Political, is so patent that it has hardly ever been seriously contended for) the process of assimilation requires to be carried out with many modifications necessitated by the different circumstances, habits, and national characteristics of the respective countries, which, if neglected, involve, as in the imposition of the Income Tax, inequality, oppression, evasion, and failure.\*

The Laws of Evidence as far as regards the local Courts have only comparatively recently attracted the attention of the legislature; beyond extending to India the provisions of the successive English Acts (3 and 4 William IV. c. 42, 6 and 7 Vict. c. 85, 14 and 15 Vict. c. 95,) and laying down a few general rules almost identical with those now contained in the Code of Civil Procedure, nothing worthy of special notice was done, until the enactment of Act II. 1855. As far as this Act goes, it may (almost without any reservation) be asserted that all those Sections in which it alters the English law are improvements (we are writing of course with reference to India) and that in all those cases in which it rules or settles some disputed question, the ruling appears to be on the side of common sense, but our objection to it lies not in what it does, but in what it omits to do,—it bears on the face of it that it was constructed on the understanding that all the principles of English law were to remain intact.

This is then the main question to which we address ourselves in this article; are the principles of English law such as are

in their entirety applicable to India?

Before proceeding to details we cannot help remarking that this view, that the law will prove to be in many respects inapplicable, and will require little less than radical alteration, is supported by many preliminary considerations. (1.) The old principles of evidence have even in England been rudely shaken, and in some cases openly condemned, by the innovations of the last thirty years; the system of exclusion has been especially made the object of attack; as we have so much to say on this head hereafter, it is premature now to proceed to details, but it is not unreasonable to contend that we ought not to be too confident or dogmatic in India as to principles with respect to which we have been so diligently retracing our steps in England.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;If much of the difficulty has arisen from the dominion of English prejudices, and especially that deep-rooted prejudice, that English law is the standard of perfection to which every thing should be fitted, considerable progress towards improvement will be made, as soon as we have emancipated ourselves from those prejudices.'—(Mill's History of India, Vol. V., page 425.)

(2). The English law of evidence has grown out of the growth of the country, has been framed and moulded gradually, and as experience dictated; in a body of law formed in this way, there are a certain class of defects which the national character instantly takes advantage of and in this way exposes; these are one by one carefully weeded out and eliminated. But there are other defects to take advantage of which is more or less contrary to the national character, and which as far as that country is concerned can scarcely be called defects; if however the same law be introduced elsewhere, they would be at once taken hold of and worked upon and become prejudicial in the highest degree. As an instance of this we may mention the rule that the number of witnesses that may be offered to prove any point is unlimited. In England, where, generally speaking, only genuine witnesses are tendered, and where all parties alike aim at as speedy and decisive a conclusion as possible, this rule may practically work well and produce little or no injury. In India on the other hand, where scores of witnesses can be procured, and are frequently offered to prove even the most trifling questions, some power of rejecting superfluous testimony is not only urgently required, but at present everywhere exercised in defiance of the law; in fact, without its exercise no Magistrate could hope to administer any justice at all; yet that a Court has not the right even in India to reject a single witness, has been decided in the most definite manner by the highest tribunal. In a suit\* for the possession of certain Mehals in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1841, the defendant objected to the plaintiff's title as heir, that he was a spurious and suppositious son; to prove this plea he tendered fifty-eight (!) witnesses; after examining thirty of them, the Zillah Judge declined to hear the remaining twentyeight and decided for the plaintiff; the defendant appealed on this point to the Sudder, which wisely, as we must think, supported the Zillah Judge; on a further appeal, however, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided otherwise, and remanded the case for the evidence of the remaining twenty-eight witnesses to be taken. It is quite clear that the Privy Council's experience of witnesses was not gained in India.

(3.) The English law of evidence is largely based on the system of the Judges of fact being distinct from the Judges of law;—many of the principles of exclusion have their root in this separation of the two functions, and become useless if not untenable in Courts, where, with a very few exceptions, they are both

united in one person.

<sup>\*</sup> Jeswunt Singjee, Ubby Singjee, v. Jet Singjee, Ubby Singjee.—2 Moore's Indian App. 424.

(4). Even the Law of Evidence, in conjunction with other English Laws, has been stamped with the mark of the political struggles through which the country has passed; it is, probably, to the Court influence which has at times been brought to bear on the Judges, that the otherwise unreasonable respect for the decision of Juries is due; and it can hardly be doubted that the antipathy against Catholics, or rather against the caricature of Catholics which zeal rather than honesty has pourtrayed,\* affords the correct explanation of the discreditable distinction, unknown even in America, by which the most sacred and solemn secrets of religion are denied

that protection, which is afforded to legal confidences only.

Generally, it may be said that it is hardly probable that the same principles of evidence, above all in respect to the exclusion and admission of evidence, can be suitable to two countries where the character and credit of evidence so widely differs. Without disputing that the English people have their vices, it must be acknowledged that truthfulness is one of their most preeminent virtues, and without denying many virtues to the people of India, we shall hardly be wide of the mark in selecting untruth as one of their most characteristic vices. The effect of this is that in England oral testimony is generally and as a rule to be relied upon, while here, if uncorroborated by circumstances or probabilities, it can scarcely be said, in the case of the majority of witnesses, to have any value at all. There the general question in estimating the testimony of nine witnesses out of ten is, 'what does it prove?' Here, in nine cases out of ten, what it proves is clear enough, being the whole question at issue, but the enquiry is, 'is it to be believed or not?' Can it be expected that the same artificial rules which are conducive to furthering the first, will be best suited in aiding the second enquiry? In each case truth is the object of search, but if the difficulties and obstacles are essentially different, must not the mode of conducting the search be different also? though victory be their common object, would it not be absurd for competitors to go through the same training where the palm is to be awarded in one case to skill, in the other to strength?

<sup>&#</sup>x27; If the papists have sometimes maintained that no faith ought to be 'kept with heretics, their adversaries seem also to have thought that no 'truth ought to be told of idolators.'-Hume's History of England, Vol. V. Note to p. 26.

Kant at Konigsberg was surrounded by Englishmen and by foreigners of all nations, foreign and English students, foreign and English merchants, and he pronounced the main characteristic feature of the English nation to lie in their severe reverence for truth.'-De Quincey.

It must be remembered that we are urging no mere abstract question, while practically an existing system works well. Practically the laws of evidence are unknown in the Mofussil Courts. Some of the various grades of Judges, it is true, are tolerably versed in them; but to put them in practice, it is requisite even in England that the Counsel or Agents for the contending parties should be equally instructed. It is not the province of the presiding authority to be constantly on the watch for the many insidious forms of hearsay, or to raise objections to entering on the record, statements which the person affected by them permits to pass unchallenged. Pleaders of this class can however rarely be met with away from the High Court, except perhaps in a few of the Zillah Courts in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and the experiment, how the English law would work in the Mofussil, must be considered as still untried.

We confess that we believe it to be of the greatest importance, both for the respect due to the Law and also for the sake of justice, that the experiment should not be tried until the principles which now obtain have been modified;—or rather, as the trial is rapidly approaching and may be considered as now beginning that the requisite modifications should be speedily made.

We might even assert further, that it is not in India only that some changes are requisite;—it is a very patent and very pregnant circumstance, that there is no branch of English law which commands so little respect outside the circle of professional men as the rules of Evidence. At the Court Martial on Colonel Crawley, the President is reported to have said, when pressed by the technical objections for the defence, 'we are not 'bound by the rules of evidence, our object is to elicit the truth.' Of course it would be replied that it is the very object of the laws of Evidence to lay down the safest rules for attaining the truth; but men of common sense and great ordinary experience seldom admit this, and the judgment of professional men of any class as to the beauty of their own science, must always be accepted with very great reservation. Those who have mastered a difficult or anomalous science possess a power over others, especially useful where it is capable of being turned to such important account as the science of any branch of Law. Every intricacy simplified, every anomaly removed, has a tendency to destroy their advantage and to lower their pre-eminence; \* and as it is

<sup>\*</sup> In corroboration of this we may refer to the Lord Chancellor's speech in April 21st on the Land Transfer Bill, in which, after attributing the failure of the bill to the opposition of the Solicitors, whose interests it

almost useless to look to practising barristers for improvements and alterations, if any thing requires reform, it must be done either from without, or from Judges whose position is secured,

or from theoretical as opposed to practising lawyers.

The consideration that an obsolete system now universally condemned has attracted admiration as unqualified as the existing rules should teach moderation to those who praise these rules so highly. What can be more complete than Lord Erskine's well-known eulogy? 'The rules of evidence are 'founded in the charities of religion, in the philosophy of 'human nature, in the truths of History, and in the experience

' of common life.'(!)

Yet by those very rules not only plaintiffs and defendants, but all persons pecuniarily interested in any suit, were excluded from being witnesses, 'a practice', as Mr. Norton expresses it, 'which 'involves the absurdity that the evidence of a man with the ' wealth of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy would be rejected if shewn ' to be interested even to the extent of a single rupee in the ' suit at issue. To such a man the temptation to serve from the 'truth would be as nothing, yet the rule, stern as the bed of 'Procrustes, was equally fitted to him and to a person to whom the same sum might be sufficient to make him a "bazar witness."' Under those very rules an English Judge, an English Bench has been heard to say to a barrister, 'what will you de-'mand next? I suppose counsel for prisoners will soon claim ' to be allowed to address the Court.'\* Of those very rules the preamble to Lord Durham's Act which has been adapted as the preamble of the Indian Act (VII. 1844) says ' the enquiry 'after truth in Courts of Justice is often obstructed by incapacities ' created by the present law, and it is desirable that full informa-'tion as to the facts in issue both in Criminal and Civil cases 'should be laid before the persons who are to decide upon them, ' that such persons should exercise their judgment on the credit of 'the witnesses adduced for the truth of the testimony' (6 and 7 Vict. c. 99). If this was true of the laws of evidence in England, hardly two dozen years ago, the burden of proving them to be so admirable now, should rest with those who make a statement which depends on so scanty an experience.

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would have injuriously affected, he calls England 'a lawyer-ridden country, We do not in the least mean to attribute base or dishonourable motives to lawyers, but only to point out that, as in every other profession or trade, their interests cannot fail to influence and distort their opinions.

<sup>\*</sup> It was only in 1836, by 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 114, that counsel were allowed to persons accused of felony.

But it is not our object to find fault with the English system as regards England; even the defects in the system have there taken root, and to eradicate them with discrimination and judgment is no easy task. But it is a very different thing to introduce defects and to remove them; innovation is itself an evil, and the introduction of a false principle combines two evils without any countervailing benefit, while even the removal of a defect is inexpedient, unless it be so glaring and detrimental as to outweigh the corresponding evil of innovation. Only let it be remembered that, if some of the reasons which may be alleged against introducing the principles of the English law of evidence in India would equally apply to England, this is a conclusion from which we do not shrink, and in which not only almost all unprofessional men, but even many of the greatest ornaments of the Bench and Bar in England coincide.\* Even Mr. Goodeve, to his credit, and in this, as indeed in many other respects we confess to a preference for his work over that of Mr. Norton, often acknowledges that in spite of its general excellence there still remain defects and anomalies in the English Law. 590, 601, &c.)

It is almost an exhaustive decision to classify the laws of evidence, as, -1. The rules for procuring documents or the attendance of witnesses, for regulating the forms of their reception or examination, and generally the mode of procedure in taking evidence. 2. The rules for excluding or admitting evidence. 3. Rules regarding the artificial value and effect attached to evidence when received. With the first of these we are little concerned; the great object is to obtain uniformity and order, and these may generally be secured in one country in the same way that they are secured in another,—the third, though an essential portion of the science, is at the same time that portion which in the English law is most commendable and best suited to India. So far from curtailing it, it is rather in the direction of extension that any alteration should be made. The less trustworthy positive evidence is, the greater the gain by substituting for it artificial proofs and presumptions. It is the second head, that of the principles of exclusion, which we look on with such

To those who are familiar with the tendency of modern legal criticism in England our assertion must be a truism; we admit that the criticisms even of the Law of Evidence do not generally embrace the points attacked in this article, but we readily acknowledge that what are grave defects in India, are, if defects at all, quite of minor importance in England. On one point however, to which we have addressed ourselves, the examination of accused persons, a well-known writer and thinker (Mr. Fitzjames Stephen) has recently published a work most strongly condemnatory of the English practice.

apprehension, and which requires so careful and in some respects

comprehensive a revision.

Here we feel we are treading on dangerous ground, these are with most lawyers the tenderest of all points, the arcana of the science of proof, where laymen ought not to presume to tread. Still it remains, firstly, that these are the principles with respect to which the most sweeping and radical alterations have been made within the last thirty years in England, and that they stand now on an inconsistent basis, supported by reasons both good and bad, partly valid, partly exploded and untenable. 2ndly. arguments by which this part of the law is supported are, more perhaps than in any other branch of the same subject, peculiarly founded on the English character, are ignored by every. nation, civilized or uncivilized, not of English extraction, and even in England are almost annually receding, under the assaults of experience and reason. There are, we admit, some perfectly sound and valid grounds for the exclusion of evidence applicable as much and perhaps even more to this country than to England. According to Mr. Norton 'the only proper grounds for exclusion in legal enquiries are vexation, expense, delay, ..... and where none of these preventive obstacles 'presents itself, a wisely constructed law of evidence will strive to admit everything which can throw light upon the subject

' under investigation.'-Section 26.

We have no fault to find with this passage, except that it is insufficient to account for the exclusions requisite even in this country, and that though intended by the author to apply to the English law as current after the recent legislation, it is in reality totally condemnatory of it. The uninitiated might indeed be puzzled to know how such principles can be made to include the cases which frequently occur in practice. A single instance will suffice. A person is accused of a serious offence in Calcutta; the evidence against him is very strong, but he had gone up the day before to visit a factory of his perhaps in Jessore or Nuddea, where he met an official of the district who was encamped in the neighbourhood; unfortunately this officer shortly afterwards died or left for England on furlough, but, as it happened, on the very day in question, in writing to a friend in Calcutta, specially mentioned that he in the middle of writing was surprised by a visit from the defendant. The recipient, when the case becomes public, acquaints the accused of his having received this important letter. All his hopes centre on it, containing as it does his complete exculpation; but by the English law it cannot be admitted; if justice (?) is to be done, the persons who have to decide on

the guilt of the accused, whether Jury or Judge, ought to be kept in complete ignorance even of the very existence of the letter; it is mere hearsay evidence; if the accused in his own statement chooses to mention that he met this officer, he only lays himself open to a damaging suspicion from naming one who, he knows, cannot be produced. He is left to the evidence of his factory servants, in any case all but worthless, as they are testifying on behalf of their own master,—in this case probably positively injurious, as they will swear to an English date of which they have no real recollection, and the Counsel for the Crown will triumphantly expose them in cross-examination, and shew perhaps that many of them are actually ignorant of the date or day of the week, on which they being examined. on what principle is this letter rejected? Is it on account of vexation, expense, or delay? It certainly would at first sight appear that these grounds do not apply, and that some other principle must be brought in. This, however, Mr. Norton would not do, and would make his principles include the case in question by the

following reasoning:-

'The letter is evidence of facts which are neither given on oath 'nor subject to cross-examination. It is true that the person who 'produces it can be cross-examined as to the hand-writing and ' the date of receipt, and it would be shewn that the letter was ' perfectly genuine, and thus far the evidence would be both direct ' and admissible; but clearly as regards the contents of the letter, 'neither can an oath be administered nor cross-examination be 'applied. Being then devoid of either of these safeguards as they ' are termed, the evidence of the letter is so worthless that 'it is useless expense and waste of time to receive it, hence it 'should be excluded.' The fallacy of this reasoning (and it is most fairly stated) is palpable; the principle of rejecting all evidence which is not tested by oath and cross-examination may be a sound one, and is worthy of further consideration, but to say that every statement not so secured is so useless as to involve mere expense and delay in taking it, is not only contrary to the daily experience of every one of us, but is an insult to common sense. By a similar train of reasoning the rule for rejecting secondary evidence, such for instance, as an authenticated copy of a document, can be forced under these heads, and yet such a copy would generally be more trustworthy and consequently, as far as this ground only is concerned, less worthless than ordinary oral testimony to any fact on oath.

In English law the main ground for rejecting secondary, including hearsay, evidence is that it points to better evidence behind; and Mr. Norton's mistake is that he attempts to in-

clude this under the heads of vexation, expense, and delay instead of recognizing it as a separate principle; but this is not the only ground; for it is evident that, in the case supposed, the writer of the letter would not be produceable (at least if dead), so that the letter would be no violation of this rule. The further principle is that such evidence, not being (as we have shewn) given under oath or tested by cross-examination, is entitled to a less amount of credit than evidence given under those restrictions, and further that it is extremely likely to mislead and distract those who have to decide upon it. The opponents of the admission of hearsay evidence may perhaps, while admitting that it is not all worthless, contend that, as a kind and class of evidence, it is vastly inferior to direct. By opening the door to it we should be multiplying the length of our trials indefinitely, and the gain would be quite incommensurate with the expense and delay entailed by it. This may appear specious, but its weight entirely rests on the fallacious and exploded principle of laying down absolute and inflexible rules, and leaving nothing to the discretion of Judges and to the special character of unusual cases, which is precisely that Procrustean method condemned by Mr. Norton in the extract given above. We do not as will be seen, advocate the promiscuous admission of all 'hearsay,' nine-tenths of which, including all the most objectionable kinds, would fall under the head of secondary evidence and be excluded as such. Moreover we very much doubt whether the admission of hearsay in any form, at all events in the limited form we propose, would add to the length of The time taken up in arguing about the receptabitrials at all. lity of evidence, often exceeds ten-fold the time which the most promiscuous admission would have occupied. It is, we suspect, to the rule about collateral issues and not to the rejection of hearsay, that an English trial owes the conciseness and comparative brevity which distinguish it so markedly from courts-martial and foreign enquiries.

We have dwelt on Mr. Norton's exposition, because it is the hinge on which the whole question turns, the root of the whole fallacy. Mr. Norton, by thus (we do not say intentionally) misrepresenting the English principles, shirks a discussion which he could not consistently with other portions of his work have undertaken. By putting forward unimpeachable grounds for exclusion, he carries with him the consent of his readers at this stage, and afterwards dexterously introduces the true grounds as merely falling under and included in these heads. Mr. Goodeve in his corresponding passage (p. 7) is more correct. 'Did the time capable of being allotted to each separate trial in Courts of justice afford

opportunity for the investigation of all the discursive matter which the adoption of the first principle (indiscriminate admission) might let in? and did the constitution of the Court, and the capacities of the human mind, secure that its admission would not rather tend to distraction than to sound judgment (hearsay) and were there not some classes of evidence, the insufficiency for reliance on which is obvious on their very face (secondary evidence pointing to the existence of primary) there might be reason for the adoption of the first principle as the governing one for the guidance of the Court'? On the whole, when read with the explanatory remarks which follow, but which are too long to quote here, this is a fair exposition of the question, though still it has a tendency to tone down and soften the rules under discussion. It will therefore be convenient if we state the principles more in detail.

dence tendered points to some better evidence in the background, which ought to be produced first; if A says I heard B make a certain statement, why is not B there to say so himself? If he says the contents of a document are so and so, why is not the document produced to speak for itself? or if a copy is tendered and sworn to as such, why is not the original forthcoming? If a letter is put into Court to prove that A the writer saw or knew something, why is not A put into the box to swear that the facts contained in the letter are true? This is a ground, the good sense and importance of which are obvious, but if it can be shewn that the original evidence has disappeared, as for instance that the document been lost or burnt, the rule is in most cases,

and as we shall argue, should be in all, relaxed.

There are, however, other exceptional occasions not allowed in England for relaxing the rule which might advantageously be introduced here. These may be considered cases where two rules of exclusion clash. If the original evidence cannot be procured without great difficulty, annoyance, expense, and delay, while the secondary evidence happens to be of a particularly trustworthy character, the latter should be made receivable. What amount of difficulty or expense justifies its reception, must of course be left to the discretion of the presiding Judge. In support of our argument that the rigour of the English law requires relaxation, we may refer to Section 39, Act II. of 1855. Declarations against interest or made in the ordinary course of business are merely secondary evidence, and as such not receivable under that Act, while the maker of them is at hand. By the English law, on the other hand, they cannot be received, so long as the maker is alive. He may be insane or a prisoner of war, he may

be separated by the four corners of the globe from the spot where the trial is being held, he may not have been even heard of for six years, still the rule 'stern as the bed of Procrustes,' excludes the statement, because he is still alive or presumed to be so. It would have been well if the Indian Act, while removing this absurdity, had not been more tender to other

restrictions equally untenable.

2ndly.—The next ground of exclusion may be stated as that of privilege, which is really one of the forms of 'vexation;' it is that evidence whether in the shape of important public documents, or of confidential communications, or of private matters the publication of which is unseemly, shall not for the mere personal interest or even whim of any suitor be dragged into Court; few will question the necessity of this, and most will agree that the privilege should rather be extended than curtailed, and bond fide medical and spiritual advisers be allowed the same pro-

tection which is now confined to legal advisers only.

3rdly.—Expense and delay are the grounds for excluding collateral enquiries. For example, if a witness to a theft is asked in cross-examination in how many similar cases he has previously given evidence, if he denies that he has ever or often given it, it is not allowable for the opposite party to produce evidence to shew that he has done so a dozen or more times; the reason for this is that it has nothing to do with the direct enquiry as to the theft, which, if allowed to branch out in this manner, might never stop; thus, for instance, the parties produced to prove that he had given evidence, might be themselves asked some indirect question, and the first witness, whose statement was being impugned, might claim to produce evidence to shew their answers to be incorrect, and in this manner the enquiry might go on ad infinitum. Although this argument is certainly entitled to a great deal of consideration, we cannot help thinking that even here a little discretionary power of occasionally relaxing the rule might be wisely vested in the Judge. Here too we have the authority of Act II. to support us to a limited extent; for Section 33\* is a palpable violation of the rule. Though it confines the exception to a single instance, yet the principle of it extends much further; the reason for it is clear, the assertion of the witness (that he has never been convicted) is one the correctness of which it is very important to ascertain

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;A witness in any cause may be questioned as to whether he has been convicted of any felony or misdemeanor, and upon being so questioned, if he either denies the fact, or refuses to answer, it shall be lawful for the opposite party to prove such conviction.' The same exception has been introduced in England.

and the disproof (the production of the judgment itself) is remarkably decisive and conclusive. This should be extended to all similar cases (and they are very numerous) in which, in the opinion of the presiding officer, it is important to test the credit of some assertion of a witness, and in which the exposure.

if untrue, is simple and final and at hand.

While however the law rigidly includes collateral enquiries for the reasons above stated, strange as it may seem, it entirely ignores these reasons on other occasions. Is it no vexation, no waste of time, that the Court should be obliged to sit and record statement after statement of witnesses, hardly any of them worth listening to, and the value of whom after a certain number have passed, must almost defy the range of the highest power of mathematical infinitesimals? To take the case in Bombay referred to above, after thirty witnesses had passed, each no doubt telling the same tale in the same words with the same fluency, what must be the denominator of the fraction below which the value of the remaining twenty-eight instances would not fall? We can wish no worse fate to the Members of the Judicial Committee than that they should be placed for a few months in sole charge of a District of heavy Sub-Division, and

there be compelled to try cases on their own principles.

In the most trivial assaults or disputes about land, dozens or even scores of witnesses are daily tendered on both sides. Unless a Magistrate takes some steps to cut short enquiries, cases which in England are disposed of in five or ten minutes, would be protracted over hours, every point being most keenly contested and flatly contradicted by the opposite parties. Perhaps it may be said that in trivial cases a Magistrate may as a matter of course curtail a list of witnesses, and stop a tedious cross-examination, and that it was never intended that the laws of evidence should be strictly enforced in small and unimportant cases. If this is so, so much the better; as the number of minor cases vastly exceeds that of cases of importance, it would be a great thing to understand that in Small Cause or Revenue or Criminal Courts, the injurious portions of the laws of evidence are to be relaxed, though even here the distinction should be openly acknowledged instead of being tacitly permitted; but we are not contented to rest here, we are quite prepared to contend that in every case a Judge ought to be vested with the power both of refusing witnesses and of stopping a cross-examination which is uselessly protracted. The right of calling witnesses is abused, and therefore ought not to be unchecked,—it is frequently and notoriously made use of as well to annoy others by needlessly citing them, as to waste the time of the Court by producing redundant and

unnecessary evidence. The suit at Bombay is a fair instance of this, and an instance which happened under the notice of the writer of this article, not many months ago, aptly illustrates the

argument in point.

The case was cognizable only by the Sessions, and as the parties were influential, several Calcutta pleaders were engaged on each side. About fifteen witnesses were examined for the prosecution by the committing Magistrate, and the cross-examination to which they were subjected baffles description; it was useless enough, but not irrelevant, for there is hardly any limit to the extent to which an ingenious pleader can expand a cross-examination directed to shake the general credit of a witness; all this of course had to be recorded in Bengalee, (one of the slowest languages of record perhaps in existence), and read over to the witness, the result being that the examination of these fourteen or fifteen witnesses occupied at least six The law does not compel a committing officer to take evidence for the defence, but it seemed that in the Sessions the case was likely to prove interminable, as the defendant named forty witnesses, chiefly to character, and the prosecution knowing but too well that the rules of evidence, though most rarely or never acted upon in England, allow evidence to character to be rebutted by counter-evidence, gave in a list of twenty-eight further witnesses to prove the bad character of the defendant. This looked threatening for the Sessions Judge, but in the mean time the defence had changed hands, and been entrusted to an English barrister. He began by refusing to allow a single Vakeel for the prosecution (nearly half the High Court pleaders were engaged on it) to address the Court, on the ground that no such address except in reply was sanctioned by the 'Sessions' Chapter of the Code of Criminal Procedure; \* he cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution briefly, discarded all his own, refusing to call one of them, addressed the Court, and the whole case was concluded in a single day! Whether he exercised a wise discretion or not is foreign to our argument;-the verdict was against his client, as it probably would have been had he spent a fortnight in cross-examining his opponent's witnesses and examining every one of his own, but it fairly shews the vast difference between England and India, between English and Indian lawyers. The tendency of the one is to err on the side of brevity, to manage with as little evidence as possible. The other errs on the side of prolixity and relies on an

<sup>\*</sup> If his construction of the Code was correct, this should be amended.

useless and superfluous number of witnesses. Surely by this an amount of vexation, expense, and delay is incurred ten-fold greater than would be incurred in England by the admission of even collateral matter. Let then some power of checking it be granted. Such power is assumed daily, sometimes directly, and always indirectly, i.e., by manifesting displeasure, fatigue, or dissatisfaction at the number of witnesses adduced. Without such power justice would come to a stand-still in six months. But what a reflection that the law is such that justice can only be administered by disregarding it! Let us be consistent to our principles, ne lites immortales essent dum litigantes mortales sunt.

4thly.—We believe that we have now cleared the way for the final cause of exclusion, that to which we are most hostile. The general truthfulness of the English character, and the extreme difficulty of testing different degrees and shades of credit, led our ancestors to the adoption of a general and grand principle that all evidence should be presumed to be true, unless in the clearest manner or by counter-evidence shewn to be false. So much was this the case that the science of evidence came to be regarded as almost identical with the science of proof, whereas in India it would more reasonably be designated the science of credibility; since assigning this high character to evidence, they carefully excluded all of a questionable description, in order that the orbit of reasoning might be as perfect, and as little deranged by the disturbing influences of non-credibility, as possible. all evidence not taken on oath, not tested by cross-examination; all evidence given by persons pecuniarily interested in the case, or of infamous character, i.e., convicted felons; and last of all, the evidence of the actual parties themselves. This at any rate was consistent; the rule was that any piece of evidence,—a single witness, a single authenticated document,—was enough to convict a prisoner or decide an issue, if, its truth being assumed, it proved the point. Hence naturally arose the idea that to allow doubtful evidence, was to hazard the risk of a conviction on it. Gradually however, experience began to shew that this rigorous mode of proof was fallacious and injurious, that the question of credit could not be excluded, and if admitted, the more widely the doors were opened to evidence of all shades, the better was the chance that a right conclusion would be arrived at and justice done. It must not however be supposed that the fortress of error could be captured in a day, and slowly and step by step the victory was gained. 3 and 4 William IV. c. 42 first led the way, this was followed by Lord Denman's Act (6 and 7 Vict. c. 85) the preamble of which we have previously quoted; by this Act, persons interested in the suit or convicted of any crime,

were admitted to give evidence. Actual parties to the record were still excluded, but this too was not to last long. The Law of Evidence Amendment Act (14 and 15 Vict. c. 99) made them both competent to give evidence, and gave the opposite party power to compel them to do so. The question of taking oaths still remained an obstacle, and the testimony of persons of defective religious belief, or who objected to be sworn, was denied to those who needed it. Even that doctrine however could not stand; by 17 and 18 Vict. c. 125 the privilege which Quakers and Moravians had hitherto monopolized, was now, subject to the discretion of the Judges, extended to all who urged conscientious objections, and a solemn affirmation substituted for an oath. Thus, almost every kind of precluded evidence was gradually admitted, and the barriers of an oath or affirmation and of cross-examination alone remained; the distinction between the admissibility and the credibility of evidence was openly recognized; the legislature no longer said to juries, 'you 'are not fit to decide on the credibility of any suspected evidence;' but the old rule was still maintained, that no proper value could be assigned to it without the tests of an oath or crossexamination. The difficulty of defending this has often been felt by writers on the subject; when for instance it is argued that even the senses are fallacious. Bentham and others reply that Mathematical certainty must not be aimed at, but merely such a reasonable moral certainty as a man acts upon in conducting the important affairs of life. To the enquiry, are we right and relying on testimony? Bentham (Rationale of Evidence, Vol. I. p. 110) replies that experience proves such reliance to be right, and continues:- 'Established already by experience, by uni-'versal experience, it may be still further established by direct ' experiment, should any one be found willing to be at the charge of it; continue your belief in testimony, as you have been 'used to believe in it, the business of your life will go on as 'it has been used to do: withhold your belief from testimony, 'and with the same regularity as that with which you have been in use to bestow it; you will not be long without smarting for your forbearance. But does not this same argument include every kind of evidence which we are called upon to reject? might it not be said, continue your belief in second-hand statements and letters, &c., as you have been used to believe in them, the business of your life will go on as it has been used to do; withhold your belief from them, you will not be long before smarting for your forbearance. This is the difficulty which the excluders have to meet; we do not deny that hearsay evidence is very often exceedingly untrustworthy

useless and superfluous number of witnesses. Surely by this an amount of vexation, expense, and delay is incurred ten-fold greater than would be incurred in England by the admission of even collateral matter. Let then some power of checking it be granted. Such power is assumed daily, sometimes directly, and always indirectly, i. e., by manifesting displeasure, fatigue, or dissatisfaction at the number of witnesses adduced. Without such power justice would come to a stand-still in six months. But what a reflection that the law is such that justice can only be administered by disregarding it! Let us be consistent to our principles, ne lites immortales essent dum litigantes mortales sunt.

4thly.—We believe that we have now cleared the way for the final cause of exclusion, that to which we are most hostile. The general truthfulness of the English character, and the extreme difficulty of testing different degrees and shades of credit, led our ancestors to the adoption of a general and grand principle that all evidence should be presumed to be true, unless in the clearest manner or by counter-evidence shewn to be false. So much was this the case that the science of evidence came to be regarded as almost identical with the science of proof, whereas in India it would more reasonably be designated the science of credibility; since assigning this high character to evidence, they carefully excluded all of a questionable description, in order that the orbit of reasoning might be as perfect, and as little deranged by the disturbing influences of non-credibility, as possible. Such was all evidence not taken on oath, not tested by cross-examination; all evidence given by persons pecuniarily interested in the case, or of infamous character, i.e., convicted felons; and last of all, the evidence of the actual parties themselves. This at any rate was consistent; the rule was that any piece of evidence,—a single witness, a single authenticated document,—was enough to convict a prisoner or decide an issue, if, its truth being assumed, it proved the point. Hence naturally arose the idea that to allow doubtful evidence, was to hazard the risk of a conviction on it. Gradually however, experience began to shew that this rigorous mode of proof was fallacious and injurious, that the question of credit could not be excluded, and if admitted, the more widely the doors were opened to evidence of all shades, the better was the chance that a right conclusion would be arrived at and justice done. It must not however be supposed that the fortress of error could be captured in a day, and slowly and step by step the victory was gained. 3 and 4 William IV. c. 42 first led the way, this was followed by Lord Denman's Act (6 and 7 Vict. c. 85) the preamble of which we have previously quoted; by this Act, persons interested in the suit or convicted of any crime,

were admitted to give evidence. Actual parties to the record were still excluded, but this too was not to last long. The Law of Evidence Amendment Act (14 and 15 Vict. c. 99) made them both competent to give evidence, and gave the opposite party power to compel them to do so. The question of taking oaths still remained an obstacle, and the testimony of persons of defective religious belief, or who objected to be sworn, was denied to those who needed it. Even that doctrine however could not stand; by 17 and 18 Vict. c. 125 the privilege which Quakers and Moravians had hitherto monopolized, was now, subject to the discretion of the Judges, extended to all who urged conscientious objections, and a solemn affirmation substituted for an oath. Thus, almost every kind of precluded evidence was gradually admitted, and the barriers of an oath or affirmation and of cross-examination alone remained; the distinction between the admissibility and the credibility of evidence was openly recognized; the legislature no longer said to juries, 'you 'are not fit to decide on the credibility of any suspected evidence;' but the old rule was still maintained, that no proper value could be assigned to it without the tests of an oath or crossexamination. The difficulty of defending this has often been felt by writers on the subject; when for instance it is argued that even the senses are fallacious. Bentham and others reply that Mathematical certainty must not be aimed at, but merely such a reasonable moral certainty as a man acts upon in conducting the important affairs of life. To the enquiry, are we right and relying on testimony? Bentham (Rationale of Evidence, Vol. I. p. 110) replies that experience proves such reliance to be right, and continues: - 'Established already by experience, by uni-'versal experience, it may be still further established by direct 'experiment, should any one be found willing to be at the charge of it; continue your belief in testimony, as you have been used to believe in it, the business of your life will go on as 'it has been used to do: withhold your belief from testimony, ' and with the same regularity as that with which you have been in use to bestow it; you will not be long without 'smarting for your forbearance.' But does not this same argument include every kind of evidence which we are called upon to reject? might it not be said, continue your belief in second-hand statements and letters, &c., as you have been used to believe in them, the business of your life will go on as it has been used to do; withhold your belief from them, you will not be long before smarting for your forbearance. This is the difficulty which the excluders have to meet; we do not deny that hearsay evidence is very often exceedingly untrustworthy

and worthless, the opponents of it do not deny that sometimes the exclusion of it leads to cases of hardship; why then should not the judges of fact be allowed to exercise their faculties of discrimination with respect to it, as much as with respect to other evidence of an equally untrustworthy character? We employ the word 'hearsay' as being the term generally in use, though by so doing we incur the risk of exciting a prejudice against our argument, by the impression of laziness and untrustworthiness which that word conveys. Hearsay in the sense of vague and floating rumours is scarcely ever tendered and should be accepted in none but the most exceptional cases ;in forensic practice the 'hearsay' which mostly attempts to creep in, consists of letters, statements made by one person and recounted by another, accounts whether public or private and generally writings of almost every description. Norton and Goodeve both advert to this.—(Norton's Note to Section 65, Goodeve, p. 418.) Of course a great deal of hearsay will be excluded under the head of secondary evidence, but is it so palpable that what does not fall under that denomination, ought to be invariably excluded even in England? Mr. Norton in his usual dictatorial spirit, seems to consider that even in India the question does not allow of argument. 'I give an instance almost incredible to those who are not accustomed to Mofussil ' practice. It is the twenty-sixth answer of the defendant's seventh witness in O. S. No. 1 of 1852 of the Cuddapah Court, in reply to the Judge, and taken down by the Judge himself. It is shocking that the record should be burthened with such rubbish; that 'public time should be taken up in recording it; still more shocking, that this should be admitted as a basis for decision.' The passage which follows is too long for insertion, otherwise it would be interesting for our readers to try and discern for themselves the 'shocking rubbish' of which Mr. Norton complains, but it is worth while, as shewing the difference between the language of a first-rate and a second-rate lawyer, between one who knows the weakness as well as the strength of his science, and one who can tolerate no rebellion against its infallibility, to place in juxta-position to Mr. Norton's censure on the unfortunate Judge of Cuddapah, who has been thus gibbeted for public contempt, the well known remarks of Lord Mansfield when referring to the same subject in the Berkeley Peerage case. Some inconvenience no doubt arises from such rigour, (exclud-'ing hearsay.) If material witnesses happen to die before the trial, the person whose cause they would have established may fail in the suit. But although all the Bishops on the Bench should be ready to swear to what they heard those witnesses

' declare, and add their own implicit belief of the truth of the decla-' rations, the evidence would not be received. Upon this subject the ' laws of other countries are quite different : they admit evidence of hearsay without scruple. There is not an appeal from the ' neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, in which you will not find a ' great deal of hearsay evidence upon every fact brought into dis-' pute. But the different rules which prevail there and with us, seem ' to me to have a reasonable foundation in the different manner in ' which justice is administered in the two countries. In Scotland and ' most of the Continental States, the Judges determine upon the facts ' in dispute, as well as upon the law; and they think there is no ' danger in their listening to evidence of hearsay, because when they ' come to consider of their judgment on the merits of the case, they ' can trust themselves entirely to disregard the hearsay evidence, or ' to give it any little weight which it may seem to deserve. But 'in England, where the Jury are the sole Judges of the fact, ' hearsay evidence is properly excluded, because no man can tell ' what effect it might have upon their minds.' What more can we desire? the practice is harmless in Scotland, because the Judge determines the facts at issue, the grand argument for the exclusion in England is that the Jury determine them. The very same ground is taken by Starkie in a passage quoted from him in the next page of Mr. Norton's work. But how does this apply to Cuddapah and the suit there? Was it the Judge or the Jury who had to determine the issues of fact in it? In truth, Mr. Norton has not a leg to stand upon in his wanton reflections on (possibly) an able and zealous officer; he knows full well that, in common matters, masses of hearsay are admitted in every case, and that even the strongest opponents of it only contend for its exclusion when objected to by the party it affects; when allowed to pass by him, it is neither the duty nor the province of the Judge to reject it. Mr. Norton does not enlighten us on this point, but we have no doubt that not a single objection was raised from the beginning to the end of the witness's answer.

Thus far we have been arguing the question as if we were dealing with an English or Scotch Court of Justice, the Judge only performing the functions of Jury. Our argument however becomes incalculably strengthened when we turn to India. The evidence chiefly excluded by the tests of an oath and of cross-examination, is both 'hearsay' and, what we have omitted hitherto to advert to, res inter alios acta. It seems to be almost universally forgotten that these descriptions of evidence, while they lose the value of those two safeguards, almost always possess a counteracting safeguard not inherent in

ordinary testimony, i. e., they were made without reference to the dispute and before the quarrel arose, in legal phraseology ante litem motam. In England possibly, where the sanction of an oath is generally deemed efficacious, even though the interests or sympathies of the witness are involved, the value of a statement made ante litem motam may not be deemed very much increased, but what person of experience will deny that in India, such a quality enhances the testimony ten-fold, and not only balances, but far overbalances the weight lent to the opposite scale by an oath, by cross-examination, and by the fear of punishment for perjury combined ?-for the fear of punishment for giving false evidence is a third ingredient in ordinary oral testimony, which is wanting in hearsay. It is then a fact,—when fairly considered, an incontestable fact,—that by the English rules we are actually excluding what is sometimes the most valuable evidence which finds its way into our Courts. The mass of letters, documents, judgments, and even miscellaneous statements which would be excluded under the present rule, are precisely those little clues which lend the greatest aid to the Judge in determining which party he will believe, for it cannot be too often repeated that here the question almost always resolves itself into 'which of two contradictory sets of proof, each complete in itself, is entitled to most credit?

Let us take a few common illustrations. A and B are disputing about a piece of land, which each of them declares that he and his ancestors have occupied and cultivated for generations; each produces a number of witnesses, who of course stoutly support the statements of their principals; now it may be that B exhibits a plaint of a suit eight or ten years before for the arrears of rent of an adjacent piece of land, in which in describing the boundaries, one piece (clearly the land in dispute between A and B) is entered as belonging to B or to his father. Or it may be that in a Butwara of the estate to which the disputed bolding belongs, in the Ameen's or Deputy Collector's papers drawing up the partition, the land is entered as belonging to B or one of his ancestors. Or it may be that, many years before, B was sued by the Zemindar for the rent of his land, and produces the decree which he perhaps shews was executed against his person;—the very strongest proof that it was a genuine case. Now these sort of papers are precisely the turning point in the suit, they extend back to a time before the dispute was even thought of, they are emphatically in real value the very best evidence B could bring, worth far more than all his witnesses and A's put together; but they are resinter alios actae. A was no party to the Plaint, the Butwara, or the rent decree; he had no oppor-

tunity of cross-examining any one. The law excludes all these papers, the Judge ought not, as the phrase is, to let his mind be poisoned (?) by even looking at them.\* Again a Magistrate in riding by observes a fine crop of tobacco and casually asks two or three villagers who is the owner,-the reply which he then gets, with all the chances of mistakes or ignorance, is worth far more than any answer he will elicit, if a few months afterwards, he goes down with full paraphernalia to hold a solemn judicial enquiry about it. The fact is that the sanction of an oath, except perhaps among a few of the better classes, is almost valueless, and the fear of punishment for perjury in oral testimony is next to zero, for proof becomes all but impossible, and, our punishment for it being in the eves of natives excessive, every one seems to sympathise with those accused of this offence, and does his best to tone down and explain away any unfavourable statements he may previously have made. A very short experience will convince any man that cross-examination effects little or nothing; where the witnesses are so carefully prepared beforehand, it is almost impossible to make them contradict each other in vital points, while on the other hand,-by pursuing a different plan and encouraging their propensity to exaggerate and pretend to more than they know-any witness, even the most truthful, can be easily led into any absurdity and impossibility. An instance of this occurred in the celebrated Hely case. Hely was committed on every charge extending from wilful murder to simple assault;why all but the direct murder charge, the one offence of which no person ever did think him guilty, was abandoned, is a mystery which the committing officer cannot ex-The absurdities into which a judicious encouragement of the exaggeration, characteristic of natives of Bengal lead the witnesses, must have been perceived by every one who read the account of the trial, which ended in the Jury dismissing, with a sort of indignation, a charge the general truth of which was notorious, and to escape from which the accused had concealed himself for months. If then the reasons for the exclusion do not hold, why should the practice be retained? We know the pleas urged in defence of it in England,-will

<sup>\*</sup> A case very similar to the illustration occurred in the High Coust a few months ago, (No. 451 of 1863) on appeal; the Judges (the Hon. L. S., and the Hon. E. Jackson) remanded the case, because the Civil Judge had admitted a Butwara as evidence against a ryot. We do not of course question the decision,—the Judges were there to administer and not to amend the law,—but it is lamentable that valuable evidence should be thus sacrificed to a mistaken and inapplicable theory.

these pleas avail here? Illustrations might easily be multiplied to shew the mischievous operation of these doctrines; we must furnish a few more. In the leading case of Wright vs. Doe dem. Tatham the issue was the validity of a will (devisavit vel non) on the ground of the sanity or otherwise of the testator. To prove the sanity, letters from persons who knew him very intimately were tendered as shewing that they manifestly wrote as to one sane. The letters were rejected by the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber as being hearsay. Granting that in England such evidence might be excluded without serious injustice, yet in India these letters written ante litem motam would be probably far safer that

any other evidence that could be obtained.\*

A few months ago the People's Bank was sued in the Calcutta Small Cause Court for 400 Rupees embezzled by their 'Durwan;' it became important to prove that the letter containing the money had reached the 'Durwan,' and only in the previous Sessions he had been convicted for embezzling it; surely this conviction was an important point in the case; but the People's Bank was no party to that trial, hence it was not admissible. We do not argue that the conviction of a third party ought to have been held conclusive against the Bank, (though we are not sure that criminal convictions might not advantageously be treated as judgments in rem and made conclusive against all comers), but we maintain that the Judge would be in a better position to decide the fact of receipt or no receipt correctly, if he knew of the conviction, than if he were kept in ignorance of it, and this is the real point at issue.

Again Ward, an East Indian, was convicted at Beerbhoom about four years ago of embezzling some 12,000 Rupees belonging to the Railway Company. The Judge in sentencing him, omitted to fine him the amount embezzled. This necessitated a Civil suit on the part of the Company, at which the previous conviction could not properly be even produced. It should strictly have been treated as so much waste paper, where a Bazaar witness would have been attentively listened to. Our readers may think that the reasons for exclusion fail here, as Ward was a party to the previous trial. True, the lawyers reply, but there

<sup>\*</sup> This case is referred to by Mr. Norton (Section 113.) We are sorry again to have to find fault with him, but we cannot help noticing that his remarks have a tendency to mislead as to the correct grounds for the rejection of these letters. 'For this purpose the parties themselves should have been called and 'sworn to ..... the facts on which they had dealt with the testator as a 'sane man.' Of course they should and would have been called, had they been alive,—no one questions that,—but the reception was urged, because they were dead.

was want of mutuality; Irad he been acquitted, the acquittal would have been no evidence against the Company, hence the conviction must not be admitted against the defendant. Yet this is a law which prides itself in the proverbs, Interest reipublica ut sit finis litium, and Res judicata pro veritate accipitur.

It might as well be urged that the confession of a prisoner ought not to be evidence against him, because had he denied

his guilt, it would not have been evidence for him.

The conclusion we come to is that no valid reason exists for excluding hearsay evidence, where there is no better evidence 'behind.' In England we doubt whether on principle it should not be admitted, at any rate in all cases tried without a Jury, but in this country the securities of direct evidence being comparatively so worthless, it is impossible to make out a case

for its rejection.

In fact, there is something farcical in a Judge rejecting evidence bearing on credit, a decision on the admissibility of which necessitates his hearing or inspecting it. Suppose a prisoner to be on his trial for a grave offence. The charge is established to the Judge's satisfaction, the defence, perhaps an alibi, may be, as far as regards the evidence legally admissible, discredited by him. In this state of the case the defendant tenders a letter or some other evidence, an inspection of which satisfies the Judge both that it is inadmissible, and that the defence previously discredited by him is true. How should he act? knows that, had he not seen this writing, he would have convicted,—he knows that, having seen it, he is satisfied of the man's innocence. Will any one venture to affirm that the Judge should divest his mind of all the effects of this evidence, and sentence to severe punishment one whom he now believes to be innocent? But if he should not act thus against a prisoner, why should he against the prosecution, or why in any case, Civil or Criminal, should be go against his conscience? We can understand that where it is incumbent on either party to prove a point, and where the evidence admissible is legally insufficient to do so, a Judge may conscientiously and rightly refuse to act on illegal though satisfactory evidence; but such cases, though generally selected as illustrations, are not of frequent occurrence in India, nor are they those in which difficulty is felt. In ninety-nine cases out of 100 there is abundant legal evidence on either side, but the question is which party shall be believed? It is in these cases that the Judge so needs a little of the light which excluded evidence can often shed, and it is in these cases that, if he once sees or hears the evidence, he cannot honestly destroy the effects of it. Until he saw it, his belief

was unformed or inclined to the other side; having seen it, he doubts no longer; but he only does what he had a right to do before the inadmissible evidence was tendered, he only attaches credit to what he had before a right to credit. Destroy the inadmissible evidence, his belief must remain, he cannot pretend to discredit what he believes, and to credit what he now disbelieves; as we have said where there is no Jury, rejecting evidence which bears on credit (not supplies a deficiency of proof) is a farce and an absurdity. Evidence once tendered is as good as admitted. This truth is well enough known already in England, where, if an answer can once be elicited, it is a well-known remark that, whether rejected or admitted, it

has in any case 'gone to the Jury.'

As regards resinter alios acta our conclusion is similar, but stronger. The drawback of this kind of evidence is that the statements or writings are made without the attention of the maker being specially drawn to the point now at issue, and that the person affected by them had no chance of cross-examining on them. They have the advantage that they were made probably before, at any rate without reference to, the case in point, and that therefore they are necessarily impartial and unbiassed. In England the drawbacks may be considered as so far outweighing the advantages that it is better not even to admit the evidence at all, in India the drawbacks dwindle down to almost nothing, while the advantage is precisely that for which any sacrifice is desirable. To reject such evidence is unwise in the extreme. In the present state of the law the only course open to a prudent Judge is to form his opinion on all the evidence and write his judgment on that which is legally admissible. He may thus hope to solve the difficult problem of being legal without being unjust.

The last topic we will advert to is the examination of defendants in criminal cases. The law on this point as well as on confessions has long been felt to be unsatisfactory even in England. In that country a conflict of authority has been going on between those who would reject all confessions which are not perfectly spontaneous and voluntary, and those who would receive all however obtained, provided the nature of the inducement is not such as to render the truth of the confession doubtful. A constable's saying to a prisoner, 'we 'shall be happy to hear anything you can say in your defence'\* 'or it would have been better if you had told all at first,'†

<sup>\*</sup> R. v. Richards, 5, Carington and Payne, 318. † R. v. Walkley, 6, ditto ditto, 175.

has been held to exclude the confessions which followed. the other hand in R. v. Court, the Judge said, 'the object of the rule relating to confessions is to exclude all confessions which 'may have been procured by the prisoner being led to suppose 'that it will be better for him to admit himself to be guilty of an 'offence which he really never committed.'\* Possibly in this uncertain state of the law all admissions except those made to Police Officers would in India be admitted quantum valeant, which is all we contend for. As regards examining accused persons it is needless for us to state the English law; it no doubt lends a certain dignity to the trial to omit any examination of the defendant, but it assuredly impedes the search for truth, sometimes to the injury of the public, sometimes, as perhaps in the

Scotch case of Jessie McLachlen, to that of the accused.

The true question for consideration is whether the law is sufficiently well administered, and the conviction of prisoners sufficiently secured to warrant such a sacrifice to order and dignity. In England it may be that it is so;—generally speaking, if there exists sufficient evidence against a man, it will be found out and tendered, and will procure a conviction. All classes seem to lend their aid to assist the law against a criminal. Here on the contrary the detective element is painfully weak, and injured person or the friends of a murdered man will often prefer to pay off an old score with some opponent, by subjecting him to the annoyance which an accusation inflicts, though they know him to be innocent, rather than assist in following up the unknown offender. Even in genuine prosecutions, the accused has an excellent chance, in consequence of the tendency which witnesses have to exaggerate, and of the plausibility with which even the strongest evidence can be made to look like a spiteful and false charge. In these cases the examination of the defendant is of paramount importance in aiding the Judge, as its effect is to reduce the case to something like a civil suit, and direct enquiry to the controverted points. If a defendant remains silent, it may be that the witnesses contradict one another on some point the truth about which he would have admitted had he been told to give his account at first, but now, perceiving the difficulty, he of course takes his stand upon the contradiction; why in addition to all the other chances in his contradiction favour, should a defendant be entitled to the immense advantage of seeing the whole of the case against him, and then being able to concoct a story to suit the weak points of it? Even if he is innocent, why should the prosecution be broken down on

<sup>\* 7,</sup> Carington and Payne, 486.

any except the points which are really false? and these the defendant can point out at the beginning of the case as well as at the end of it. Where every piece of evidence is open to question from the generally doubtful character of testimony, it is most important for both parties that the Judge should have his attention drawn to the critical point or points at once, and this is done by questioning the defendants. It may seem that our argument is superfluous, as by the present Code the Magistrate has the requisite power of examination. This is true, but it is evaded (probably contrary to the intentions of the Legislature) by the help of the provision that the defendant may decline to answer any question. In every criminal case (as far as our experience goes) in which a barrister is engaged, the advice is identical, 'do 'not open your mouth, refuse to answer any question, even your 'name.' This Section is then relied upon as shewing that he was not bound to speak, and that his silence should raise no unfavourable presumption against him. Is this the meaning of the law? If so, we strongly contend for its alteration. We believe the proper intention to be, to save accused persons from that rigorous and almost persecuting examination, to which they are subjected in France and other countries. put a stop to this, an accused person may refuse to answer questions which appear unduly to press or entrap him, or rather he can refuse to answer any question, but if it appears to be plain and straightforward, such as no innocent man ought to have any difficulty in answering, the Judge is justified in letting the refusal weigh against him. To object to answer every question is totally subversive of the law allowing the examination to take place; and we trust if the point arises that it may be ruled this way. Such a distinction is thoroughly consistent with and recognised by English law. The privilege of a witness to refuse to answer criminating questions is precisely analogous. In Boyle vs. Wiseman it was attempted to construe this rule so as to exempt a witness from going into the box, because the points in which he was to be examined would necessitate self-criminating answers. It was therein decided that the rule only entitled a man to refuse to answer each question after it had been separately put to him.

The general tendency of our argument is obviously to vest a great deal of discretionary power in the presiding officer, and leave him as little as possible fettered by arbitrary rules and theories. The task of determining even the simplest fact is, in India, sometimes so difficult, and the methods of discrimination so varying and indirect, that a very heavy responsibility rests on those who would deprive a Judge of any even the most

uncertain light, and increase by artificial means the disadvantages under which he necessarily labours from the national characteristics of the country. We cannot do better than refer to an able article in a former number of this Review, as fully corroborating what we contend for. 'The consequence of this fearful abound-'ing of perjury and forgery is startling. The common prin-'ciples of evidence, having been found inapplicable to the state 'of society, have been to a great extent set aside; and recourse ' has been had to other, and as would be thought in England, more 'objectionable means of ascertaining the truth. Direct and indirect 'proof have changed places. An item of circumstantial evidence 'is of more value than an eye-witness. Probability goes beyond 'proof ..... In all this there is nothing new. The numerous eastern anecdotes which relate the discovery of truth by some 'clever trick on the part of the Kazi, indicate most clearly the 'want of veracity on the part of the people, and the necessity 'in which the Judge found himself placed of applying to some-'thing more trustworthy than ordinary evidence 'The impossibility of trusting common evidence drives the 'Courts as well as the Kazis to seek for some other guide, and 'if the substitute be not good, it is at any rate better than that 'for which it has been substituted.'\*

But we anticipate the objection, that with experienced and qualified Judges this might be true, but that the Judges of too many of our Courts, like Jurymen at home, are not fit to be trusted with deciding on the value due to 'hearsay' and mediate evidence. We doubt whether the various Judges of the Mofussil Courts do fall so far below the standard of ordinary Colonial Judges. At the present time, it is the fashion + to disparage them, and it also serves to point the arguments of a political party; now neither fashion nor political bias are generally sparing or discriminating in the measure of their praise or censure. But, however this may be, those who are unfit to exercise discretionary power, are precisely those who never will learn the principles or rules of evidence, which would act as a check upon them. Those who do study the subject may surely be trusted to practise it. The only effect of imposing the restrictions will be that the abler Judges will be hampered and fettered,

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;The Anglo-Indian Courts of Justice.'—Calcutta Review, Vol. XVI. No. 32.

<sup>†</sup> Perhaps some among our readers may share the haziness of Sir Mordaunt Wells as to the duties of Mofussil Officers. He is reported to have insinuated to the applauding members of the Bombay Bar, that the chief duties of a Civilian lay in collecting revenue, and being familiar with roads and bridges!

while the less capable will go on as before. Experience usually precedes theory, and a scientific knowledge of the character of evidence will seldom be found among Indian officials to be

anterior to a practical knowledge of its value.

The importance of avoiding the temptation to generalise from English experience cannot be over-estimated;—it is so attractive to argue from English statistics, to institute comparisons between one country and another, where no just comparison can be made. We find it in all the reports on our Universities, our schools, and our prisons. We practise it in our municipalities, our tenantrights, and our railways. It gives such a tone of authority to those who censure, such an air of superiority to those who criticize. But fallacious as such comparisons are in all the instances enumerated, and injurious as they are in some, it is in the science of credibility that the injury reaches its maximum, and the fallacy its climax. Second thoughts are here worse than first, the early broken ejaculations of a witness more valuable than his solemn and well-considered deposition, careless statements weigh more than deliberate, and in the counterpart here to the interview between the attorney and witnesses in England, the parties exchange characters. 'How am I to know what the witnesses ' can say, and who should be produced, if I am not allowed to 'speak to them?' says the attorney. 'How are we to know ' what to say, and whom to accuse, if we are not allowed to see 'the Mooktear?' the witnesses might add in India.

We cannot but admit that we are dissatisfied with the manner in which the subject of evidence is treated in the two volumes under review. That the English law, both casemade and statutory, is adequately explained, and that further details would be superfluous, we readily allow; but in neither Mr. Goodeve nor Mr. Norton do we find any adequate attempt at criticism, any enquiry as to how far alteration is needed for this country, such as we should have wished to find in books which have become, and which were intended to become, standard works for Indian students. For instance, while the ineffectiveness of the oath is frequently adverted to, it does not appear to have suggested itself to the author, that this should make any difference in principles or rules the force of which depend entirely on its validity; - specialties of English law are treated with the deference due to axioms of universal law, and mooted and contested points are referred to, as if finally and satisfactorily settled. The much-vexed question of the examination of accused persons, the advocates of which are daily increasing in numbers and weight of authority, is disposed of by Mr. Norton, even in his latest edition, by extracting the antiquated and exploded, not to say weak and one-sided arguments of Best, and styling them as 'conclusive (!) in favour of the English prac-

tice.'-(Section 248.)

Unfortunately Mr. Norton, and, in a less pretensious degree, Mr. Goodeve also, belong to a school always too popular in the Presidency towns, who deem it the highest proof of superiority to criticise and run down 'Mofussil justice.' With contempt of local experience for their shield, and the perfections of English law for their sword, their choice arena the principles of evidence. they step forward to attack and to condemn. There are few things which can withstand criticism, and certainly the local Courts are far removed from the ranks of those few; were the criticism they are subjected to, enlightened or really directed to their improvement, were any attempt made to analyse and distinguish between abuses, to ascertain what portion are due to underpaid Omlah, what to dishonest Mooktears, what share to uninstructed Judges, and what to the law they have to administer, and to get at the residuum of abuses which are irremediable in a country like India, we believe it would be welcome, and we have no doubt that if made by competent persons it would be useful. The criticisms, however, of this school are notoriously in the contrary spirit, and as a rule the full weight of every abuse is laid on the shoulders of the Judges alone. Moreover it seems determined that as nothing can ever so metamorphosise India, as to imbue it with the *spirit* of English law, at least with that love of truth which is the spirit of the law of evidence. we shall at all events be hampered and burdened with the letter of it, in its pure, unadapted, and undiluted integrity.

Against this we cannot but protest. We do not deny that those who have to administer the law in India, can learn much and derive great aid from the English law of evidence and English law generally, but that study should be pursued in an intelligent and liberal spirit, somewhat analogous to the manner in which the Roman law has been studied in England. In this way the mental training and the formation of judicial habits of thought cannot but be highly beneficial. If on the contrary we aim at a servile and barren imitation, at moulding Indian law from English line by line, and feature by feature, it can only result in a product ill-suited to the country, and unpopular with all classes except those who live on the intricacies and uncertainties

of litigation.

- ART. III.—1. Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions, descriptive of the Field, the Work, and the Results. By the Rev. R. Caldwell, L.L.D., Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Edeyenkoody, Tinnevelly. London: Bell and Daldy, 1857.
- 2. A Brief Review of Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India, 1852—61. By Joseph Mullens, D. D., Missionary of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. London: Nisbet & Co., 1863.
- 3. Statistical Tables of Missions in India, Ceylon, and Burmah, at the close of 1861. Compiled by Joseph Mullens, D. D.
- 4. Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1863. London: printed for the Society.
- 5. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. Sixty-fourth year, 1862-63. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

R. CALDWELL informs us, in a note to his most instructive and interesting lectures, that on arriving at a certain rectory in England to attend a missionary meeting, he found the clergyman and his wife engaged in a hot dispute as to the position of Tinnevelly, the lady maintaining that it is in India, the gentleman that it is in South Africa. We do not suppose that any of our readers are in need of such elementary information as was required to terminate this controversy, but we are inclined to-fear, from many recent indications, that some of them have very little conception of the work which is going on there, and of the progress which Christianity has made in certain parts of India. Partly no doubt from the fact that missionaries often fail to write their reports in an attractive style, but still more from a painful lack of interest in the subject, it seems the fashion to pass by even carefully prepared statistics as 'unsatisfactory and vague.' Indeed we observe with regret that some English writers take a pleasure in undervaluing what has been done, in blackening the character of their native fellow Christians, in representing missionaries as merely commonplace clergymen, who live in comfortable houses, and go through a certain amount of routine work, not differing very much from that of an English school or parish, and in proclaiming that the only true Gospel for India is the Gospel of railroads and

telegraphs. We can indeed understand why Cardinal Wiseman should have asserted that Bishop Heber had 'greatly exag-' gerated the number of Protestants in his time,' though in fact trustworthy returns shewed that he had underrated it. it is less easy to perceive why persons who pride themselves on their Protestantism should misrepresent the reality through mere carelessness and imperfect enquiry. One writer, for example, has lately asserted that the native Christians in the whole of North India only amount to about 8,000, because he finds that number given as the sum of the converts of one Society of the Church of England.\* The sympathy and liberality shewn towards the mission cause are not so excessive that we can allow them to be weakened by a statement that the result is less than one-third of that actually reached. elaborate statistics of Dr. Mullens, carefully prepared from correspondence with the missionaries of all denominations, shew that the number of native Protestants in North India, i. e., the Presidency of Bengal, excluding Burmah and the Straits, is 26,075. This result is obtained by adding to the converts of the Church Missionary Society, who alone amount to the abovementioned 8,000, those of the Propagation Society, the Established Church of Scotland, and the various nonconformist bodies.

We think then that, having met with many instances of this strange indifference to the facts of the case, we may do some good if we lay before our readers a sketch of one of the most successful missions in India, that in Tinnevelly. What we shall say is gathered partly from reading, partly from our own observation. And at least we can assure them of this, that having ventured to remonstrate with those who depreciate the work of missionaries in this country without investigation, we shall take pains not to exaggerate its results, even in that province where they are most conspicuous. We shall record nothing but what we either saw ourselves, or believe on trustworthy authori-

ty.

It is hard for any one who has not visited Tinnevelly to form an adequate conception of the peculiar character of its scenery. If the traveller ascends one of the church towers which are now happily scattered over the district, he sees before him an undulating plain, of the colour of fire, studded with straight stiff palmyra trees, and diversified at rare intervals by belts of bright rich green. These barren regions are called téries. A téri may be described as a gently sloping hill, consisting entirely of red sand, and supporting no vegetation but the palmyra.

<sup>\*</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X. p. 484.

Towards the lower part of this hill the water lies very near the surface, and thus the peasant is here enabled to cultivate a luxuriant garden of plantains, which relieves the otherwise desolate appearance of the country. This description however applies not to all the province, but to its southern portion only; for it is divided into two sections by the Tamravarni, or 'copper coloured' river, which, rising in the Ghâts, passes between the towns of Tinnevelly and Palamcottah, (the former the native city with its huge temple of Shiva, the latter the English station and fort,) and at last enters the Bay of Bengal a little south of Tuticorin. From the position of its sources it is swollen by the rain of both our monsoons, and hence interposes between the southern and northern portions of the province of Tinnevelly a rich tract which produces annually two abundant crops of rice. When we pass to the north of this fertilizing stream, we lose the peculiar features which have been just described, and find ourselves in a blistered black soil, from which, at present, a large number of bales of cotton are constantly travelling to Tuticorin, and are there shipped to supply our Lancashire brethren with work and subsistence.

But the scene of the tale now to be told is confined to the sandy region south of the Tamravarni. In Northern Tinnevelly the number of Christians is comparatively few, and the organization of the Church incomplete. Those who think it wrong that missionaries should have roofs to cover them, and complain that they 'follow in the steps of a train of predecessors and 'make no new experiment,' will hardly be prepared to hear that in this part of the country a mission was organized in 1854, which altogether confines itself to itineration. The missionaries have literally no fixed home. They 'move their tents from 'place to place throughout the district (1,200 square miles,) and thus in 1862 the Gospel had already been preached to as many as 300,000 souls in 1,400 villages. Four bodies of converts ' had then been baptized, and numerous enquirers were constantly 'presenting themselves.'\* Xavier himself did not shew a brighter example of self-sacrifice than Ragland, the devoted founder of this itineration, who, after four years' ceaseless labour, laid down his life in carrying out a work for which he had abandoned the academic fame which gathers round a fourth wrangler, and the substantial comforts of a fellowship and tutorship. One peculiar feature of interest in this mission is that it is largely aided by the Church in South Tinnevelly, a regular monthly succession of catechists being supplied from the settled Christian districts, to

<sup>\*</sup> Church Missionary Atlas, 1862, p. 39.

work under the English itinerating evangelists, and supported

from the funds of a native missionary society.

And this recalls us to these settled Christian districts, which are to furnish the main subject of the present article. They are, as we have said, situated to the south of the Tamravarni, and they are from a variety of causes almost co-extensive with the cultivation of the palmyra, so that, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'where the palmyra 'abounds, there Christian congregations and schools abound also, 'and where the palmyra disappears, there the signs of Christian 'progress are rarely seen.' (p. 31). For the palmyra is cultivated by men of the Shánár caste, to that caste Christianity was first preached in Tinnevelly, and in the same caste its growth has been most rapid and extensive. These Shanars, or palmyra climbers, who have scarcely spread beyond the limits of Tinnevelly and South Travancore, are probably not of Aryan origin, but belong to the non-Brahmanical or aboriginal people of India, and therefore are Scythians by race, and cousins to the Mongols, Turks, and Finns. Their language is the Tamil, the most classical and polished, and also the most widely spread of the Dravidian tongues. When the Brahmans arrived in South India, they introduced among the inhabitants the elements of civilization, and also separated them into a number of castes, which may be roughly classified under two well defined divisions. The higher of them consists of various castes falling under the general name of Sudra, the middle class of the South, the merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, who form the most important section of the population. Of the second division, which mainly consists of agriculturalists, the Shánárs are unquestionably the first. Below them come various other grades, including Pariahs and prædial slaves, and ending with wandering gipsy tribes. Though the conversions have occurred chiefly among the Shánárs, yet Christianity has also spread downwards among the Pariahs and still lower castes, while its influence has now begun to be felt both among Sudras and Brahmans, of whom a small number have joined the Church. Still it will be sufficient for our present purpose to confine our attention to the Shánárs, as infinitely the largest and most important section of Tinnevelly They are all engaged in cultivating, and the majority in climbing, the palmyra, the richer members of the caste being owners of trees, and the poorer working for them, while between them are some who are at once proprietors and labourers. The palmyra, most useful of palms, but not beautiful in the eyes of those who have seen the taliputs and kitools of Kandy, is straight as a ship's mast, from sixty to ninety feet in height, and crowned with a plume of fanshaped leaves. Its wood is used

for beams and rafters, its young root is edible, and its fruit when unripe contains a refreshing and wholesome jelly. their old age thatch the Tinnevelly houses, in their infancy they are turned into stationery on which the natives write with iron Mats too and baskets are made from them, and a single leaf is large enough and firm enough to be used as a bucket. But the most precious product of the palmyra is its saccharine juice, which supplies the whole country with food. Fresh from the tree it forms the family breakfast; boiled into a hard black mass called jaggery it is eaten at midday; and by its sale is procured the curry and rice which are the universal dinner. Refined into white sugar it is readily purchased in the European market, and crystallized into sugar candy, it is often seen distending the greedy jaws both of native and European children. If left to ferment it is changed into the toddy, which is commonly used as yeast, and too often by the lowest castes (though never by the strictly temperate Shánárs) as an intoxicating drink. In order to procure this sap it is necessary to ascend the tree, for it flows only from the flower stalks immediately under the leaves. Every day the Shanar labourer arms himself with a staff surmounted by a small horizontal piece of wood projecting on each side, a pail made of a palmyra leaf, some tools and small earthen pots in a bag attached to his waist, and then having placed his staff against the tree, stands on the top of it, fastens his feet together, and clasping the trunk alternately with his hands and bound feet climbs speedily to the top, where he bruises each flower stalk, attaches to it one of his earthen pots, or empties into the pail the sap which has been collected since his last ascent. tree must be climbed at least twice, and sometimes three times a day, for the purpose of either trimming the flower stalks, or emptying the sap into the pail, for if it is left too long in the little pot it infallibly ferments. The life is a sufficiently active one, for most of the Shanars perform these operations on fifty trees day after day for eight months in the year. Their extraordinary agility may be admired every evening by the visitor to Tinnevelly as he takes his sunset walk in the village or palmyra forest, and the remembrance of the scene remains behind as one of the most vivid impressions of his tour.

The religion of the Shánárs, before Christian preachers came among them, was devil worship. This is a proof of their pre-Brahmanical origin, for their superstitions are identical with the Shamanism of the ancient Mongol and Tatar tribes, and may still be seen, not only in India, but among the Ostiaks and other heathens of Siberia. It prevails also in Ceylon, where it is mixed up in strange and impure conjunction with the nobler creed of

For neither Brahmans nor Buddhist priests were ever intolerant of other religions, provided they could bend them to their peculiar policy, which is merely the establishment of their own paramount influence. If this point is conceded, then the foreign superstition becomes a relligio licita, or rather, to quote Dr. Caldwell's expressive metaphor, it is united with the Hindu or Buddhist system in a 'cunningly devised mosaic.' latry is purely a religion of fear: bloody sacrifices are offered to avert the wrath of certain malignant spirits who take delight in blasting the crops, withholding rain, spreading murrain among cattle, and visiting men with sunstroke and epilepsy. have no temples, but are honoured by the erection of whitewashed pyramids, generally of mud, or of thatched sheds open in front, and decorated with hideous figures of bull-headed monsters, or hags devouring children. Such a structure is called a pe kovil or 'devil's house,' and round one of them the demondaters may be seen from time to time gathering for a devil dance, the most important and essential feature, says Dr. Caldwell, of their worship.

'The officiating priest or devil dancer, who wishes to represent ' the demon, sings and dances himself into a state of wild frenzy, ' and leads the people to suppose that the demon they are wor-'shipping has taken possession of him; after which he communi-' cates to those who consult him, the information he has received. 'The fanatical excitement which the devil dance awakens consti-' tutes the chief strength and charm of the system, and is pecu-' liarly attractive to the dull perceptions of illiterate and half civi-'lized tribes. The votaries of this system are the most sincerely ' superstitious people in India. There is much ceremony, but 'little sincerity, in the more plausible religion of the higher 'classes; but the demonolaters literally "believe and tremble." 'In times of sickness, especially during the prevalence of cholera, 'it is astonishing with what eagerness, earnestness, and anxiety,

'the lower classes worship their demons.' p. 49.

These demons, it should be observed, are supposed to be the spirits of dead persons, who in life were conspicuous either for their crimes or their misfortunes. It is well known that in one place the spirit of an English officer, who had been the terror of the district, was supposed to be the presiding fiend,\* and was propitiated at a pe kovil with offerings of cigars and ardent spirits. The story is sufficiently revolting, but is important as an illustration of the horrible superstition against which Christianity has to struggle, and of the hindrances which are

<sup>\*</sup> Eastwick's Handbook for India, Part I. p. 142.

too often opposed to its progress by those who profess to be its

disciples.

We must now shortly sketch the course of events by which this simple race has to a great extent been turned from the worship of devils and spectres to the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. The fathers of Protestant Christianity in India are the two Danish missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho, who were sent out to Tranquebar in 1705 by King Frederic IV, great-great-grandfather of our Princess of Wales. The work which they began, after many difficulties patiently borne or valiantly overcome, at last excited some sympathy and interest in England, and was recognized and aided by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which however for a long time only employed Lutheran missionaries from Denmark and Germany, a striking proof, we fear, of the stupor in which the English clergy were sunk during the last century.

In 1756 when the first jubilee of the mission was celebrated, it was found that 3,000 Hindus had been brought over to the Christian faith,\* and the work had been extended from Tranquebar to Madras, Cuddalore, Negapatam, Seringham, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore. The last place was the special scene of the labours of Christian Frederic Schwartz, who arrived in India on July 17, 1750, and may be considered the founder of the Tinnevelly mission. For this great evangelist did not confine his labours to the province with which his name is indissolubly connected. His journies were frequent, and in the course of them he came to Palamcottah. The first notice of the place and its inhabitants in his diary has a special interest, now that the grain of seed

which he planted has become a goodly tree.

'At Palamcottah, a fort and one of the chief towns of Tinnevelly, about 200 miles from Trichinopoly, there resides a
'Christian of our congregation, Schavrimuttu, who, having been
instructed, reads the word of God to the resident Romish and
heathens. And an English sergeant, whose wife is a member
of our congregation, has in a manner taken up the cause.
A young heathen accountant had heard the truth with satisfaction. He was once at Trichinopoly, listened to all that was
represented from the word of God in silence, and promised to
place himself under further instruction. The sergeant made
him learn the five principal articles of the catechism, and then
baptized him. It grieved us that he should have baptized the
young man before he had attained a distinct knowledge of
Christianity. Besides, such an inconsiderate step might prove

<sup>\*</sup> Kaye's Christianity in India, ch. III.

'injurious both to the heathens and Roman Catholics. May God

'mercifully avert all evil !'\*

The date of this extract is 1771. Altogether Schwartz paid three visits to Tinnevelly, and succeeded in forming a small congregation in the Fort, which he placed under the charge of Jänicke, another missionary of the Christian Knowledge Society, and a native catechist named Satyanáden, whom he ordained after the Lutheran manner. Satyanaden made many converts among the Shánárs, and these formed themselves for mutual protection into a distinct community in the heart of the palmyra forest, and built a village which they called Mudal-úr, or First town, a name intended to express their hope of many other Christian towns yet to come. It still remains as a station of the Propagation Society, with its parsonage and church, the latter spacious and convenient, but of a primitive ugliness which contrasts with the excellent taste shewn in some of the later ecclesiastical buildings of the province. Satyanáden however was recalled to Tanjore. and the mission was for a long time entirely neglected, till in 1815 it was visited by Mr. Hough, the excellent Chaplain of Palamcottah, who wrote to the Christian Knowledge Society a most encouraging account of the Christian order and steadfastness which he observed among the converts in Mudal-úr and its neighbourhood. Nevertheless small heed was paid to his statement by the authorities at home, for that was an age when Tory churchmanship was still represented by Bishop Pretyman, and Whig churchmanship by Bishop Watson. work must have fallen out of the hands of the Church of England altogether, had not the Church Missionary Society, from which a new life and energy was proceeding and gradually diffusing itself through ecclesiastical circles, stepped into the gap, and selected Rhenius, whom Dr. Caldwell describes as 'one of the ablest, most clearsighted and practical and zealous mis-'sionaries that India has ever seen,' to carry on the work which Although this Society has the credit of Schwartz had begun. sending to India the first missionary ordained in the English Church, in the person of the Rev. W. Greenwood, who was appointed to Chunar in 1815, yet Rhenius, according to the precedent set by the Christian Knowledge Society, was chosen from the Lutheran ranks. Hence it happened that after sixteen years of labour his connection with his English employers was unhappily closed, in consequence of his independent action on certain questions of ecclesiastical order and government, but not till he had, by himself or his agents, added to the flock of Christ above 10,000

<sup>\*</sup> Pearson's Life of Schwartz, ch. XIV.

souls. We fully believe that the points on which he claimed free action were such as could not be yielded without violating the distinctive principles of the Anglican communion as an organized society, but yet it should always be remembered that the result of his pastoral superintendence was to infuse a real church life into the mission, and to establish practices which are specially valued by true-hearted members of the Church of England. By him female education was vigourously promoted, associations were established among the native Christians for religious and benevolent purposes, and the people of every Christian village were assembled morning and evening for united prayer in Church. Moreover, in one vital point his method was superior even to that of Schwartz; he was the first missionary labouring under the English Church by whom caste was systematically repressed. His body rests in the graveyard at Palamcottah, and, however much we may regret the peculiar line of action which marred his thorough usefulness and loyal allegiance to the English Church, yet there is hardly any missionary whose memory we should regard with heartier gratitude, since he was the true originator of the chief evangelistic triumph which has been won in India. His son did not share his scruples, but was ordained by Bishop Blomfield, and is now a Government Chaplain in the Diocese of Madras.

But our estimate of Rhenius's labours must not be limited to their immediate result. Indirectly they were of immense service in rousing from its slumbers the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had inherited the responsibility of that for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by taking over its Indian missions. In 1835 a missionary was sent to superintend 'the 'sheep that had been left to their fate in the wilderness,' and we have a strong testimony to the reality of Shanar Christianity, a forcible answer to the suspicion that if Tippoo were again to rule in India, all the native converts would apostatize, in the memorable fact that he found more than 3,000 persons who had steadfastly adhered to the worship of God in Christ, although neglected for a whole generation by their English brethren in the faith, persecuted by their heathen neighbours, and visited by a pestilence which swept away one-sixth of the population in South Tinnevelly. Since that day of renewed energy in England, the work has steadily and continually advanced, so that in 1857, Dr. Caldwell, who has himself taken a conspicuous part in carrying it forward, bore the following testimony to the progress which it had made in twenty-two years :-

'Missionary labourers followed from year to year, for the 'Church at home had awoke, the Propagation Society had awoke, 'the Madras Diocesan Committee of that Society had awoke, and

when I now look around in Tinnevelly, instead of the two districts which existed when I arrived, (Mudalúr and Nazareth,) I am rejoiced to see seven, in addition to a new mission in the Rámnád country, each of which is provided not only with practical superintendence, but also in a greater or less degree with the means of extension and advancement. The Church Missionary Society also has been continually lengthening its cords, and strengthening its stakes, so that it has now thirteen or four-teen missionary districts, where it had only six when I arrived, and has established besides an organized system of missionary itineration in the Northern and less christianized portion of the province.' (p. 55).

It is another source of satisfaction to the visitor of Tinnevelly, that whereas he may have brought out from the heated theological atmosphere of England a notion that the Propagation Society is High-church, and its sister society Low-church, and may have seen some cautious canon or rector shake his head at the one for neglecting church principles, or heard perhaps a fervid rhetorician denounce the other for ignorance of the Gospel, he finds the missionaries of both working together in perfect harmony with no rivalry except the rivalry of good works, helping each other by counsel, by interchange of experience, by Christian sympathy, by intercessory prayer, and feeling that in the midst of pagodas and devil dances, both Church principles and Gospel principles are best promoted by a hearty union of labour in preaching Christ crucified, and training those who trust in Him in the sober piety of the English liturgy.

So the work proceeded languidly and with many interruptions for about sixty years, vigourously and with a hearty will, for nearly thirty. Altogether almost a century has past since Schwartz recorded his hopes and fears for the one doubtful convert in the Fort of Palamcottah, and now we find in Dr. Mullens' statistics a tale of 45,361 native Christians in Tinnevelly, from whom the word of life has spread westward over the Ghâts into the independent kingdom of Travancore, where the Congregationalist mission in the South numbers 22,788 Christians (still chiefly Shánárs, and the Church Mission in the North (where this impressible caste is no longer found), 7,919.\* The Tinnevelly

this impressible caste is no longer loand), 1,010.	
* Altogether, taking Tinnevelly and the provinces immediatel	y adjacent,
the number of native Protestants is as follows:	
Tinnevelly (Church Missionary and Propagation Societies)	45,361
South Travancore (London Missionary Society)	22,788
North Travancore (Church Missionary Society)	7,919
Ramnad (Propagation Society)	4,997
Madura (American Board of Missions)	6,372
	87 437

congregations are under the spiritual care of twenty-four European missionaries and fourteen ordained natives, besides a large number of catechists and schoolmasters. To this record of constant advances there has been one exception. As our Lord predicted that offences would come, as St. Paul said that heresies must test the constancy of those who are approved, as St. John lamented that many false prophets had gone out into the world, so the infant church of Tinnevelly has been distracted by a schism. Into the events which led to that schism we decline to enter, for we should be involved in a painful and profitless criticism on the judgment of those who had to deal with a most embarrassing dispute. Suffice it to say that, mainly in consequence of certain questions connected with caste prejudices, which too often retain a great influence over the Shánárs, even after their conversion to that faith in which 'all are one in Christ Jesus,' a number of native Christians, amounting, as we believe. to more than a thousand, in the districts of Nazareth and Megnanapuram, seceded from the Church, and formed themselves into a community in which caste-rules were restored. They have fallen, we hear, into various extravagances, and especially they have conceived a fanatical hatred for everything European, so that they have even restored the Jewish Sabbath, keeping Saturday holy instead of Sunday, under the strange belief that Europeans introduced the observance of the first rather than the seventh day of the week. Still even this melancholy perversion has furnished a testimony to the reality of their Christian belief, for amidst many aberrations from the doctrines which they were taught by their fathers in the faith, they have never shewn the slightest tendency to return to heathenism. Indeed, we lately heard that about half of them were already dissatisfied with their separatist position, and it was hoped that the influence of Mr. Thomas, the valued missionary of Megnanapuram, who has recently come back from England to the scene of his labours, would induce them again to join the Church. We earnestly trust that this expectation has been or soon will be

Our readers may now perhaps, if they have had patience to follow us thus far, be desirous to know what a traveller actually sees in Tinnevelly, and what is the aspect presented by daily life in a Christian village. Many things at once remind him of a flourishing and well-organized English parish. There is a church, which sometimes, as at Megnanapuram, is a Gothic building of considerable architectural pretensions. There is the missionary's bungalow, a neat unpretending parsonage, standing in a pretty garden, and almost invariably provided with a capital

swimming bath. There are schools for boys and girls, generally with simple but airy and comfortable accommodation for board-And there are the native cottages, often laid out in regular streets, with a large tree in the centre of the village under which the headmen administer justice. For the Tinnevelly Christians have not lost the national love of municipal This system, perhaps the most striking feature organization. of Indian social life, has afforded peculiar facilities for the consolidation of Christianity in the South. When a village becomes Christian, it forms itself at once into a Christian municipality, in which Church and State are united together by bands which Arnold himself would hardly have rivetted more tightly. The catechist is received as the counsellor and director of the headmen; and the missionary, resident at the central station of the district, is recognized as the superintendent of all the communities scattered through it. The complete acquiescence of the people in his rule was illustrated in an amusing way by an answer given to the Government Inspector, who was examining an aided Christian school in political knowledge. 'Who, asked, ' has the chief authority in this country'? 'Queen,' said the children, as duly taught in the catechism. 'But she is 10,000 miles away: who carries on the government 'in the country itself?' 'The Queen sends her orders to 'the missionaries.' 'To the missionaries!' exclaimed the affrighted Inspector: 'is there not a great man who lives at Madras 'and rules over this part of India'? 'Yes, Sir,' replied the children, 'the Bishop.' The headmen employ themselves not only in settling civil and social disputes in their village, but in enforcing obedience to Christian rules and Church discipline, in securing the regular attendance of the children at school, and of all the congregation at church, and in collecting money for religious and charitable objects. They are elected by the people, and confirmed in their appointment by the missionary, but the office is almost hereditary, though it would not be conferred on an unworthy representative of a respected family. When anything goes wrong in a village, the missionary appeals to the headmen to set it right, and sometimes by personal visits from house to house, sometimes by assembling the people under the great tree and haranguing them, they do their best to effect their object. Those who are discontented with their decision are apt to appeal to the missionary, but in some places, as in Dr. Caldwell's district of Edeyenkoody, a central punchayet or court of appeal (called in Tamil the nirjáya sabei), has been instituted to free the missionary from the need of serving tables, and enable him to devote his time to the word of God. Though

this national habit of municipal organization certainly helps to consolidate a newly formed Christian Church, yet it is not always favourable to the extension of the Gospel, for when the divine message is first brought to a heathen village, the headmen often make strenuous efforts to oppose it. Hence too it happens that when a portion of a village becomes Christian, it forms itself into a separate municipality, which generally remains independent of the other, and sometimes happily absorbs it.

The catechist, as we have seen, is an official who stands by the side of the headman, a kind of Mikado to the Tycoon of a Tinnevelly village. It must be remembered that the ordained missionary is concerned with an entire district, comprising many villages, Christian and heathen. Thus Dr. Caldwell has the care of twenty-four Christian congregations, and Mr. Schaffter, of Suviseshipuram (Gospel-Town) superintends nearly forty, and seems perfectly familiar with the general spiritual condition of each, able to say which is 'lukewarm,' which 'has 'a little strength and keeps Christ's word,' which has 'left its 'first love,' and which abounds in 'charity and service and faith 'and patience and work,' so as to administer to each the necessary counsel or exhortation or reproof. Residing himself at the central village, where are the church and boarding-schools, the missionary is represented in each out-station by the catechist, who has sometimes been resident there from the time when a few of its inhabitants were first persuaded to abandon their idols and place themselves under Christian instruction. When the Gospel is first preached in such a village, there is of course no school there, and none of the population can read. Accordingly a native teacher, carefully trained for the work in one of the two seminaries which have been established for this purpose, is sent to live among them, to give them daily lessons in the facts and doctrines of Christianity, to guide them in Christian habits, to prepare them for baptism, to assemble them for daily prayer, and to spread the Gospel among their heathen neighbours. At first the duty of teaching their children also falls upon him, but when the number of Christians increases, this part of his work is taken off his hands by the appointment of a schoolmaster to the village. These outstations are of course visited at regular intervals by the missionary, and it is hoped that in time an increasing number of the catechists will be ordained and become native pastors, supported mainly by their own flocks. We have seen that the foundation of an indigenous ministry has been laid, but in spite of the impatience of some friendly and some captious critics in England, it would be very wrong to hurry its progress by presenting any

native candidate for orders, till his character and qualifications have been thoroughly tested; for an inefficient or inconsistent clergyman is an evil scarcely to be endured even in a long-settled Church, and in one just struggling to maturity would be absolutely fatal to its growth in grace and the extension of its borders.

But the chief interest of a visit to Tinnevelly, or at all events of a Sunday in Tinnevelly, centres in one of the principal stations where the missionary resides, and where the congregation is most numerous and most completely organized. We have said that a short service, consisting of a selection from the liturgy, followed by an exposition or catechetical lecture, is held in each church twice a day, the morning worship being chiefly attended by women, as most of the husbands are then climbing the palmyras, and the evening by men, whose wives are preparing the family dinner. But on Sunday all attend, and the sight is most impressive and encouraging. Take Megnanapuram as an example, where is the finest church. On the floor are seated 1,400 dusky natives, the catechists and schoolmasters in full suits of white, the poorer men only with waist cloths, the women often in gay but not gaudy colours, the school-children massed together in two squares, all profoundly attentive to the service, kneeling reverentially during the prayers, joining heartily in the responses, and listening eagerly to the sermon, which is often broken up into a catechetical form. 'Can you finish 'that text for me?' enquires the preacher, or 'what did I say 'would be the second head of my sermon?' and an answer is given in full chorus from the part of the church to which he addresses his question. Moreover the more intelligent of the congregation keep up their attention by writing notes of the preacher's words with their own styles on slips of palmyra leaf, and any catechist from an outstation who happens to be present, often uses these notes as a foundation for his own sermon when he is next among his people. When to this we add that the singing is admirable; soft, melodious, reverential, and accompanied by an excellent harmonium, we shall convince our readers that a service at Megnanapuram impresses a visitor, even though ignorant of Tamil, with a sense of freshness, reality, and earnest Christian life, which is often wanting when he sees a fashionable English congregation lolling in their seats during the Confession and Lord's Prayer without a single audible response, or drowsily listening to a wearisome harangue which has been chosen almost at haphazard from some well worn stock of sermons, and is now repeated for the twentieth time.

But the missionary's Sunday work is by no means limited to his two services. In the course of the day he generally holds an

adult school, and in his instructions he is actually assisted, (at least at Edeyenkoody, and probably elsewhere,) by the children and grandchildren of the pupils. For it often happens that the young alone have received a regular education; the generations now in middle life were won from heathenism when their school days were over, and of these only a portion have been taught to read, the rest receiving vivá voce instruction, and learning by rote portions of the catechism, or scripture texts, or summaries

of history and doctrine.

'It is wonderful,' says Dr. Caldwell, 'to see how patiently 'and goodhumouredly the older people submit to be taught by ' their juvenile teachers. Though they look to the teacher for the words of the lesson, and repeat them patiently again and again, 'till they know them by heart, it sometimes happens that they 'have a clearer insight than their teacher into the meaning of 'the lesson. The teacher depends, perhaps exclusively, upon his 'lesson notes, while the pupil has had the lesson written on his ' heart by the Great Teacher Himself. ... I was once examining a ' very old man who wished to be baptized, and according to cus-'tom I asked him, amongst other things, if he could repeat the Belief, which I knew he had been taught. He made the attempt, but after a few incoherent sentences gave it up in des-' pair. At length he raised his hand and said: "I'll tell you, Sir, "the meaning of it. We are all sinners, and the Lord Christ "undertook for us all, and if we believe in Him, we shall be saved.

"I know that, and that is all I know." ' (p. 92.)

There are also many special services and classes for Christian instruction during the week: often the Litany and a short sermon on Wednesday at noon, when work ceases in the Hindu villages, and Friday is not unfrequently devoted to the instruction of the catechists, who come into the chief station, and are systematically trained by the missionary both in the theory and practical use of theology, in the theory by the study of Scripture, and perhaps of Butler and Pearson, in the practice by the preparation of sermons and their actual delivery in his presence. In fact, the teaching and training, church-going and school-going, are so constant, and the exercise of discipline so peremptory, that a Tinnevelly village feels the influence of its pastor to an extent which would be considered intolerable in an English parish; and there seems to be some danger lest the bow should be a little overstrained, and lest difficulties should arise when Christianity has spread more widely, and education made more progress among the wealthier classes. At present however there is no doubt that the people heartily enter into this rigid discipline, and regard it as perfectly natural. And the problem of adapting

the system to a state of things more nearly resembling the long established Christianity of a European country is one which the missionaries of our generation will perhaps hardly be required to solve; though we should be glad to be assured that their attention was turned to it, and that they were preparing for its solution. Especially we would have them careful about too much interference with harmless national customs, and imposing upon their converts a yoke of merely English habits, as distinguished

from Christian feelings and practices.

Besides this watchful care of the older population, the missionaries have organized an efficient system of education for both sexes. In some of the more important Christian villages, the proportion of the population at school amounts to twenty-five per cent., and the general average in the part of the country occupied by the two societies reaches sixteen per cent. According to the statistical tables of Dr. Mullens, there are in the Christian schools of the province 12,044 children, in which total are included a considerable number of heathen. Most of the schools are vernacular dayschools, and the instruction includes, besides the indispensable three Rs, Scripture, catechism, geography, and a little Tamil poetry. It is fortunate that the Tamil language possesses a respectable literature, which is constantly receiving accessions from the labour of the missionaries in translating English books, so that its students are provided with a tolerable supply of intellectual food. There are as we have seen some superior boarding schools, among which that for girls at Edevenkoody is distinguished for the beauty of the lace made by its pupils from European patterns, and for the very efficient manner in which it is worked partly as a training school for mistresses, and still more as a seminary in which 'the more promising daughters of the native Christians are 'brought up to be specimens and patterns to the rest of the 'community of what Christian women ought to be, so that by 'their influence the character of the whole community may be 'raised.' To this end they are taken into the school at a very early age, and are brought under the eye of the missionary and his family, by whom they are 'instructed, not only in useful 'knowledge, but in the habits and proprieties of the Christian 'life.'

But at the head of the education of the district are five institutions, four established at Palamcottah by the Church Missionary Society, and one, (which is, in fact, a combination of two) at a small village, twelve miles from Tuticorin, and bearing the singular name of Sawyerpuram (Mr. Sawyer's town) by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The four institutions at

Palamcottah are a flourishing English school, attended by more heathen than Christian boys; a training school for catechists, another for schoolmasters, and the 'Sarah Tucker Institution' for mistresses. The English school which is, strange to say, efficiently conducted by a blind master, has been an instrument for bringing to Christianity several of the heathen among the wealthier classes, but in its general aspect and course of study it does not differ from the kindred institutions with which we are familiar in Bengal. The seminary at Sawyerpuram, a large training school both for catechists and masters, under the care of Mr. French, a zealous and intelligent layman, is remarkable, among other merits, for the proficiency of its pupils in music. We listened with real pleasure to the performance by them of a selection of English anthems and glees, including such pieces as Sleepers awake, Lord for Thy tender mercies' sake, Forgive blest shade, Come unto these yellow sands; and it was impossible to deny that art, as well as Christianity, has a powerful effect in bringing nations together, and effacing distinctions of race and colour, when we heard these swarthy Tamil boys singing melodies with which we had been familiar of old in English cathedrals and concert rooms. On the other hand the chief special characteristic of the training school for masters at Palamcottah is the ardour with which the pupils devote themselves to athletic sports. Not even Professor Kingsley, nay not Tom Brown himself, could be dissatisfied with such a development of muscular Christianity as they would witness in the playground. Rather we doubt whether either of those heroes would be eager to join the embryo schoolmasters of Tinnevelly in leaping and pole-climbing under the full blaze of the mid-day sun in N. lat. 9°, and with the thermometer at 85° in the shade. Some persons who have hitherto regarded a missionary institution as a kind of Trappist convent, only conducted on puritanical principles, will imbibe (as Coleridge said when he first read Undine), an 'absolutely new 'idea' from the following 'Programme of Athletic Sports,' for which prizes were given by the vivacious master of the Palamcottah training college, and contended for last Christmas by his pupils in the presence of all the Europeans in the station, civil and military, young and old, male and female. We will only premise, in explanation of No. 8 on the second day's list, that the words across the bath mean through the bath, and that the bath is a swimming bath of considerable depth and width.

### PROGRAMME

OF

### CHRISTMAS GAMES.

### PALAMCOTTAH VERNACULAR TRAINING INSTITUTION, (REV. T. SPRATT'S.)

On the 28th and 29th December 1863 at 3. P. M.

### FIRST DAY.

## FOR ALL BOYS UNDER 14.

- 1. Flat Race.
- 2. Running Jump Distance.
- Do. 3. - Height.
- 4. Standing Jump Distance.
  5. Do. Height.
- 6. Throwing Cricket Ball.
- 7. Pulling Match.
- 8. Best performers on Parallel Bars.
- Do. Horizontal Bar. 9.
- Do. Swinging Ropes. 10.
- Do. 11. Ladder.
- 12. Best performers on Horse.
- 13. Hopping race.

### OPEN TO ALL.

- 14. Throwing Cricket Ball.
- 15. Pulling Match.
- 16. Best performers on Parallel Bars.
- Do. on Horizontal Bar. 17.
- Do. on Swinging Ropes. 18.
- 19. Do. on Ladder.
- on Horse. 20. Do.
- 21. Hopping Race.

## SECOND DAY.

#### OPEN TO ALL.

- 1. Flat Race.
- 2. Running Jump Distance. 3. Do. Height.
- 4. Standing Jump Distance.
- 5. Do. - Height.
- 6. Hurdle Race.
- 7. High Cockolorum jig, jig, jig.

8. Steeple Chase (round the compound across the bath.)

9. Pickback Race.

10. Sack Race.

11. Camel Tournament.

12. Scramble for Squibs, &c.

13. Putting.

14. Chatty Race.

15. Jumping high with long pole.

16. Hop, step, and jump.

17. Climbing the greasy pole.

18. Long Race.

(There will be a display of Fireworks on the Evening of the Second day.)

There are some perhaps who may think that a list of high jumps and flat races is an incongruous element in so holy and sublime a work as the conversion of a nation to God. There are others to whom it will recall happy and healthful memories of their schoolboy days, and who will not grudge to their Hindu fellow-Christians the recreations which they once so heartily, and on the whole so innocently, enjoyed. And all, we trust, will call to mind the Apostle's prayer that, 'spirit, soul, and 'body may be preserved blameless,' and so come to the conclusion that the good missionary, who thus tries to train his boys in manliness and hardihood, as well as in Christian knowledge and mental culture, does well in regarding all three parts of human nature as alike objects of God's fatherly care, and de-

signed for His service.

There is one difference between the educational policy of our two great missionary societies in Tinnevelly, which deserves a short notice, as it involves an important principle. The master of the Sawyerpuram college trains his pupils in English, which is not admitted into the curriculum of the catechists' and schoolmasters' institutions at Palamcottah. The reasons for this exclusion are not far to seek, but (with one exception) unsatisfactory. It is said that a knowledge of English tends to make a young native conceited, gives him European and anti-national tastes, produces in him indifference to his countrymen, and unfits him for the simple and humble employment of a village catechist or schoolmaster. But this is only arguing against the use of a privilege from its abuse. If the knowledge of English confers substantial intellectual benefits on its recipient, we may trust that God's grace will deliver him from any temptations which may follow; and undoubtedly the more truly Christian a student becomes, the less likely he is to be arrogant and unpatriotic. An illness is often made the means of sobering a

reckless profligate, and weak health escapes some moral dangers to which strong health is exposed, but we do not therefore cease to take precautions against disease, or voluntarily diminish our bodily vigour. Just so we have no right to deprive our native students of the chief means of cultivating their mental powers which we are able to give them. Without English they cannot obtain that knowledge of theology which a religious teacher ought to possess. It is true that some works of our standard English divines are translated into Tamil, but translations are but broken reeds for a student to depend upon, and some of these so-called translations of theological books are mere epitomes and abstracts of the originals, like the cram books and abridgments by which the inferior tutors at Oxford and Cambridge push their pupils through the littlego or greatgo, with the minimum of trouble to the crammers, and of profit to the crammed. Moreover the study of English is spreading more and more widely among the heathen. We must not allow the Christians to be inferior to them in knowledge, and in the power of taking a proper social position. It is true that 'to the poor 'the Gospel is preached,' and we welcome a Shánár or Pariah convert with no less thankfulness than a Brahman. But the goodly tree must push forth its branches upwards, the higher castes as well as the lower must be brought to the knowledge of Christ, and therefore the influence of native Christians should be such as gradually to leaven all society. Indeed there is among them an increasing desire to learn English, and any hindrance to this legitimate aspiration chases them with a sense of injustice and unkindness, as was sufficiently shewn at the recent conference of missionaries in the Punjab.\* There is, however, one argument against teaching English to those who are to be masters of village schools, which undoubtedly requires attention. It is said that, as they are to teach in the vernacular, they must be trained in it, since otherwise they will never become familiar with the technical terms used in geography, arithmetic, geometry, and the other branches of knowledge which they are to impart to their pupils. Above all they should be thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular text of Scripture, which they must quote in giving religious instruction, just as an English clergyman in preaching cites the authorized version in his sermons instead of his own translations (possibly more accurate) of the Greek and Hebrew. But these evil consequences will be entirely averted by adopting a suggestion of Mr. Spratt, the same thoughtful missionary who so wisely

<sup>\*</sup> Report of the Punjáb Missionary Conference, p. 159 ff.

encourages the Palamcottah gymnastics. He proposes that the ordinary lessons should be given through the medium of the vernacular, but that English should be taught for two hours a day as a foreign language, so that it would occupy the same place in the training college which Latin and Greek take in a public school at home. Such a plan would, we think, be an improvement on that adopted at Sawyerpuram, where the boys receive all their instructions in English, and so incur the risk of an insufficient acquaintance with their own language. Still more marked is its superiority to the system in which English is omitted altogether.

And now our readers will be asking, What are the results of this revolution? for to such a name the change which has been described is surely entitled. Are these Southern Christians clearly and decidedly superior in morality to their heathen neighbours? In abandoning heathenism, have they shewn signs of an inward change, a conversion of the heart to God, or have they merely adopted a new creed and profession? To this momentous subject, and another of scarcely inferior interest, the consideration of the causes which have led to so great a result, we shall address ourselves during the remainder of this

article.

Now first as to results, it is almost sufficient to say that these Shanars and other converts of the South were demondaters, but are now Protestant Christians, that they did worship at pe kovils, but do worship in churches, and that they were left in absolute ignorance of things human and divine alike, till the missionaries came with their schools and sermons and Bible classes. So vast an outward change necessarily involves something of an inward change; they could not have been persuaded to prefer the peaceful simplicity of the Christian hymn to the frantic orgies of the devil-dance without a thorough alteration of their tastes and And in truth the visible and tangible results of the change are anything but insignificant. The civilizing influence of Christianity is shewn in the neatness and order which marks the Christian villages, in the cleanliness of the Christian compared with the dirt and untidiness of the Heathen Shánárs, in the social elevation of women, the happiness and purity of domestic life, the open and intelligent countenances of the children in the mission schools. It is not shewn in any diminution of drunkenness, for happily that hindrance to Christian work does not exist among the Shánárs; and it is a remarkble fact that, though their palmyras furnish them with an unfailing supply of intoxicating drink, they have never formed any taste for it. But it is shewn very remarkably in the

liberality of the converts. The sums which they contribute to religious and benevolent objects, and the interest which they take in them, may well put to shame the nominal Christianity of too many among our own countrymen. These poor agricultural labourers have their Church-building societies, missionary societies, societies for the relief of Christians in distress, Tract, Book, and Bible Societies. Their charitable funds are managed at a Dharmmasangam, a public meeting duly convened for the purpose of voting grants for good objects, and Dr. Caldwell relates as an illustration of the interest taken in such works of benevolence, that on one occasion, when he asked why no women from a certain village were present at a sangam, he was told that the river was swollen, so that the women had turned back, but the men had swum. He adds that the village was eleven miles off, so that for a purely disinterested purpose they took a walk of twenty-two miles in one day, and twice encountered 'perils of waters' in swimming a swollen Indian river. Dr. Mullens tells us that the whole contributions of the Tinnevelly Christians to religious purposes in 1861 amounted to Rs. 19,326, a sum which will appear very considerable when we also read that the wages of a good labourer are about eight annas a week, and that there is not a single native Christian in the Edeyenkoody district, whose weekly income averages more than two rupees and a half. Another tolerably fair test of the depth and earnestness of Christian conviction may generally be obtained from the attendance at the Lord's Supper. Now the proportion throughout Tinnevelly of communicants to baptized persons is stated to be one in six; in some villages it reaches one in five; if it is anywhere less than one in eight, the religious condition of that village is regarded as deplorably low. Compare this with the state of any English regiment in India. Ask any earnest chaplain what would be his feelings of joy and thankfulness if, in a military congregation of 1,000 persons, including officers, soldiers, and their wives, 200 were regular communicants, and what an index such a proportion would furnish of the moral and spiritual condition of his flock. And yet the comparison is not a fair one, for in an English military station there is of course nothing like the number of children which we find in a Tinnevelly village.

But though in general the aspect of the Church in the South of India is most encouraging, yet it would be irrational to expect that all the faults of the Hindu character should have been eradicated in the first or second generation of Christians. The civil authorities of the province complain that the converts are not free from a litigious spirit, and that when a Christian

appears in a court of justice, it would not be safe to assume that his evidence is necessarily trustworthy. And the same fault is found with the Kól converts in Chota Nagpore. We think it right to mention this, the one blemish alleged against Shánár Christianity by the English who observe it impartially, and admitted by the missionaries and the more thoughtful among the converts. But we do not think that too much stress should be laid upon it, or that it should diminish our sympathy with our native brethren, and our belief that God has worked among them a real and vital change. The most important part of the accusation, that of untruthfulness, results partly from the national timidity, partly from the lying and roguery which are so often paramount in our courts of justice, from the influence of native mooktears and other rapacious animals, and through which an English Judge has to wind his weary way with infinite labour and disgust. It must also be remembered, that only the inferior section of our native Christians come into the courts; the more advanced and spiritually-minded among them never appear there at all. But even if we overlook all these extenuations and view the sin in its worst aspect, we Englishmen must not censure too severely this hereditary taint in our Hindu fellow-Christians, when we remember with shame how drunkenness pollutes the poor and selfish worldliness the rich among our own countrymen. In comparing the Christianity of Tinnevelly with that of Europe, or the English communities of India, there is one important distinction which has been well pointed out by Dr. Caldwell, and which we must not forget:-

'In an old Christian country, especially in our crowded cities, 'many of those who call themselves Christians never enter a place 'of Christian worship, never bow the knee to God in prayer, 'never open God's word, know nothing of God except as a name to swear by. Such persons have no right even to the name of 'Christians, and when they are called by that name it can only 'mean that they are not Mahometans or Buddhists. In Tinnevelly 'such persons would not be called Christians at all; their names would be erased from our church lists, and Christianity would not be discredited by the supposition that they are hers. When ' we speak of nominal Christianity in Tinnevelly, we speak of something which has a certain right to the Christian name. 'nominal Christians come to church, they send their children to 'school, ... they contribute to the funds of our various societies, they submit to discipline in a remarkably docile manner, ... in 'short, a considerable number of our "nominal Christians" would 'be reckoned very good Christians, and very good church-people 'too, in some parishes in England, and if we call them "nominal"

'Christians merely, it is because we have not seen in them what 'we have longed to see, "the power of godliness," the new life of real spiritual Christianity, and find it necessary to distinguish them from that much smaller, but much more interesting class of native Christians, who shew that they are animated by

' the Spirit of Christ.' (p. 126.)

But this extract reminds us that we originally put the question in a graver form than that in which we have answered it, for we asked whether in abandoning heathenism the Christians of Tinnevelly had been truly converted to God. whereas we have only recounted certain outward signs of morality and civilization. Yet perhaps the question was in truth too solemn either to ask or to answer, for it is not ours to judge of a true inward conversion, 'the things of God knoweth no 'man, save the Spirit of God.' We can only say that the missionaries, who certainly are not impulsive enthusiasts, painting everything around them with rose-coloured tints, but inclined perhaps to take too low rather than too high an estimate of their disciples, fully believe, amidst many disappointments and anxieties, such as St. Paul encountered among his converts, that in each congregation God has raised up a seed to serve Him, a little flock of Christians, who shew the genuineness of their Christianity by their eager interest in all means of improvement, their zeal in good works, the largeness of their almsgiving, the quiet consistency of their lives, the piety which sanctifies their homes, their conquest over caste prejudices and national faults, and their devout confidence in God's love. More than this it is not given to man to say, but we have in these signs a sufficient foundation for the belief that Christianity has not only brought to the people of Tinnevelly the blessings of knowledge and civilization and outward morality, but that in the divine book of remembrance will be recorded the names of many among them who have 'feared the Lord and thought 'upon His Name.'

We have spoken with entire confidence as to the results of the Gospel in Tinnevelly: we find it harder to add a few final words as to the human means and agencies by which they have

been produced.

In comparing the rapidly successful and constantly progressive work of the missionaries in South India with the nearly stagnant conditions of too many missions in the presidency of Bengal, we cannot sufficiently account for the difference by any marked peculiarities either in the method pursued, or the character of those who have been brought under the influence of Christianity. The Karens of Burmah indeed appear to be a

people specially fitted for the reception of the Gospel, and the Kóls of Ranchi were at least free from the prejudices of Hinduism. The Tinnevelly peasants so far resemble them that they belong, as we have seen, to the aboriginal races of India, and not to the Aryan conquerors. The worship of devils is on the whole more revolting, and therefore more easily renounced than even that of Durga and Krishna, in which certain truths of religion are obscurely hinted, and with which at least great national traditions are connected, whereas the ceremonial of the pe kovil is the simple result of terror, and must vanish before a comparatively faint ray of enlightenment, or the simplest appreciation

of the truth that God's essential character is love.

Still the Shánárs have certain prejudices which might well have prevented them from embracing a religion which involves the principle of spiritual equality and brotherhood. We have seen that they are naturally tenacious of their caste, and latterly there has been current among them a strange notion, (actively propagated, we believe, by the schismatics of the Nazareth district,) that they are a princely race like the Rajputs, and that their progenitors were palmyra-climbing kings. Some Venetian sequins are occasionally dug up in Tinnevelly, relics of a time when Tuticorin was a great trading port, and these coins, like others of the republic, are stamped with a bishop's mitre and pastoral staff. Some of the Shanars fully believe these emblems to represent the toolbag and climbing stick used in mounting their beloved trees, to which they undoubtedly bear a considerable resemblance. Hence they conclude the sequins to be the coinage, not of the ancient spouse of the Adriatic, but of their own royal ancestors, cultivators of the palmyra like themselves. Fancies like these, intensified by the bitterness of caste feeling, are doubtless serious hindrances to the power of the Gospel, and may be set against the facilities afforded to its extension by the fortunate exclusion of the Hindu pantheon from the Shánár religion. And thus we must regard the success with which God has blest the missionaries rather as the reward of their own selfdenying exertions than of the 'honest and good heart' of the people among whom they have sown the heavenly seed. One difference between the system which they have followed, and that which prevails in Northern India, is this. They have laboured, not in large cities, but in the heart of the country and in the very midst of the peasantry. Now in towns the personal influence of the ablest and most devoted missionary is as nothing when compared with that of the Brahmans and the power of caste. We believe that frightful persecutions have often been set on foot to prevent conversions to the faith of Christ in

a large town or thickly populated district of India. But in Tinnevelly the missionary has had a fairer field; he has taken up his abode among the peasantry, made himself acquainted with their wants and feelings, and so gradually taught them to respect his character, to place confidence in his friendship, to value his advice, to regard him as a teacher sent from God. influence, important in the prosecution of any good work, is among the Hindus all-powerful, and in Tinnevelly the influence of the missionary and his family has happily soon been followed by that of the small congregation, by the sight of Christian worship, the boons offered through the Christian school, the growing intelligence, comfort, and respectability of those who follow the new way. The missionaries say that just at present our Lord's warning that a man's foes shall be they of his own household, seems hardly applicable in its full meaning to Tinnevelly; so frequent are the cases in which a family is brought to Christ by the influence of a single member of it, or a whole village through the electric flash communicated by a Christian household established in the midst of Heathenism.

There is however one policy which the Southern missionaries have not adopted, and on which we are desirous to dwell for a few moments, because of late there has been a tendency to revive the notion that it furnishes the true hope of converting India, and the starting point from which men should proceed towards that noble object, which of all others is most worthy of the great name of Christian England. They have not thought it necessary to wander over the country imitating the native jogis and casting off the amenities of European They do not feel called upon to sacrifice those very moderate comforts, such as a punkah or a glass of wine, which, though they might appear luxurious in a cold climate, are in many cases necessary for life and health in this. They do not think it wrong to 'bathe and change their linen twice in twentyfour hours: \*' on the contrary, we have commented on the wide expanse of their swimming-baths, and he who has had any experience of bazaar preaching at the close of a hot Indian day, will hardly grudge the preacher the satisfaction of a clean shirt when he sits down to his evening meal. This same complaint that the missionaries cannot hope to christianize the people till they renounce their accustomed mode of life was made some years ago in an article of this Review, + and we

<sup>\*</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X. p. 488.

<sup>† &#</sup>x27;If the missionaries are to have any success at all, they should be "a sort of Christian Nanuks in the land, English Gooroo Govinds, lighting "up the entire country into a blaze of awakened enthusiasm by the

may be allowed to cite the answer to it given in a charge which was then addressed to the clergy of one of our Indian dioceses: 'So far as I have observed, the charge that missionaries lead 'luxurious lives is absolutely groundless. In this city indeed, considering the expense of living, and the extremely moderate ' scale of your allowances, I fear that it is difficult always to pro-' cure even all those comforts which are necessary for health and 'efficient work in India; and in no missionary's house in the Mo-'fussil have I seen anything inconsistent with the position of a ' man devoted to the task of building of Christ's kingdom among 'unbelievers, and therefore clearly bound to lead a simple and self-' denying life. But when you are advised to turn yourselves into 'Christian fakirs, you may answer that asceticism is no part of ' the Gospel system, that whatever you may attempt in that line ' can never rival the deeds of the Mussulman fakir, and the Hindu 'jogi, that the attempt to simulate native practices has already ' been made by Robert de Nobili and the Jesuit missionaries of ' the seventeenth century, and that the result was not such as to 'encourage a fresh experiment. In a higher and truer sense than 'theirs, though not certainly with more self-abnegation, which ' would be impossible, you will try to impress the people with the ' reality of your mission and the divine beauty of Christian mo-' rality, by your kindness, your devotion to your work, your earnest 'efforts to understand their wants and feelings, your readiness to ' meet their difficulties, and the entire consistency of your lives ' with the doctrines which you teach. In Cyprian's time the ' preachers of Christianity did not spread the Gospel in Carthage by any attempt to rival the devotees of Astarte, but by devoting 'themselves, in spite of a bloody persecution, to the work of 'nursing the sick and burying the dead during a time of pesti-'lence, "knowing that it became Christians by welldoing to heap "the burning coals of shame on the heads of their enemies" '\* We believe that the attempt to christianize the Hindus by a mimicry of the ascetic practices of their own jogis, if the

<sup>&#</sup>x27;contagious spectacle of their own downright, fiery, and eccentric earnestness.' We should have Christian fakirs, wild, rough, fervent, not the sober and decorous, clockwork gentleman of the white neckcloth School.'—Cal. Review, Vol. XXX. p. 388. There is much to the same effect throughout the article, including the monstrous assertion, (put into the mouth of a native) that 'the 'missionaries ride in proud vehicles, indulge in costly and refined observances, 'their doors are besieged by pampered menials, at noon there is worshipful company being received, at eventide the huzoor and his mem are proceeding 'forth to take the air.' The same style of objection is reproduced in the recent article in Macmillan's Magazine, only in a much kinder and less unreasonable spirit.

Primary Charge of the Bishop of Calcutta, 1859, p. 52.

missionaries who ventured upon it escaped from it alive, could only result in a religion resembling that form of Romanism which prevails in some of the darkest corners of India, and of which it has been truly said that 'no element of heathendom is ' wanting in it: there are huge idols which the native congre-'gations appear to appreciate under the titles of St. Christopher and St. Lawrence as readily as if they had been called by the 'more familiar names of their own mythology, and except ' that the incense is somewhat better, and the priests some-'what cleaner, one might fancy one-self in the Black Town 'during the Durga Poojah.'\* This was not the ideal with the missionaries of the English Church in Tinnevelly set before them; they aimed at building up a Church of intelligent and devoted Christians, capable of offering to God a reasonable service, and of knowing that, when they turned to Christ, they were not following cunningly devised fables. No doubt in all real Christianity self-sacrifice is an essential feature, and it has not been neglected by the missionaries of the South. Among them are men who are quite competent to take their place in the ranks of scholars and divines, and of enjoying keenly all the pleasures of refined and intellectual society. Yet they prefer remaining in the wild palmyra forest, that they may seek out 'the sheep of Christ who are scattered abroad in this naughty 'world'; they do not shrink, if need be, from the duty of 'sleeping' 'in native huts, living on native food, going afoot from village to 'village through the sun of June and the exhalations of September, talking of Jesus to the ryots in the field, and to the women 'at the well'; + but they believe that they are also preaching Christ practically if they exhibit in a half converted village the pattern of a Christian home, and the parsonage of a Christian pastor, such as is the spring of comfort and blessing to many a poor parish in England. One advantage, indeed, they have enjoyed which we are loath to mention, but which we suspect has told far more in favour of their cause than any assumption of the character of fakirs would have done. There is scarcely any part of India which is more removed from contact with Europeans than Tinnevelly. Dr. Caldwell says that in many of its secluded districts the peasants have never seen the face of an English layman. Now it is quite true that no healthier influence can be exercised over a Hindu village than that of a

<sup>\*</sup> Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. X, p. 487. It is strange that the author of the article, seeing that this has been the result of the experiment made by the Romish missionaries, should wish it repeated by their Protestant successors.

<sup>†</sup> Macmillan, u. s.

brave, manly, and energetic English magistrate or settler, especially if his home is graced and purified by the presence of a good wife, not uninterested in the people around her. We thankfully acknowledge that such examples of the Christian life are becoming more and more frequent, but still we must confess with shame that too often the conduct of the English in India has been quite the reverse of this, and that their lives have often furnished the most formidable arguments against the religion which they profess. We are painfully convinced that the grievous inconsistency of European nominal Christians, and not any want of self-sacrifice in the missionaries, has been hitherto one principal reason why the progress of Christianity in India has been so slow and disappointing. Such a hindrance however has but rarely opposed the truth in Tinnevelly: the people have seen the Christian life exhibited to them only in its very best and purest form, and it is not wonderful that they have been attracted by it. But whether be the cause of the success of missionaries in this remote province, the fact cannot be gainsaid: their labour has received the seal of God's approbation, and they have their abundant and constant reward in the gradual ingathering of the harvest, for in Tinnevelly, unlike the rest of India, the same men who sow the seed are permitted also to reap the crop. Their work as we have seen is spreading in various directions: every year fresh bands of earnest converts are admitted into the ranks of Christ's army, and wherever the holy Church throughout all the world acknowledges its Lord, its members may thank Him for the genuine Christian piety which His Spirit, through the agency of these devoted pastors, has implanted in the hearts of many thousands of simple peasants in Tinnevelly and Travancore.

# ART. 1V .- On the Currency of India.

So much has been said and written of late on the matter of the introduction of gold as a currency for India, in addition to or in substitution of the present silver currency, that a comprehensive and extended view of the entire currency

system of India would not be out of place at present.

We shall first explain what is meant by the term currency. It is the money of a country that passes in general circulation in the dealings of the people, both in the ordinary daily transactions of life, and to supply the more extensive requirements of com-Money is defined\* to be the commodity or article which the inhabitants of a country accept, either voluntarily or by compulsion, as the equivalent for their services, or for whatever else they may have to dispose of. In India the Gold Mohur, the Silver Rupee, the Copper Pice, with their multiples and subdivisions as coins, constitute the money of the people, and as all except the Gold Mohur are in general circulation, they form the currency of India. In addition to this Metal Currency, there is the Paper Currency lately issued by Government, composed of Notes representing 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 Rs. So that Silver, Copper, and Paper have been the articles used to establish the currency of India. Whether Gold should or should not also be used for this purpose, is the perplexing question of the day.

From the very first blow† that was struck in a Mint in India now nearly two centuries ago, the English Government constituted Silver the legal currency of India, although the coins that have from that date been issued by the English Government have varied in size, quality, and quantity of pure metal in each coin, and it was not till the year 1835 that the amount of pure silver, 165 grains Troy, was definitely settled as the quantity that was to be manufactured into one Rupee. This quantity of pure silver, with one-eleventh its weight of copper, makes a mixture that was then found to constitute the hardest of all kinds of alloyed silver, and this the experience of our

\* McCulloch's Economical Policy.

<sup>†</sup> In the year 1757 Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, Nabob of Moorshedabad, granted a perwannah to the East India Company to establish a Mint in Calcutta, and the first coinage took place on the 29th of August of that year, but as early as 1671 a Mint was opened at Bombay, when that island was ceded to the British as the marriage dowry of the Queen of Charles II.

Indian coinage has fully borne out, for the Rupées have stood the wearage of a circulation of thirty years without being much affected thereby. The Rupee therefore weighed 180 grains, and its weight, called a Tolah, furnished a complete equivalent to the Troy measure;—100 pounds Troy being exactly 3,200 tolas, or one maund. It was consequently made the basis of the Indian system of weights. With such advantages possessed by the Indian Rupee—its ancient hold on the people of India, and the amount of it now in circulation, which was estimated by the late Mr. Wilson at above 1,00,00,00,000—it would be folly even to countenance any suggestion to substitute this silver

currency for a gold one.

Suppose the Government were to-day to declare that a certain gold coin, whether it be the Sovereign or the Mohur, was to be the only legal coin of India, for all large payments, it would by making silver subordinate to gold, throw out of circulation more than nine-tenths of the 100 crores of Rupees, and thus suddenly contract the currency until a corresponding value of coined gold was introduced into India. The direful effect of such a contraction would be as palpably felt in India as it was when the English currency was contracted by the resumption of cash payments in 1821, and again by the Bank Act of 1845 reducing the paper circulation from sixty to thirty millions of pounds, on both which occasions prices fell fully fifty per cent. with the natural result of calamity and disaster to the agricultural and commercial classes of England, and general discontent throughout the land.

But as the contraction of a currency is attended with consequences of so lamentable a nature, so on the other hand is its extension attended with beneficial results. As certainly and inevitably, says Alison,\* as a plentiful harvest renders grain cheap, and an abundant vintage renders wine low priced, so does an increased supply of the currency, whether in specie or paper, render money cheap as compared with the price of other commodities, and when commodities maintain high prices, the general welfare of a nation, as taught by the Father of Political Economy, is the inevitable result of such a state of things. If therefore the specie circulation of India could be extended by the introduction of a gold coinage, it would certainly be desirable that it should be done. We shall shew how this can best be accomplished, but before we approach this intricate subject, let us consider what has been the effect of the Paper Currency of the Government of India now introduced upwards of two years ago.

<sup>\*</sup> Continuation of History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 17.

The issue of paper money is based upon two principles diametrically opposite. The one renders it immediately convertible into coin which it represents;—the other throws it into circulation in lieu of coin. The latter is the resource of states during political convulsions, and is adopted to raise capital wherewith to meet the wants of the kingdom. It was adopted by the Revolutionary Government of the French Republic in 1797, and is now in full operation in the United States of America—both Northern and Southern,—in consequence of the great fratricidal war of extermination raging in those once peaceful territories.

The issue on the former case loaded the French nation with an immense debt (£700,000,000 sterling\*, worth only one thousandth its value in specie,) which the succeeding Government ignored; the latter is adding such a national debt to the United States that if they do not follow the example of France, the burden of taxation will be more heavily felt there than it is by the people of the British Isles. The Government of England also by the Bank Restriction Act of William Pitt, issued paper money not convertible into coin, until after the termination of the continental war then raging. This paper money enabled it to prosecute the war with Napoleon with vigour, and ultimately to emerge from it glorious and triumphant; and though widespread bankruptcy was the result, though the nation was sorely distressed, though agriculture was paralyzed,—wheat having fallen in price fully fifty per cent.,—though a revolutionary spirit manitested itself in parts of England and Scotland, still the Government adhered to its pledge, and resumed cash payments for its hitherto inconvertible paper money. In times of commercial crisis, the paper money of England has again been rendered inconvertible for short periods, as was the case in 1847 and 1857.

In India the paper money is a representative of coin; the public deposit silver coin with the Government and get paper money, called Government Currency Notes, in lieu. Notes are more handy than coin. One hundred Notes of 1,000 Rupees each enable a man to grasp within his right hand the equivalent of one lac of coined money, which requires fifty porters to carry. When the purposes for which Notes are taken in lieu of coin are accomplished—when coin is again required—the Notes have simply to be presented at the place where the coin for them is deposited, and they are readily exchanged. All the advantages, all the conveniences of a Paper Currency to the public are thus realized; while on the other hand, the Government, and

<sup>\*</sup> Alison, Volume IV. p. 74.

consequently the people of India, are gainers by the adoption of

such a system of Paper Currency.

When paper is once issued in lieu of coin, it passes from hand to hand, in all the various transactions of a nation, in their barters, exchanges, purchases, payments, receipts, &c., &c., and is thus kept afloat and in circulation. Experience has shewn that a very large quantity of paper money is thus in constant requisition,-doing all the duties of actual coin. In France the Note circulation is now about thirty millions, in England fortyfive millions of Pounds Sterling. The circulation during the last two years in India has been five and a half millions, and, as there is a vast extent of territory and a large number of the population of India which have still to reap all the advantages derivable from the use of Notes, we may expect that in process of time, by the extension of currency circles, similar to that lately introduced at Allahabad, the amount of Notes in circulation will bear a more reasonable proportion to that of the population than it now England, with a population of thirty millions, has £45,000,000 of Notes in circulation. India, with its 150 millions, should require £225,000,000, or 225 crores of Rupees of Notes. We have no doubt that the Indian Note circulation will, in process of time, reach this vast proportion; for, with the stable Government of the Saxon ruling in India, the progress now so visible in its internal trade and external commerce, will no doubt so increase the general welfare of the people of those vast domains of the English Crown, that it will, at some future time, be quite possible to place on an average the same quantity of money in paper in the hands of each individual as is the case in England; there it is thirty shillings, here it will be fifteen Rupees.

With a present deposit of five crores of Rupees, with a prospective deposit of 225 crores, for Notes in circulation, cannot this mine of wealth be made to yield? Yes, but the Government by the Currency Act XIX. of 1861, has put a limit to the fertility of the mine,—that is, it has ruled that only four crores and no more shall be invested in securities of the Government

of India yielding interest.

We look upon this measure as of a temporary nature only, for as surely as the Paper Currency is extended, so surely will it be necessary to extend the limit of the investment that will bring in a revenue to the State, and to withdraw the restriction that these investments shall only be securities of the Indian Government. Already in little more than two years has the investment of the Paper Currency been increased to three crores of Rupees, with a paper circulation of five and a half crores, so that it will not be long before the maximum of four crores will be

invested, and the Government will then have to consider what is to be done with the excessive surplus reserve of coin in deposit, so as to make use of the *talent* entrusted to it like a prudent steward. India has yearly to remit to England about five millions of pounds sterling for its expenses there, and we can see no reason why part of these investments of the Paper Currency should not be made in English Consols, the interest of which being recovered in England, will avoid the necessity of drawing bills on India to the extent at least of the interest realized.

The loans of the Government of India are about £62,000,000, and we have shewn the possibility of the coin reserve of the currency extending to £225,000,000. Mr. Wilson considered it perfectly safe to invest two-thirds of the coin reserve, and to keep only one-third for exchange of Notes for coin; so that this increase would require the purchase of 150 millions of securities, or more than double the national debt of India. Now, considering that a national debt, by binding the interests of the opulent and influential classes with those of the Government, is a source of strength and support to that Government, it is a highly impolitic measure to withdraw from the public so large a proportion of this debt, which it may be observed does not go to reduce it in the least. The investment of the Currency Reserve is not like the investment of the surplus Cash Balance in the hands of the Government. The latter is a positive reduction of the national debt, for at present the Government have been able to buy up from the excess of the Cash Balance Rs. 1,00,00,000 of Government securities, which it may at any time withdraw from the public, and thus reduce the national debt. The investment of the Currency on the other hand is made out of the money belonging to the public held in trust by the Government, which is liable to be called for at any time. The Government can only appropriate to the wants of the State the interest of the investment, and it is not absolutely necessary that the investment should be in securities of the Indian Government only. Any investment readily saleable and convertible into coin, would equally answer the purposes of the currency trust money, and we have shewn good reasons for including the securities of the English Government as proper investments; besides that the latter, in case of a political convulsion in India, would maintain their selling price, whereas Indian securities would fall, as was the case during the late mutiny, when Government Paper was sold at seventy-five per cent. discount in some of the disturbed districts.

We thus see the advantages of a sound system of Paper Currency, such as the Indian currency most unquestionably is—

the paper readily convertible into coin, consequently freely circulating as coin, and maintaining its par value in every transaction in which it is employed, and the Government deriving a revenue\* from the investment of a portion of the coin reserve in securities bearing interest. But there is another advantage in the Indian system which deserves consideration,—that is its agency as the medium for putting into circulation an additional amount of currency, and thereby adding to the general welfare of the nation. We shall exemplify this, by first supposing that India has a sufficiency of coin for its minor daily transactions between man and man, and that its surplus coin is, for the conveniences that paper affords, exchanged for Notes. Suppose this surplus to be 300 lacs, the following table will shew how, in process of time, this 300 lacs will serve to throw into circulation as much more of paper money without any addition to the metallic currency:

Coin. Notes Issued. Securities Purchased. Deposited ... 300 lacs 300 laes 200 lacs. Paid ... ... 200 fer 100 300 200 Re-deposited... 200 200 300 500 200Paid ... 100 100 for 200 500 300 Re-deposited... 100 100300 600 300 Paid ... 100 for 100 200 600 400 Re-deposited... 100 100 300 700400

With a population of thirty millions, the amount of the specie currency of England is estimated at £75,000,000; † with a population of 150 millions, the specie currency of India should be

† McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, page 1056.

<sup>\*</sup> The interest on the present investment of three crores of Rupees may be estimated, at four and a half per cent., as thirteen and a half lacs of Rupees per annum.

about 400 millions; it is however only 100 millions, as estimated by Mr. Wilson, so that £300 millions of coins can still be engulphed in India. If silver continues to be the sole metallic currency of India, it will take many years before this hiatus in the specie requirements of this country will be filled. We have already drained France of its silver specie, and our requirements for the future must depend upon the produce of the silver mines of the world. This produce may be taken at 3,000,000\* lbs. per annum, say about £10,000,000, and it has been estimated that the wear. and tear and loss of silver coins in India alone is four per cent.; so that if India were to receive the entire produce of the silver mines of the world, it would take fully fifty years to give to it a saturated supply of silver coins. We should be behind the age if we were content with progress so slow that it could not be realized in one generation, and if we were not to take advantage of the increased supply of another metal which the late discoveries of immense and apparently inexhaustible tracts of gold fields have placed within the reach of nations.

The entire produce of the precious metals in 1857 is estimated by McCulloch at £38,000,000; of this £10,000,000 is already stated to be the value of silver, so that £28,000,000 shew the quantity of gold at present annually extracted from the bowels of the earth, and scattered over its surface. The Australian fields of Victoria yield about £10,000,000 annually, and if this amount could be directly imported to India, by establishing what Sir Charles Trevelyan calls a triangular trade between England, Australia, and India, it would be advantageous to all three. The imports and exports between these countries show that England owes India for its excess of exports, and that Australia owes England for its excess of imports, and it would be economical and profitable if Australian gold could be used to liquidate the debt of Australia to England, and of England to India, by its direct import to India. This can best be accomplished by making a demand for gold in India. At present the demand for it is limited to its use in the arts for jewellery, ornaments, &c., and the statistics; of the Port of Calcutta alone shew that, in the ten years ending 1861-62, only £9,725,797 was imported, or only one-tenth of what is available from Australia alone.

If the relative value between gold and silver could be uniformly maintained, there would be no difficulty in having a double

<sup>\*</sup> Lamborn's Metallurgy of Silver and Lead, p. 236.

<sup>†</sup> Newmarch. ‡ By Mr. J. N. T. Wood, Secy. Chamber of Commerce.

standard; but many circumstances tend to disturb the equili-

brium in their prices.

It is true that the fluctuation in the price of the precious metals is very small, but however small it may be, it is to be deprecated if the two metals are to be used conjointly as the specie currency of the realm. In England the price of silver according to its specie value was fixed in 1816 at 66d. per ounce standard; the market price, or the bullion value of silver, has been during the last ten years on an average 61 d. ranging from a maximum of 621 to a minimum of 611, the extreme variation being only 1.6 per cent. The difference therefore between the specie and bullion value of silver has been fully maintained at seven per cent., at which rate specie is overvalued as compared to silver bullion. As there is no seignorage or mint charge on gold, the specie and bullion value of gold is the same, viz. £3-17-10 per standard ounce, giving the relative value of gold to silver coin as 1 to 14.287, whereas the bullion value has been seven per cent. higher, or as 1 to 15.287. This has maintained the silver coins in circulation; if it had been otherwise, the silver coins would have been melted up and sold for bullion, as we shall exemplify with regard to France and America. In these two countries the relative value of gold to silver coins is as 1 to 15.5 and 1 to 15.988 respectively, or in either case higher than the market bullion value in England, where the coins of France and America have consequently been imported for sale as bullion, at the rate of about £61,000,000 per annum.\*

In fixing upon a gold coinage for India, we should therefore be careful to avoid the sudden withdrawal of either the gold or the silver currency in consequence of fluctuations in their relative value. We should have a gold coin that will now and for years to come maintain one uniform value throughout the length and breadth of India. It will not do to legalize the English sovereign by declaring its value this day to be Rupees 10-1 anna, and tomorrow Rupees 10-71 annas, or at Calcutta Rupees 9-15-71, and at Bombay Rupees 10-3-101, nor ever to fix its value at ten Rupees throughout India and for all time, for that would tend to the import of the sovereign when its invoice price and consequently the exchange is below that rate, and its export and withdrawal

from circulation when the price and exchange are higher.

Nor do we see why England should meet the expense of coining and supplying India with a gold coinage, which would be

The average annual exports of silver bullion from Great Britain to the East have been £6,787,587 (McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, p. 1050), and consisted of Dollars, Five-Francs, and cake silver obtained from these coins.

the case by legalizing the sovereign at ten Rupees or any fixed rate, for inasmuch as any demand in India for sovereigns would displace the quantity imported to India, from the amount coined for circulation in the British Isles, it will be necessary that the Royal Mint should replace the amount withdrawn by coining an equivalent of gold bullion at the expense of the British nation. for, as we have observed, there is no seignorage charged on the

coinage of gold.

More than nine-tenths of the human race, says Bowring,\* have adopted the decimal system of notation, and we agree with the great scientific mindst of England in recommending that the coinage of every nation should be a decimal one. We therefore propose that India should have a gold coin that will represent and be equivalent to ten Rupees exactly; that its quality should also be valued decimally,—that like the gold coins of France and America it should contain ninety per cent., and not like the sovereign 91.667 per cent. of pure gold. Its weight we maintain should be an aliquot part of that of the Rupee, and we would fix 120 grains as the weight of the gold coin, making three of them weigh exactly two Rupees. This gold coin, which would be the Indian sovereign, would contain 108 grains of pure gold, and be declared a legal tender worth ten Rupees, thereby fixing the relative value of gold to silver as 1 to 15.277 This rate, it will be observed, is about equal to that at which silver bullion is sold in London, and excepting for one year, is higher than the market ruling price; of gold bullion in Calcutta during the last ten years.

If therefore Government were to buy gold at the market rate, which at the average of the last ten years has been as 1 to 14.794, and coin it at the rate of 1 to 15.277, the difference 0.483 would represent seignorage of 3.34 per cent. Government would thus, by receiving gold into the Mints at certain rates, based upon the market prices of the day, to be fixed for six months, as provided in the Paper Currency Act, introduce a gold coinage into India, that would bring into the country an amount of gold which in the course of a few years would stock it with Indian sovereigns; and we think the measure may fairly be started by

of England. Price of bar gold at Calcutta per tola of twenty-two carats fine :-1858 ... ... 14.932 1859 ... ... 15.281 1860 ... ... 14.833 1862 ..... 14.812 1863 ..... 14.958 1854 ... ... 14.833 1855 ... ... 14.531 Average ... 14.794

1856 ... ... 14.198 1857 ... ... 14.765 1861 ... ... 14.797

<sup>\*</sup> Decimal System. † See the evidence of Professors De Morgan, Airey, and others before the Parliamentary Commission on the Decimalization of the Coins and Measures

fixing the price of the tola of gold (ninety per cent. pure) at fifteen Rupees less three per cent. for seignorage, nett Rupees 14.55, which would be equivalent to Rupees 14.820 per tola of gold of twenty-two carats fine, or 91.667 per cent. pure, or Rupees 10.149 for the English or Australian sovereign. This rate, it will be observed, is a fair average one of the price of gold for the last ten years, and while on the one hand it will admit of being raised or lowered to meet the fluctuations in the price of gold imported, the difference of three per cent. between the price of coin and bullion, will preserve the former as a currency, by making it more profitable to export bullion when the exchange is against the country.

However desirable it may be, as an imperial point of policy, to fix the value of the sovereign at ten Rupees, as recommended by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, we do not believe that it can possibly have the effect of violating the course of exchange, by introducing the sovereign at a lower rate than that which was the ruling price for it when the demand was limited, for it has invariably fetched a higher price than ten Rupees, and will certainly continue to do so, notwithstanding that the Government

offer for it be limited to ten Rupees.

The copper coinage of India consists of Double and Single

Pice, Half Pice, and Pies.

One and a half pies are equal to one pice, and four pice equal to one anna, a nomenclature in the Indian accounts equivalent to the one-sixteenth of a Rupee, but which has no coin to represent it. The Indian system of keeping accounts in Rupees, Annas, and Pies, the two latter representing the \frac{1}{10}th and \frac{1}{102}nd part of a Rupee, renders calculations very tedious and troublesome, and to most men very difficult. We have already expressed our opinion in favour of a decimal system of coinage—we have shewn how a gold coin equal to ten Rupees could be advantageously manufactured, and its circulation maintained in India at its par value, and we shall now shew how the copper coinage may be altered so as to render it a decimal equivalent of the Rupee.

When the weight of the copper pice in 1835 was fixed at 100 grains, the price of copper was at thirty-five Rupees per Indian maund. This price has risen to Rupees fifty, so that at this high rate there has been a comparative loss in the copper coinage of forty-three per cent. To meet this fluctuation in the price of copper, we think that the relative value of the pice should be raised from sixty-four to only fifty per Rupee, or about twenty-eight per cent. and we shall thus readily obtain a decimal coinage subordinate to silver, for it would make the half pice equal to the one-hundredth of a Rupee, and accounts could then be

kept in Rupees and half pice, which should be called the pie of account. We have precedent before us for thus altering the price of a coin once in circulation, for in order to put the coinage of Ireland on the same footing as that of England, it was declared that the copper penny of Ireland, thirteen of which were current for the shilling, should be equal to the one-twelfth of a shilling, thereby raising its value upwards of eight per cent. We have also observed that, by the late introduction of the bronze coinage in England, the weight of the penny has been reduced from 10 to 15 of a lb., and the cost of the tokens thus reduced forty-two per cent. The measure now proposed would have the effect of increasing the copper currency in circulation twenty-eight per cent., without adding to the actual number of coins. We do not think that less than 200 lacs of Rupees worth of copper coin is maintained in circulation in India, and by declaring fifty pice equal to a Rupee, there will be thus fifty-six lacs of Rupees added to the Copper Currency, without the intervention of a Mint.

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# ART. V .- Act X. of 1859.

IN our former article we asserted two propositions, and our readers must be the judges how far we succeeded in proving them. These propositions were 1st. That Government committed no breach of faith towards the landholders of Lower Bengal in passing Act X., but that according to the terms of the reservation, on which in 1793 Government made over its own rights to the Zemindars, it was perfectly warranted in legislating for the benefit of the ryots. 2nd. That Act X. tested by Political Economy will not appear so wild a delusion as persons whose ideas are limited to the present state of land tenures in England are inclined to think; and that the views of its framers were not after all extraordinarily erroneous. We shall now proceed after a brief preface to the consideration of the general provisions of the Act, more especially those parts of it which concern enhancement.

Since we penned our previous contribution the decision of the Chief Justice and the Honourable Sumboonath Pundit on the application for a review of judgment in the great case of Isshur Ghose has appeared, and we would earnestly recommend those who cavil at Act X. merely because it did not accord with their preconceived notions, to read the extracts from the Old Regulations grouped together in the Chief Justice's decision. Many would be astonished to learn what is perfectly true, that with the exception of the Section enacting that a right of occupancy shall be obtained by twelve years' possession, there is scarcely anything new in the Act. The law is a recast in a modern shape of what was acknowledged and acted upon as law, before it was put into its present tangible form,—tangible alike for use, comprehension, and attack. And even the rightof-occupancy Section can be supported by a reference to ideas and customs long prevalent and admitted to have all the force of law. It is only the fixing of twelve years rather than any other period, as the term of possession, that finds no actual precedent in the former state of things. It can scarcely be maintained that no period ought to have been fixed. The fixing of some period must tend to diminish litigation, and the objections urged against the selection of twelve years could equally well be urged against any other period. A right of occupancy had to be created, and we have endeavoured to show, and have yet more to say toward showing, that such a right

is the nearest approach that can be made in India to that system of peasant property which has been everywhere except in England admitted to be eminently successful in raising the rustic population, and in educing habits of thrift and social economy, qualities in which the masses of the population of this country are so miserably deficient. And until these qualities are evoked from within, all missionary enterprise, all attempts from without to civilize the masses will fail, fail as completely as the rays of the sun fail to melt the eternal snows of the Himálayas. A partial thaw may be produced on the surface, but its effects will never penetrate beneath. We have lately met in a home periodical, with an article, written with considerable ability, in which—Hear it, ye that rail at Act X. because it does not assimilate land tenures in India to land tenures in England,—the deplorable condition of the agricultural classes in England is attributed to the imperfect and impolitic state of the Law of Land.

It is not, as we have shown, the law of land in England to which her great prosperity is due. It has originated solely from the peculiar idiosyncracies of her sons, from her manufactures, and from the capabilities of her soil for manufactures. Men not unnaturally jump at conclusions, and exclaim 'everything English is good,' and so by inference England's land tenures are good, but it will be found that England has exclusively bestowed her attention on manufactures and mercantile pursuits, that the state of her agricultural classes is beginning to be a blot on her intelligence, and a speck on the disk of her property. The writer we have above referred to, advocates for the improvement of the agricultural community, that the operatives of towns should devote their savings to buy land, to stock and cultivate and finally turn into small freeholds to be held by their descendants. No scheme appears on the most distant horizon whereby the agricultural classes in India can be raised through the instrumentality of manufacturing classes. Manufacturing Until the rural community is improved classes do not exist. they will never exist.

To return to our subject, the Chief Justice remarks:—
'At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Governor'General in Council by Section 8 of Regulation II. of 1793, re'served the right, whenever he might deem it proper, to enact such
'Regulations as he might think necessary for the protection and
'welfare of the ryots and other cultivators of the soil, or, to use the
'words of the despatch of the Court of Directors "such Regu'"lations as might be necessary to prevent the ryots from being
"improperly disturbed in their possession or loaded with

"unwarrantable exactions." Whether Section 6, Act X. of '1859 (which is worded much in the same manner as Section 49. 'Regulation VIII. of 1793) was intended to apply to holdings which existed at the time of the passing of the Act, and to 'such holdings only, or whether it was intended to apply to 'future as well as to past holdings, or to future holdings only, 'it is clear that it created a new right which was never before created by such a holding. To hold that the Legislature in-'tended to confer rights of occupancy which did not previously exist, at rents lower than such as could be reasonably obtained from new ryots, would be giving a construction to the 'Act which would render it an unjust interference with the vested rights of the landowners in the permanently settled districts; would considerably reduce the value of their pro-'perty; and would defeat the expectations which at the time of the permanent settlement were held out to them, that they ' would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good manage-" ment and industry."

There is not a syllable of the above, which any one thoroughly acquainted with the subject could wish to gainsay, and it coincides with the deliberate opinion which we have sought to express in these papers, and which may be thus summarized; Act X. corrected, amended, and directed by the decisions of the High Court is a suitable law of the land for Bengal. The reader will scarcely fail to perceive, from the first clause of the above quotation, that the idea of a right-of-occupancy existed so far back as 1793, and it is of the period of twelve years as conferring such a right, that the Chief Justice speaks as a new right, or, as we might put it, the idea of protecting the ryot in possession and paying his rent existed in 1793, but the change of this protection into a right conferred by law and accruable after twelve years' possession was the creation of a new

right.

Further on the learned Chief Justice gives his view of the proper interpretation of the Section as already interpreted in the decision for review of which application had been made. In my opinion the intention of the Legislature (to use the words of Lord Cornwallis) was to prevent the Zemindar from dispossessing one cultivator for the sole purpose of giving the land to another, and thereby committing a wanton act of oppression from which he could derive no benefit. To those who know on what slight provocation a Zemindar will turn out a ryot from house and house, because he opposed an unjust demand for cesses, or dared to prosecute him or his people for some act of oppression, it will be needless to point out the

absolute necessity of some protection in law or custom as binding as law, and in these days when a worthy Code is being drawn up for India, what better than that custom should be made law,—that the unwritten law at which some may cavit and doubt, should be turned into written law, which he who runs may read?

We shall now discuss separately the several points for which Act X. has provided, reserving that of Enhancement for the last.

These points are :-

Firstly. - The twenty years' presumption.

Secondly .- Rights of occupancy.

Thirdly.— Prohibition of compulsory attendance of tenants for the adjustment of rents, &c.

Fourthly .- Enhancement of rent.

Fifthly .- Distraint.

Sixthly .- Measurement of lands.

Firstly.— From the time that we took possession of the country. there has always existed a kind of perpetual holding at a fixed rent not liable to be raised. These tenures, denominated mokurreree and istemraree tenures, were acknowledged at the time of the permanent settlement, and where they had previously existed, or the Zemindar had bound himself not to raise the rent, they were protected. Since the time of the permanent settlement many of these tenures have been absorbed, and few have been The putnee system, which was early sanctioned by law, took the place of this former system. Many, however, exist to the present day, as is shewn by many documents still in existence; and in some instances where the documents have been lost, there is yet no doubt of the validity of the tenure. It was for the protection of these that the twenty years' presumption was intended. Section IV. of the law runs thus :- 'Whenever, in any suit under 'this Act, it shall be proved that the rent at which land is held 'by a ryot in the said provinces has not been changed for a period of twenty years before the commencement of the suit, it shall be presumed that the land has been held at that rent from the 'time of the permanent settlement, unless the contrary be shewn, or unless it be proved that such rent was fixed at some later 'period.' Under this Section the ryot who maintains that his holding is a perpetual one at a fixed rate has only to prove that his rent has not been changed for the last twenty years. Two modes of defence are open to the opposite party. He may show that the rent was fixed at a period subsequent to the perpetual settlement, or he may show that the rent has varied,—has been raised or lowered since the same period. In very many instances he is unable to do either. The ryot may have been in possession for years. But when he came into possession, and how or when his

rent was fixed, is as unknown to his landlord as to himself. For a merly few pottahs or kuboolyats were exchanged; and there is no documentary evidence forthcoming on the subject. Then as to proving that the rent was raised or lowered, there is the same difficulty. The accounts are not forthcoming, -no record of such transactions has been kept. That they would be required for such an important purpose was never expected. And there is something hard in casting one side for the non-production of papers, which they had no due notice to preserve. The twenty years' presumption is very favourable to the ryot. It limits his proofs to a period of twenty years, while the opposite party has to produce proofs for the whole period from the permanent settlement down to the time of the suit. It may be said that people in the position of ryots are much more liable to lose their papers than Zemindars. This is true, no doubt; but Zemindars, who were not aware that papers and accounts would be required for such a purpose, were not careful to preserve them. The provision was no doubt meant well to protect the tenures in question and put a sort of term to the litigation concerning them, but it has produced evil effects. Ryots whose rents never were fixed in perpetuity, whose rights do not date back so far as the period of the permanent settlement, but who have chanced to hold their lands for twenty years without the rent having been changed, have come into court, and, owing to the inability of the other side to make out a successful case in either of the lines of defence left open, have become holders in perpetuity at a fixed We would have left the onus probandi with the ryot who claimed to be a mokurrereedar, and would have made the proofs of both sides extend over the same period, viz., back to the settlement of 1793. It is too late of course to remedy the evil where it has already occurred, but it is not too late to prevent its occurrence where it has not yet been perpetuated.

Secondly.—Act X. has given to any ryot who has been in possession of his holding for twelve years, a right of occupancy. This, as now settled by the decision of the High Court, means that he cannot be evicted as long as he pays his rent. What rent? a fair and equitable rent, which leaves him a fair remuneration for his labour and capital. The rent having been fixed by competent authority, the right-of-occupancy ryot has the refusal of the land at that rent. If he like to keep the land and pay that rent, his landlord cannot drive from his homestead, and the spot endeared to him by early associations. But if he will not give what another will give,—what is fair and equitable,—the law tells him that go he must, that he with his idleness and selfishness is not to stand in the way of improvement; that if he will not till

the soil in such a manner as to bring it up to the standard of production required by the progress of the country, he must stand aside and make room for one who will. Beyond this right of refusal and protection from ejectment, a right-of-occupancy gives nothing more. The High Court has clearly laid down that the ryot is not entitled to a share of the net proceeds or rent of the land. Act X. does not say he is so entitled, nor is Act X. to be blamed for the error of those who thought he was. The provisions of the Act on the subject may then be thus paraphrased:—'So long as a ryot, who has cultivated his holding for twelve years, is willing and able to pay such an amount of ' rent for that holding as is fair and equitable, having regard to 'the increase in the value of land commensurate with the progress of the country, so long shall be be protected from ejectment 'at the arbitrary will of his landlord, but no longer.' We have already shown that the Government under the Reservation made at the time of the Perpetual Settlement had a perfect right to make this enactment for the good of the ryot if it saw fit. We shall now enquire, if this enactment contains

any new principle, or if it be impolitic.

In Mill's History of India we meet the following passages: 'The possession of the ryot was an hereditary possession from 'which it was unlawful for the Zemindar to displace him: for ' every farthing, which the Zemindar drew from the ryot, he was 'bound to account; and it was only by fraud, if, out of all that ' he collected, he retained an anna more than the small proportion 'which, as pay for collection, he was permitted to receive.' Again, 'next after the sovereign the immediate cultivators had by far 'the greatest portion of interest in the soil.' Mr. Elphinstone again writes thus, when speaking of the ryots :- 'Many are of 'opinion that they are the real proprietors of the soil; while others 'regard them as mere tenants-at-will. All, however, are agreed within certain limits; all acknowledging, on the one hand, that 'they have some claim to occupancy, and on the other, that they have no right to sell their land.' These are no mean authorities. Let us examine the word 'ryot' itself, and on Dr. Trench's principle see what information is contained therein. It is an Arabic word. It was therefore introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors of India. Its proper meaning is 'a subject.' Can we not in this discern as plain as may be the whole truth of the case? The Mahomedan conquerors applied the word ryot to their Indian subjects. A single glance at the various Revenue systems of the Mahomedans will shew that their policy was in no case to transfer the proprietary right in the soil from their conquered subjects to the conquerors, but through authorized agents to levy as the right

of Government a certain proportion of the produce either in kind or in an equivalent. It may be very easily imagined that, when troubles assailed the Mahomedan rule, when during the Mahratta and other wars the power of that Government could not be asserted actively in all the provinces nominally subject to its sway, the Collectors of the Government dues in distant and remote parts appropriated to themselves all the powers of Government; and having no fear of being called to an account, when their continued allegiance would in itself be a sufficient excuse for all excesses, acted with arbitrary and absolute power with respect to the subjects of the State, who became thus for a time little more than their serfs. There is no difficulty in perceiving how the rights of the old Hindoo cultivators must have thus been obliterated in many places and obscured in almost all, while Mahomedans who entered on the possession of land would probably have regarded themselves as only the tenants-at-will of those who allowed them to cultivate. The Collectors thus slipped into a position very closely resembling that of a landlord in the English meaning of the word. They received the rents, and in those troubled times, when there was no tribunal above themselves, they doubtless exercised arbitrary power by evicting those who did not pay or who in any way displeased them, and putting in possession such as they chose. In this way doubtless a notion sprung up that the power of eviction lay in their hands. Such a notion would be sure to be caught up and perpetuated by their adherents, and the opposite notion,—that of occupancy, existing only in the breasts of those who had no power to demand an acknowledgment of the right, would become a tradition. As a tradition it exists down to the present day. And when, under the quiet of the British rule, agriculture was extended, and waste lands reclaimed, the increasing demand for cultivators made Zemindars more willing to induce their ryots to stay, than to eject them. Search the judicial records of the last sixty years. How few cases of ejectment are to be found,—how many cases of Zemindars detaining ryots on their property by force, -how many cases of dispute between rival Zemindars for cultivators. It is then only natural that the idea of a right-of-occupancy belonging to those who had been for years in possession, which in former days was almost a proprietary right; which was acknowledged in the best times of Mahomedan rule; which, during the decline of that power, was partly obliterated and partly obscured, but was yet preserved as a sacred tradition, began again to revive and to be respected under British rule: and in 1846 and 1849 had so far again become a custom of the country that the Judges of the highest Civil Court in India, men who doubtless had seen that right growing and

acknowledged in the course of their experience, could not disregard it, when under their oath seeking to administer equity to both parties. It must not be lost sight of, that equity and good conscience were the principal guide for the Old Sudder Judges in their judicial decisions. It may be very well to sneer at their decisions, to ridicule the opposing precedents that are to be found among them; but had English law been applied en masse as the guide of the Courts, a much worse state of things would have been brought about. English law would have been injustice in dealing with rights that were created and had existed under a different system. Without a competent staff to administer it, it would have been worse than useless. Then again, to codifying the law of the country there were insuperable obstacles, and it would have been utterly impossible for the most able men (and there were not a few able men among those early Sudder Judges) in one or two generations to rear up a new Legislative System. What then could have been done save what has been done,—to make equity and good conscience the law, till a better could be framed? Where there is no code of substantive law, it can hardly be expected that some opposite precedents should not be found. Every man's standard of equity and good conscience is not alike. Again, Bengal is a very large tract of country. No one law obtains in all districts; -habits and usages vary; -what is justice in one place might be gross injustice in another place 100 miles off, and thus seemingly opposite precedents may have been very just decisions after all. When the Sudder Judge of 1856 wrote that the right of the khoodkasht ryot is a right which grows; that is, which begins to exist within recoverable memory, and which is strengthened and confirmed by the lapse of time he, in equity and good conscience, wrote what he believed to be true; and what is perfectly true. Within the sixty-three years from 1793 to 1856, this usage had sprung up, or rather the old usage of the country obscured in times of disturbance had again come to be acknowledged in practice between landlords and tenants. To disregard such a usage would have been neither equitable nor politic. In Ireland there are certain customs connected with land which are not contained in any law, but which are enforced by a sanction tolerably well understood in that Is the Bengal peasant the less entitled to have his country. rights established by custom, because he is unlikely to assert them himself? There must be some mismanagement, some screw loose in the Government that allows things to come to this pass without applying a remedy. That it is a usage or custom in all Lower Bengal, where, as in parts of Eastern Bengal, a system of Miyadee leases does not obtain, to regard

the old ryot as having a right-of-occupancy, is a fact which the experience of every Officer employed in trying rent cases will vouch for. Such a custom having existed and being acknowledged, how could the Legislature have acted more wisely than to give the sanction of law to this custom? and in giving such sanction, what better method could have been adopted than one borrowed from the analogous law of limitation? So far from this enactment of the law being one that should be cavilled at, it is deserving of the highest possible commendation. Without doing violence to a single existing right, it secured the best possible provision for the encouragement of industry in the Bengal peasant. The framers of Act X. may not have been great political economists, may have been no dealers in the theories of the abstract science: but they would have been more obtuse than any of their detractors has ventured to style them. if after so many years of practical experience, they had not become practical Indian political economists. The Right-of-Occupation clauses of Act X. have secured the ryot against his landlord, where he ought to be secured, and where, looking at the character of Indian landlords, he needed to be secured. They have given him all the fruits of his own industry, of his own abstinence; while the Enhancement clauses have done the same Further, the Bengalee ryot is a creature for the landlord. whom mere coaxing will not suit. He never works so well as when he has a little fear before his eyes, when he is told that if he do not work and keep pace with the progress of the country, he must turn out, turn out from his bamboo cettages, from the quadrangle of his dwelling with its polished clay floors and its shady enclosure, from his garden and his fields, the boundaries of which he has watched with jealous eyes, lest a neighbour should take a foot of ground that was not his; turn out and expose the females of his family to the gaze of every eye; turn out and go whither? to be a day labourer if he can find any to employ and—pay him; a day labourer perhaps in those very lands which were once cherished as his own. A different spectacle from him whom Horace celebrated;—

.......Puer hunc ego parvus Ofellam Integris opibus novi non latius usum Quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum.

Those who annexed the sanction of eviction to the Rightof-Occupancy knew full well the character of those for whom they were legistating, knew how to work on their hopes and their fears, knew how to protect them where they wanted protection, and to leave them to the tender mercies of their landlords, where the spur was required. Let us not hope to see the real results of the law immediately, or in the present generation. During the four years that the law has been in force, no common sentiments have actuated those who have administered it; no uniform practice has prevailed; all has been doubt and litigation, each party trying to strain the law to his side. But now this has been settled, the rulings of the High Court will establish an uniform practice, both parties will regard their rights as defined, and the measure will be left in peace to work its natural results.

The words khoodkasht and pykasht require a brief notice. They mean respectively one who cultivates the land of his own village, and one who cultivates the land of another village, and are applied or rather were applied to resident and non-resident The first occupied a dwelling, paying higher rent for cultivators. the various kind of land under and around it, bastoo, oodhbastoo, dihi, beeta, bansee, bhágát. This dwelling was situated in the same village as that within the limits of which were the lands he cultivated. The great advantage of this to the Zemindar was that, his tenants residing on his property, he was sure not to have his land left unoccupied. Hence we find that where ryots wanted to move and go to another village, the Zemindars often resorted to very unjustifiable means of detaining them. All this applies to a period when population was thin, and therefore ryots scarce. But when population got a start, when under the peace of British rule, the people multiplied in the larger portion of Bengal, this difficulty was at an end. Cultivators were no longer scarce, and the importance attached to residence ceased. Men, living in one village, cultivated lands in another village without let or hindrance. They were thus pykasht ryots of the village in which they did not reside. Residence having lost its importance, the same rights were imperceptibly ceded to both classes of ryots. This change is proved by the words khoodkasht and pykasht never occurring in the more recent documents connected with these tenures. There was therefore no injustice in applying the same law to the two kinds of tenure, when already the great difference between them was lost sight of in the customs of the people as changed by the march of progress. The famous Ishur Ghose is a pykasht ryot on the land, for enhancement of the rent of which he was sued by Mr. Hills.

It may be, and it has been, objected that the twelve years which should confer a right-of-occupancy, should have commenced to run from the date of the Act. Had this been the case, every ryot in Bengal would have gone through a process of eviction. No ryot would ever have been allowed to acquire the right-of-

occupancy; existing rights, which the law meant to protect, would have been at once demolished, and great injustice perpetrated. This point has been raised in a case now pending before the High Court, and we sincerely trust that the ruling will

be in accordance with the views here laid down.

We have already (in our previous paper) argued against the notion that the Right-of-Occupancy clauses have a tendency to create a class of middlemen. It remains to add that the High Court have more than once\* ruled that this right is the right only of the cultivator of the soil. The moment therefore a right-of-occupancy holder ceased to be a cultivator and became a sub-landlord, that moment he would become liable to forfeit

his right. Such a tendency therefore does not exist.

Thirdly.—Before Act X. became law, the Zemindar had the power of compelling the attendance of the ryot at his Cutcherry to settle accounts. There are few who are not aware that this power was used for annoyance and for effecting other purposes than that for which it was sanctioned, and it is rather a source of wonder that it should have been so long tolerated in a country subject to British rule, than that it was at last abrogated. Few and faint have been the voices raised against the change, and the experience of four years has shown that the dangers once apprehended were chimerical. In some districts, indeed, as in Nuddea, where there are large arrears of rent, some have been found who would recommend the revival of the Zemindar's power of compelling attendance in order to their realization. But these districts are very exceptional cases. The state of things for which this remedy is proposed, has arisen from exceptional causes—having nothing to do with the point in hand, and-without doing any violence to the muchabused maxim, that the exception proves the rule—they are an argument rather against than for the revival of the former regime.

Fourthly.—Leaving the enhancement question for the last, we now come to the question of distraint. Under the provisions on this subject, the landlord has the power of distraining the produce before it is removed for the rent of the land. As many and as good safeguards as possible have been devised to protect and ensure the proper exercise of this power, and it is enough to say that they have been quite successful. The law on this subject is one of old standing, dating from a period antecedent to our

<sup>\*</sup>See cases No. 577 of 1862,—Bhoirub Nauth Sandyal, Appellant, 24th December 1863; and No. 448 of 1862,—Bindrabond Chunder Chrowdry, Appellant, 4th January 1864. In the latter, defendants had held as middlemen for forty years.

possession of the country. We have from time to time amended and improved it, and its present embodiment in Act X. is the result of the experience of our period of dominion applied to the old law of the land. As little or no objection has been made by any party to this portion of the enactment, we may pass it

without further comment.

Fifthly.—The measurement question is one which has given some ground for discussion. Since the passing however of Act VI. (B. C.) (the corollary of Act X) this discussion has nearly ceased. The law as it now stands is as follows. Every person in the receipt of the rent of land is declared to have an undoubted right to measure that land, unless he have himself stopped his right by agreeing with the tenant not to measure. If, therefore, a landlord seeks to measure, and his tenant objects or refuses to attend, the only point for decision by the Court is 'has the land-'lord agreed to forego his right or not?' If such an agreement exist, he will be prohibited from measuring. If no such agreement have been made, an order will be passed allowing the measurement and directing the tenant to attend; and if he do not comply with the order, he is not competent to contest subsequently the measurement made in his absence. This of course applies only where those who act for the landlord can identify the lands; but perhaps a case may happen in which they cannot identify the lands and ascertain what particular plots belong to each particular tenant. It has happened not unfrequently that the tenant would not point out his land, and that his fellow-villagers would take his part and refuse also. Now it may at first sight appear a very simple matter to measure these lands—but when each tenant has land North and South and East and West of the village, it alters the case. He has a strip for Amun Dhan here, and a couple of strips for Aous Dhan there. He has a bit of the chillie land, and a bit of the sugar cane land, a bit of the high land, and a bit of the low land, a bit of the stiff soil, and a bit of the light soil, a bit of the good ground, and a bit of the bad ground, and all these fragments may be each less than oneeighth of an acre, separated by the ail or boundary formed by a sort of furrow between them which is never cut, and which is generally used for a footpath. Now, if no record existed of these kittas as they are called, and who cultivated each, it is very plain that the ryots of a village could set the landlord at defiance by refusing to point out the several owners. No law of measurement which did not provide for such a case would be complete. The remedy provided by the present law is as follows:-The landlord can bring the matter into the Collector's Court, when the measurement will be made